

JOHN DANTISCUS  
AND HIS  
NETHERLANDISH FRIENDS

AS REVEALED BY THEIR CORRESPONDENCE

1522-1546

published from the original Documents  
with Introductions and Notes

BY

HENRY DE VOCHT

DR. PH. & LITT., DR. PHIL. TARTUENSIS AD HON.  
EMERITUS PROFESSOR IN THE UNIVERSITY OF LOUVAIN

with the generous help of the Belgian  
FONDATION UNIVERSITAIRE



LOUVAIN  
LIBRAIRIE UNIVERSITAIRE  
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IN DEEP APPRECIATION OF THE  
MOST GENEROUS AND EVER READY HELP GRANTED  
THIS TWELFTH VOLUME  
EDITED THANKS TO THEIR PROVIDENTIAL ASSISTANCE  
IS RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED  
TO THE MOST HONOURABLE MEMBERS OF  
THE BELGIAN  
FONDATION UNIVERSITAIRE  
AND TO THEIR DEVOTED OFFICIALS  
THE DIRECTOR VICE-PRESIDENT MR J. WILLEMS  
AND THE GENERAL SECRETARY MR J. MASURE  
BY THE GRATEFUL  
AUTHOR

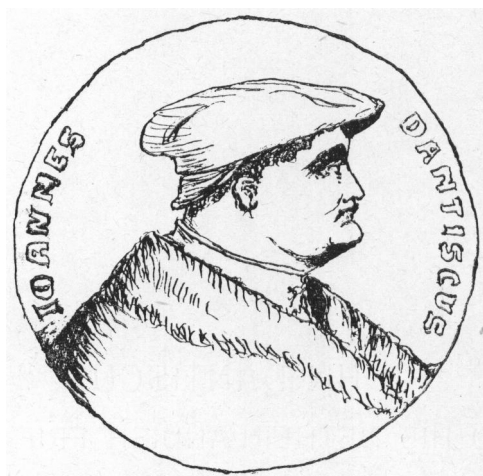


Ad Belgas tandem vectus, permiserat hinc me  
Annis transactis Cæsar abire tribus.

Hinc et amicitias nactus, socios et amicos,  
Qui me tot scriptis visere sæpe solent.

*Vita Ioannis Dantisci (DantCar., 296), 33-34, 85-86.*





**JOHN DANTISCUS**  
**BISHOP OF CULM AND ERMLAND**  
**1485-1548**

## PREFACE

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When, in 1928, I had edited Cranevelt's letters <sup>1)</sup>, I started studying some documents about the history of Humanism in Louvain <sup>2)</sup>, which I had found in the Brussels Archives when building up the Inventory of the documents of the Old Brabant University <sup>3)</sup>. At the time I felt most painfully the want of more information about the first half of the sixteenth century, for which the archives of Hamburg and of Bremen, of Denmark and of Sweden were recommended. Thanks to the most benevolent and very generous help of the *Fondation Universitaire*, I could start a journey in the first days of June 1930. I failed to find anything amongst the Bremen treasures that could help me, but was the more successful in the Hamburg University Library.

Indeed I found there, as *Codex 41 of the Supellex Epistolica*, a manuscript entitled : '*Illustrium Virorum ad Joh. Dantiscum Episcopum Varmiensensem Epistolæ Historicæ Selectæ. Illas ... ex autographis in Bibl. Publ. Upsalensi descripsit, et vita J. Dantisci & notis illustravit Ericus Benzelius* <sup>4)</sup>, *Erici Filius, An. mcccxvii. Ex illo vero apographo, sibi a A. Benzelio a° 1721 communicato, selectiores præsertim Cornelii Dupplicii Scepperi epistolas descripsit Henfelius, ex cuius apographo præsens hoc natum est*'.

That volume comprises a series of letters, besides the *Ephemerides Vitæ Dantisci ac Scepperi*; a note added on the first page announces that : '*D. Henfelius vehementer voluit ut hæ Epistolæ a librario quodam Germano in lucem ederentur*'. That wish has not been realized, but several of the letters have been copied and are available separately in the two hundred volumes of the (Hamburg) *Supellex Epistolica Uffenbachiana & Wolfiorum* <sup>5)</sup>.

I did not find any manuscripts that offered information about my work in Copenhagen, nor in Lund either, and without losing my time,

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<sup>1)</sup> *Litterae Virorum Eruditorum ad Franciscum Craneveldium 1522-1528* : Louvain, 1928.

<sup>2)</sup> They, later on, were edited as *Monumenta Humanistica Lovanien-sia* : Louvain, 1934.

<sup>3)</sup> *Inventaire des Archives de l'Université de Louvain, 1426-1796, aux Archives Générales du Royaume à Bruxelles* : Louvain, 1927.

<sup>4)</sup> Erik Benzel, Benzelius, was Uppsala Librarian from 1702 to 1723 : cp. *CranE*, 287, *pr* (p 701); he afterwards became Bishop of Linköping. He was one of the first to study the correspondence of Dantiscus; by 1717, he started a collection of copies of letters of famous men to Dantiscus, which was said to have become one of the treasures of Berlin Library : *HTL*, III, 17.

<sup>5)</sup> Cp. *PighE*, vi, 20, *sq*.

I reached Uppsala, where I was happy to make full use of the originals of the *Epistolæ ad Johannem Dantiscum, Episcopum Warmiensem scriptæ*, gathered in two volumes, H 154 and H 155, with letters ranging from 1520 to 1538, all of them addressed to Dantiscus <sup>1)</sup>: containing the first one hundred and twelve, the second eighty-six missives <sup>2)</sup>. It is evident that those precious documents were some booty brought over from Germany by the victorious Swedish troops <sup>3)</sup>, as follows from the presence there of books finely bound, which, at one time, had belonged to the Jesuit library of Braunsberg, to which they had



evidently been given at Dantiscus' decease: they still are provided with the *ex-libris* in parchment, with which he had them adorned from 1541 on <sup>4)</sup>: it represents the black and white eagle's wings <sup>5)</sup>, granted to him as arms by the Emperor Maximilian in return for his services as ambassador to Venice in 1515 and 1516 <sup>6)</sup>. That *ex-libris* is described in some of his verses belonging to the period of those embassies <sup>7)</sup>:

Joannes Dantiscus, I. V. Doctor  
Poeta Laureatus, Serenissimi Poloniæ Regis Secretarius.  
Hanc nigram, niveamque mihi Jovis alitis alam  
Pro meritis Cæsar nobile stemma dedit.  
Quod datur ex atavis clarum est; sed clarius omne  
Quod per se virtus propria ferre solet.

In Uppsala, I took a very careful copy of most of the original letters addressed to Dantiscus by our great humanists <sup>8)</sup>, whereas for others,

<sup>1)</sup> Especially the first volume contains several letters from erudites then active in the Netherlands.

<sup>2)</sup> There are, besides, in Uppsala Library two autograph letters from Nicolas Niptzytch and one from John von Werden: they want dates, and offer no interest to the present collection.

<sup>3)</sup> Cp. O. Walde, *Storhetstidens Literära Krigsbyten*: Uppsala, 1916: 80; Collyn, *Bericht über Pölnische Büchersammlungen in Schwedischen Bibliotheken*: 51; Hipler, *Analecta Warmiensia*: 337.

<sup>4)</sup> Some of the original collection are still preserved at Heilsberg; amongst them there are several larger ones, provided with a book-plate in accordance.

<sup>5)</sup> Two of the four quarters of Bishop Dantiscus' shield represented those two wings; the two others a sword and a club each.

<sup>6)</sup> Cp. p. 6.

<sup>7)</sup> *DantCar.*, 87; *DantSil.*, 12.

<sup>8)</sup> Thus there are, e. g., 27 from de Schepper, 9 from Campensis and 5 from Gemma Frisius.

which showed hardly any importance for our countries, I just provided substantial summaries. As soon as I had finished my work there, I hastened to Berlin, where, as I was told, a great amount of letters to and from Dantiscus were preserved <sup>1)</sup>. To my utter disappointment I was assured that those documents do not exist there; nor could they tell me anything about the present place of the treasure I was looking for. In my despair I had already secured the wherewithal to go the next day to Basle and work there, when, returning from the very travelling-office, I was told in the Library that, in answer to my insistent requests, they had found the proper home of the Dantiscus documents: namely, at Frauenburg. That small place in East Prussia, on the Frische Haff, with less than three hundred inhabitants, is adorned with a marvel of old Cathedral, surrounded by a wall with towers, in one of which are the archives I was longing for. I was very glad to find there an abundance of documents, and, after several days' work, I brought the number of letters up from 198 to 418: those newly found missives are divided over eleven volumes <sup>2)</sup>, of which ten belong to the *Archivum Episcopale Warmiense*, and one to that of the Chapter of Ermland, both at Frauenburg.

When I returned to Louvain with the copies and the notes of that correspondence, I tried to realize an adequate order, helped by several studies I had been fortunate to acquire <sup>3)</sup>: I thus also became aware of the existence of a third lot of documents in Poland, — where Dr. C. Piotrowicz was then hard at work at their appropriate index <sup>4)</sup>. My most generous benefactors of the *Fondation Universitaire* made it possible to me to journey already in the summer of 1931 to Cracow, where I found an additional one hundred and sixty-eight documents,

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<sup>1)</sup> Cp. before, p vii, n 4.

<sup>2)</sup> Five of those volumes specially are taken up by this correspondence: D 3 has 101 letters, D 5, 6, D 6, 82, D 130, 51, D 131, 14; the other volumes contain together 30 of Dantiscus' letters, amongst many others.

<sup>3)</sup> Such as the *Literaturgeschichte des Bistums Ermland* (Braunsberg, 1874), by Fr. Hipler, as well as his *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Renaissance und des Humanismus aus dem Briefwechsel des Johannes Dantiscus*, in *ZGE*, ix, 471, sq, with sixty letters; also the introduction to *Des Johannes Dantiscus und Nicolaus Kopernikus Geistliche Gedichte*, by Fr. Hipler: Münster, 1857. — In the third volume of his *Monumenta Inedita Rerum Germaniæ* (Leipzig, 1740), E. J. von Westphalen had published some extracts of Dantiscus' correspondence. E. Boehmer reprinted forty letters or notes — all from Alonso de Valdes — in the *Homenaje á Menéndez y Pelayo*: 1, 385-412 (Madrid, 1899). Cp. *HTL*, III, 17; *FG*, 335-36.

<sup>4)</sup> He published two parts of the *Index* (in 1928 and 1931) to the two volumes of Dr. J. Korzeniowski and Dr. St. Kutrzeba's *Catalogus Codicum Manuscriptorum Musæi Principum Czartoryski*: Cracow, 1887 and 1913.



spread over twenty-six volumes <sup>1)</sup>, completed by twenty numbers found in the Library of Kornick, Poznan, and three provided by the collection of Ossolinski at Lwów, Lemberg <sup>2)</sup>. As to Breslau, it had hardly anything in its *Rehdiger Collection* that was of a direct use to my work.

When, in the summer of 1932, the University of Tartu celebrated the three hundred years that had passed since her first foundation, 1632, I was chosen to represent that of Louvain, as it was known that I was still interested in Poland and the neighbouring countries. I accepted the offer with great eagerness, and did not fail looking through the lists of documents preserved in the libraries of Tartu, of Riga and of Königsberg, although I found very little indeed of any interest to this study <sup>3)</sup>. Still, most fortunately, the journey allowed me to pay a second visit to the archives of Frauenburg, so as to enrich and complete some of my first notes. I was very pleased to find there two series of letters which had been lent out since some time, and were consequently missing when I first came there. They had been returned, and allowed me to add 51 items to what is noted there as D 130, and 14 to D 420 <sup>4)</sup>, which brought the number of my letters up to 674 <sup>5)</sup>. It thus allowed me to enjoy the totality of the collection.

\* \* \*

The series of letters thus gathered, provided a considerable amount of interesting details, not only about Dantiscus, but also about his great friend, the ambassador Cornelius de Schepper, and about his two colleagues John de Weze and Godschalk Ericksen; moreover about the chief personalities of the Netherlands, the Prince of Orange, and the Lord of Burgundy, about Mark Laurin, Dean of Bruges, about the sons of the Mechlin President Nicolas Everardi, Erasmus' great friend, and many others. Similarly, a large amount of peculiarities are pointed out and described for personages who were then in full activity in Brussels or Antwerp, in Ghent or Bruges, and most of all, in Louvain. It was indeed there that Dantiscus saw the life and working of the University,

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<sup>1)</sup> One volume, 247, contains 51 letters; in the other 25 volumes there is a much smaller number, amongst other correspondence.

<sup>2)</sup> Some of the letters at Cracow and Kornick are described in manuscript lists, and those of Lwów were all edited in 1781 by order of Count Joseph Maximilian Ossolinski.

<sup>3)</sup> At Königsberg I found the document by which Aleander appointed Sabinus as *Poeta Laureatus*: Venice, September 1, 1534; cp. p. 369.

<sup>4)</sup> I had already then given numbers to the various documents — according to the places where they are to be found — and had even as thus referred to them; so I added those new documents to the two numbers 130 and 420, putting to them the figures 1 to 51, and 1 to 14: 130<sup>1</sup>, 130<sup>2</sup>, 130<sup>3</sup>, &c, 420<sup>1</sup>, 420<sup>2</sup>, &c.

<sup>5)</sup> Those of Uppsala count 198, those of Frauenburg, 285 and those of Poland, 191 documents.

and made the acquaintance of three, at least, of her most admirable members : Goclenius and Campensis, two renowned professors, and a student, who was already celebrated as an inventor, Gemma Frisius. Their likings and thoughts, their joys and contrarities, their work and their ideas are described with the powerful zest and the uncontrollable vivacity of truth. All those details have been most welcome for the various books on the History of Humanism, especially on that of Louvain in the xvi<sup>th</sup> century, revealing an endless treasure of information ; they at once suggested the plan of placing at the disposition of every reader, the never dreamed of wealth of intelligence by providing a reliable edition of the entire correspondence <sup>1)</sup>.

The information thus gathered was highly welcome to the *Monumenta Humanistica* of 1934 <sup>2)</sup>, especially for the article entitled *Nicolas Clenardus and his Training* <sup>3)</sup> : the references were made by means of the provisional numbers, given to the documents in the order in which they are found in the various collections. That same wonderful source of undreamed of and most precious intelligence, was made ample use of, a few years later, for the study *Jerome de Busleyden, Founder of the Louvain Collegium Trilingue, his Life and Writings*, 1950 ; also, especially, for the first volume of the *History of the Foundation and the Rise of the Collegium Trilingue Lovaniense*, 1951, and for the two hundred initial pages of the second volume. It was found, meanwhile, that it would be as profitable as necessary to refer for Dantiscus' letters according to the painfully exact chronologic order, in which they had been disposed in view of an edition, which was frequently promised in the history of the rising study of languages <sup>4)</sup> ; from then on, the references are made to Dantiscus' letters by means of the numbers of the historical list in which they had exactly been arranged <sup>5)</sup>. Meanwhile, the pious initial desire of procuring a *complete* text of *all* the letters after a repeated visit to their homes in the East <sup>6)</sup>, had become less and less performable on account of the absence of all improvement in the political conditions of those countries and, mostly, of the author's advancing age. In fact, the editing of those abundant letters referring to the state, to the conditions and to the history of the totally different foreign nations in those far bygone days, appeared clearly to be as an attempt at a quite unavoidable failure. Hence the decision was taken, after due consideration, of editing only those texts and notes which actually refer to Dantiscus and to his friends in their

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<sup>1)</sup> Cp. *MonHL* (1934), 420.

<sup>2)</sup> Reference is made to DCE, *Dantiscus' Epistolarium*, followed by the places where the documents are found : *ArchEWarm.*, *ArchCapWarm.* (or *ErmArEp.*, *ErmArC.*), *BbCzart.*, *BbKorn.*, *BbOssol.*, *BbUpps.*, with the indication of the volumes of those collections and the pages on which the documents occur.

<sup>3)</sup> *MonHL*, 409-20.

<sup>4)</sup> Cp. *HTL*, I, v, II, vi-vii, 170, n 2.

<sup>5)</sup> Cp. *HTL*, III, 17-18, 23.

<sup>6)</sup> *MonHL*, 420.

connection with the Netherlandish provinces <sup>1)</sup>, — excluding all those about the 'state and the policy of Poland, of Prussia and of all Eastern countries' <sup>2)</sup>).

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Those considerations have as natural result the omission of a large amount of letters; — they comprise the long series of requests from Isabella Delgada to Dantiscus for money from 1529 to 1538; also the many pleas of friends and acquaintances in favour of the marriage of James de Alderete and Juana Dantisca, besides the large amount of documents which refer exclusively to Polish questions. The correspondence thus is reduced to that of Dantiscus and his friends from this side the Rhine, that is of actual interest to our countries. Still, great care has been taken not to be too exclusive, as many most obliging foreign acquaintances not only suggested, but realized favourable solutions to many of the difficulties within our bounds. Some of Dantiscus' countrymen, like Tomicki and Justus Decius, did what they could to make it possible to him to sacrifice himself for the good of those our own countries. Others, like George Witzel and like John Cochläus, — who even owned his name to one of our fellow-citizens <sup>3)</sup>, — sacrificed themselves for the sake of a welfare which was common to them and to ourselves. In fact, there were many interests, which are not circumscribed by any political limits, and which concern us no less than the natives in their proper countries; for certain, science and erudition know of no bounds, and a Copernic is gratefully admired and imitated for as far as is possible by any one in any part of the world, even if that 'one' is not a Gemma.

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Some letters, or parts of letters, which could not be classed amongst this particular correspondence of Dantiscus and his friends about the Netherlands, offer, however, an undeniable interest for the knowledge of the time, and for the better understanding of no end of facts and remarks. They have been represented and reproduced as *Gleanings*; it has been considered most advantageous to offer them as means towards a more perfect comprehension and an ampler valuing of the present correspondence, which is thus naturally enriched by some allusions to the way of living in Poland, as well as by some hints at the fate of the unfortunate Swedes who, in the terrible disaster of the old order, remained faithful to their Church and their Country.

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<sup>1)</sup> Cp. *HTL*, III, ix-x, iv, vi, 508; a list of indications as to where documents are found, explaining the DE and chronologic number, are given on p 3: they will help to find the references in *HTL*.

<sup>2)</sup> Cp. *HTL*, III, 18, 1.

<sup>3)</sup> Cp. further, p 238.

The letters of this correspondence were written and received when Belgium and Holland were united as the 'Netherlands' under Charles V: the term 'Netherlandish' is thus meant to apply as well to the present-day Netherlands as to Belgium.

The letters are placed here in an exact, chronologic order, and subdivided into formal groups: the first refer to the political situation: the following, to some chief personages addressed; after 1533, they are differentiated by the years and the places where Dantiscus was officiating.

The text of those letters has been partly exactly reproduced, and partly represented as fully and faithfully as possible by a synopsis, so as to provide, if not the entirety, at least the actual complete meaning of the original documents. Some of these letters occur in one or more copies besides the original, — which it is very easy to find out by means of the writing and the actual presentation of the letter. It saved in a few cases the original wording <sup>1)</sup>.

When quoted, the text of the letters reproduces what is found in the original; evident mistakes in the spelling have been corrected in *italics* <sup>2)</sup>, and apparently wrong words are changed, or altered into others (between brackets in *italics*). If one or more words or parts of words that seem anything but right, are replaced by others, the latter are indicated very clearly by [brackets] and by the use of *italics*. If words, or parts of words are missing on account of a hole in the paper, or of the accidental cutting off of the sides, they are suggested [between brackets], though not in *italics*; others, that are evidently wrong, have been put right <sup>3)</sup>.

Names are given regularly as they occur in the letters, although some persons are indicated by different forms: Ericksen as *Erius*, Saxocarlus, Sassenkerl; Barten, as Warten <sup>4)</sup>; Doria, as de Oria. An exception is one name that occurs mistakenly as Lotzer, Crotzer, Crutzer, &c, for Coczer or Koczer, Coxanus <sup>5)</sup>. The name *Iaderensis*, coupled to Vespasianus <sup>6)</sup>, seems to be meant for *Zaderensis*, *Zarensis*, of *Zara*, being connected with Nicolas Jurischitz <sup>7)</sup>, the defender of

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<sup>1)</sup> Thus the letter of de Weze to Dantiscus on his arrival in Spain: DE, 21: Upm, 154, 8 (here pp 24-25), dating from May 9, 1526, was copied as DE, 323: Olm, 151, 3-4 (p 44), but ascribed to May 9, 1536: yet it repeats the same facts, mutilating names, and insisting on the Spanish way of greeting ladies, which is enjoined by Dantiscus' hostess Ysope: it is evidently *one* letter, and its *bad copy*: in the latter, 1536 should be corrected into 1526.

<sup>2)</sup> Cp. for instance, pp 295, 296.

<sup>3)</sup> E. g., DE, 147: Upm, 154, 67: p 89, in which Campensis refers to Rescius as 'professor latinus'; also on p 177, the date '20 junii' is evidently meant for '2 junii'. — A word like 'Absentem', p 178, looks like a mistake for 'absente me'; on p 180, the last phrase is a puzzle.

<sup>4)</sup> Cp. p 317, and further, p 322: Wartenius, Παράκλησις: pp 281-82.

<sup>5)</sup> Cp. DE, 283, n 2: pp 207-08.

<sup>6)</sup> Cp. p 199.

<sup>7)</sup> Cp. CMH, III, 107; pp 157, 159, 165.



Güns, who had as step-brother Jerome de Zara <sup>1)</sup>. Further, only a few appellations of quite popular personages referred to, are the riddles of these letters, which, being mostly taken up by public events, hardly offer an occasion to resort to any assumption.

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It is, indeed, fortunate that the present correspondence was carried on for the larger part by persons who, by their state and occupation, had to take particular care of the date, and who even often noted on the letter they received, the day it reached them. It prevents all mistakes, besides ensuring a regular sequence of the various documents, and precluding any doubt about the chronology. Unfortunately that safety is not reached for another volume of this present collection, the *Cornelii Valerii ab Auwater Epistolæ et Carmina* <sup>2)</sup> : although the larger part of his life was devoted to zealous teaching in Louvain, his activity in some of the fifties is left in the dark.

At any rate, several events in the few mysterious years in Cornelius Valerius' career (*Auw.*, 20), surely suggest a journey, undertaken perhaps with one or more of his students, to Italy, the country which lovers of classic lore then longed to visit. That supposition is rendered the more acceptable as it offered him the occasion to be absolved of his irregularities to become a priest (*Auw.*, 357, 472, 505, 532-33). It would explain how, amongst his manuscript notes (*HTL*, III, x), there are a few pages with old funeral inscriptions, which he, partly, may have noted down there from the monuments, instead of transcribing them from descriptions made by others. Yet, the mention of epitaphs from Judea, Spain or Salina make it likely that he used texts, which, in the preceding century had been gathered by Poggio <sup>3)</sup> or Flavio Biondo <sup>4)</sup>, or, later on, by Mazocchi <sup>5)</sup> ; more probably even, about that very time by Peter Apianus and Bartholomew Amantius of Ingolstadt, to whom Raymund Fugger had entrusted the care of composing the *Corpus* of Greek and Latin Inscriptions which was finished in 1534 <sup>6)</sup>. It does not, however, cast any doubt on Valerius' having been in Italy, and, what particularly suggests an actual journey, is the fact, that he refers to Ulrich and George Fugger who had preceded in death their brother James, who died on December 30, 1525, and to the two inscriptions on the latter's tomb and those on Ulrich's (1510), and George's (1506), which are copied (*AuwColl.*, 15, r) : apparently Auwater took them down, as he heard about the brothers on his journey, passing through Augsburg <sup>7)</sup> — and added the old Roman epitaphs to them.

<sup>1)</sup> Cp. pp 186-87.

<sup>2)</sup> Louvain, 1957.

<sup>3)</sup> Poggio Bracciolini, 1380-1459 : Sandys, II, 38.

<sup>4)</sup> Flavio Biondo, 1388-1463 : Sandys, II, 41 ; Symonds, 220-21.

<sup>5)</sup> Jacopo Mazocchi published a collection of inscriptions in 1521 : Sandys, II, 121 ; Symonds, 429.

<sup>6)</sup> Cp. Sandys, II, 260.

<sup>7)</sup> *Auw.*, 357 ; A. Geiger, *Jacob Fugger* : Ratisbon, 1895 : 78-80.

Although three decads have passed since I took notes for this correspondence, I consider it my special duty to express my deep thanks to the kind Librarians and Archivists, who, from 1930 to 1932, allowed me to make full use of their treasures. Such were Dr G. WAHL, of Hamburg Library, and Dr A. GRAPE, of Uppsala Library, and especially Monsignor SANDER, the *Vicarius Capitularis* of Frauenburg, who even granted me a welcome access to the precious documents entrusted to his care, from the early morning hours to the late evenings of the long sunny summerdays. Similarly Dr M. KUKIEL gave me an exceptional occasion to make full use of a highly valuable hoard of deeds in the Museum Czartoryskich in Cracow, besides helping me for short visits to the Kornikiey Library, in Poznan, and the Ossolinskich Library, in Lłów, allowing me to gather the ample and unique information about our great Humanists <sup>1)</sup>).

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I consider it as a special favour to express my deepest gratitude to the most honoured Director of the *Fondation Universitaire*, Mr Jean WILLEMS, and the worthy Members, who most generously granted a magnificent subsidy to my work, — as well as to the most obliging Secretary, Mr Jean MASURE, who was so kind as to aid me by his ever ready extreme benevolence. Indeed I thankfully remind them that thirty and thirty-one years ago, they kindly granted me the necessary help which allowed me two long stays in Sweden, in East Germany and in Poland, where I was able to gather the wealth of information about our Belgian Humanists, of which I have made ample use ever since in the various elaborate studies, which they have assisted me most generously in publishing for the sake of science and erudition. What they have granted me now by this subsidy, is as the crown on the long series of their inestimable benefits! Hail, thrice Hail to the *Fondation Universitaire*!

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<sup>1)</sup> Cp. *MonHL*, xxvii.

I cannot close this preface without expressing my heart-felt thanks to my most devoted former secretary Miss CHARLOTTE SCHAEPMAN, who, for the first hundred pages of this book, contributed the assistance of her most careful reading of the proofs. The requirements of her proper career have since made that help as good as impossible. Still, for a work of thorough research like the present one, the most precious assistance is the means of identifying all the persons mentioned, and that has been made possible to me, thanks to the very many scrupulously exact indexes, which she built up for most of the books which I have in constant use ; they allow me to come forward with many reliable biographies and explanations, which are not only important towards the utility of the work, but are as the true means of its being built up. To the admirable care and attention she devoted to those indexes, is due to a large extent the very value of my publications.

Louvain, May 25, 1961.

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JOHN DANTISCUS  
AND HIS  
NETHERLANDISH FRIENDS  
AS REVEALED BY THEIR CORRESPONDENCE  
1522-1546

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INTRODUCTION

The original text of the letters analysed in this book was found, studied, and either summarized or copied, partly in 1930 in Uppsala Library, and partly in the following years, in the Frauenburg Archives, East Prussia, in the 'Muzeum Czartoryskich' at Cracow, and in the 'Biblioteke' of several other towns of the then independent Poland. They have been placed in chronological order, and their information has been abundantly made use of in the history of the *Trilingue* and in the studies on Louvain humanists <sup>1)</sup>. The years taken up by the preparing of those issues far exceeded all prevision; so, what with the mercilessly advancing age, and what with present day political circumstances, there does not appear to be an opportunity to follow out the original design of reproducing, thanks to a new visit to the originals, the exact wording of the various missives <sup>2)</sup>: the only possible way of executing the long cherished project of precise reproductions of all the texts and its repeated promise <sup>3)</sup>, now seems to have become just the editing of the notes taken twenty-five

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<sup>1)</sup> *History of the Collegium Trilingue Lovaniense, 1517-1550*: I-IV, 1951-55; *Cornelii Valerii ab Auwater Epistolæ et Carmina*: 1957; *Stephani Vinandi Pighii Epistolarum*: 1959.

<sup>2)</sup> The execution of that design appeared already as most precarious in 1951, as follows from the Preface to the third volume of the *History of the Trilingue*: HTL, III, ix.

<sup>3)</sup> Cp. DantE, in *MonHL*, 707; HTL, II, vi-vii, 170, n 2, III, ix-x, 17, n 4, IV, vi, 508, n 5.



years ago, enriched by whatever unintermitted study and research has been able to add to them. On account of the use made of the documents since 1934, the order of the references quoted has been adhered to, notwithstanding an exceptional mistake <sup>1)</sup>; of course those items are omitted here which do not imply in any way any connection of Dantiscus with the interests or the inhabitants of the Netherlands <sup>2)</sup>).

On that account all letters referring to Dantiscus' compatriots or foreigners, who remained full strangers to the Belgian and Dutch provinces have been left out, the more so as they would have led editor and readers to matters unknown and uninteresting to them. Still due attention is paid to all personages who became connected with these provinces, such as a Valdes and a de Weze, whom Charles V took into his service. Similarly notice has been taken of those foreigners, like Ph. Melanchthon, who highly interested Dantiscus and several of his Louvain friends, or those who, like Cochlæus and Witzel, by their writings and circumstances unmistakably appealed to their brethren in faith and belief on this side the Rhine. All of them were deeply concerned in the world-wise ambassador Dantiscus, and his numerous friends and acquaintances of the Netherlands : it made a mention and an appropriate treatment in this collection as a natural necessity. That even implied, to a certain extent at least, to the question which particularly vexed Dantiscus, who had lived so long the life of an ambassador without any idea of what the future kept in reserve for him : namely his connection with the Valladolid *hospita* and their child Juana, which caused great annoyance ten years afterwards, when he had become Bishop of Culm ; of course it did not directly concern the Netherlands : yet several of his friends, like de Schepper, became somehow involved in the affair, and lent a helping hand to solve difficulties ; besides, the Bishop's restless mind referred so often to it in his letters to his old friends that the

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<sup>1)</sup> Some of the original documents were dated long after they were written : it occasioned mistakes that were only found out after the order of those letters, which actually pointed them out, had been duly settled.

<sup>2)</sup> It explains how in the series of the documents referred to, many numbers have been left out.

question could not be dismissed without any ado. At any rate, all the documents of the correspondence that seemed instructive, if not quite indispensable, for the knowledge of the great man, have been carefully considered and either summarized or reproduced *in extenso* ; whereas, especially in the later years, all letters that lack any connection with the Great Bishop in his relations with our Provinces, have been simply omitted, though, as is already said, the numbers which had been given before they were left out here, have not been changed, since they have been used in studies to which they provided a large amount of most interesting particulars.

Those references indicated here by DE (= Dantiscus’ *Epistolæ*) have been carefully ascribed for each of the letters, and even for each of the various additional particulars to the large amount of documents : they are represented by a set of ‘sigla’, which give authority to all directions of DE by indicating the exact place where those documents are found. Here follows a list and the explanation of those sigla :

the sigla **Upm** — Uppsala manuscript, — with the number of the document 154 or 155, followed by a figure, indicate the page where the letter starts that is preserved in the ‘*Bibliotheca Upsalensi*’, in Sweden’s intellectual capital ;

the sigla **Fbm** followed by the number of the codex — 3, 4, 5, 6, 66, 67, 68, 70, 130, 131, — and that of the page, point out the documents in the Archives of Ermland Diocese, at Frauenburg, whereas **FCm**, 5, refers to a codex of the Chapter of that same place in East Prussia ;

the sigla **Ccm** with the number of one of the twenty-six volumes, and that of the page, indicate documents preserved in the Muzæum Czartoryskich at Cracow ; whereas **Knm** and **Olm**, with the number of the volume and of the page, refer to those documents which are available in the Kornick Library at Poznan, or in the ‘Institut Ossolinskiego’ at Lwow, or Lemberg.

It must not be forgotten that the description of the letters in this collection does not always aim at reproducing exactly the wording of the original texts : large parts of them merely

repeat some news from hearsay, — which was afterwards altered, if not quite contradicted; or refer to requests which are communicated as vaguely as possible, so as to avoid difficulties and complications, if they ever should fall into undue hands; in many cases even recourse is made to an alphabet in a secret cipher and to special tokens to indicate facts and even persons that are referred to, but who are not named otherwise. Evidently in such cases, the present collection reproduces as much as reasonably can be considered as reliable and interesting. At any rate, clear descriptions of political situations by far-sighted and thoroughly understanding men, like de Schepper and Valdes, are as carefully and completely reproduced as could be, and so are the announcements which might help to a distinct perception of all intellectual movements and erudite achievements. Thus the letters from correspondents like Goclenius and Gemma Frisius, like Campensis and Cantioncula, even like Cochläus and Wicelius, are reproduced as completely as they possibly could, since they constitute by far the most interesting part of this work.

To those documents provided by the correspondence of the great Polish ambassador and prelate, preserved in the various archives of East Germany, Poland and Sweden, have been added a few letters from different collections which were intimately connected with them. They are placed here according to their dates, and they comprise, besides missives like that of Christian II of Denmark to Cornelius de Schepper, several epistles exchanged between the latter and Queen Mary of Hungary or her secretary Nicolas Olah, when he thought that he might have helped to have the property restored to them, of which political events had deprived them. They also include letters to or from Dantiscus preserved in contemporary correspondence, like that of Erasmus, edited by the Allens, or that of Witzel, or Wicelius, by G. Richter.

## DANTISCUS AND HIS FIRST MISSIONS

The most reliable, and, at the same time, by far the richest, sources of information about the life and acts, opinions and thoughts, facts and aspirations of personages in the xvi<sup>th</sup> century, are the familiar letters in which the writers express in full veracity and in earnest sincerity their experiences as well as their views and judgment, — at least until to about 1575, when the sad example, given by Justus Lips especially, made them often be used for vain parade in the proud exposition of some recent find in their studies <sup>1)</sup>. It is indeed hardly possible to over-estimate the wealth of details which the early Humanists offered about their inmost selves and their pursuits, and which, in these last decads, have been gathered about men like Erasmus and Beatus Rhenanus, More and Vives, Masius and Cranevelt, and many others, since the publication and the study of the wonderfully suggestive documents illustrated the souls and minds, the thoughts and intentions of those remarkable erudites, exposed as they are in the veracity and the illimited confidence of their correspondence.

It is through the same method that this book is intended to bring full and adequate evidence, not only about the eminent and illustrious visitor of the Netherlands, John Dantiscus, ambassador of Poland, but about the large number of friends and acquaintances he made here : such as his first favourite Cornelius de Schepper, or Nicolas Grudius and Janus Secundus, or the erudite Louvain professors Goclenius and Campensis, Gemma Frisius and Rutger Rescius ; and all the great personages of the country : from Mary of Hungary and Nicolas de Granvelle to Count Henry of Nassau and the Duke of Aarschot, to John de Carondelet and to Maximilian of Egmont, to Francis van der Dilft, Mark Laurin and many others, with whom the Great Polish Statesman concluded a hearty, lasting and often most beneficial friendship.

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<sup>1)</sup> Cp. *HTL*, iv, 508.

John DANTISCUS, or *Gedanus*, was named after the town where he was born on November 1, 1485. He was the son of a very prosperous brewer, and went, at first, under the name of Flachs binder, *Linodesmon*, after his grandfather's trade, or that of von Höfen, *a Curiiis*, probably his 'nomen gentilicium'. He enjoyed his first instruction in his native Danzig, until, in 1500, he was sent to Cracow, and attended the lectures in the University, at least for a time, for, already in the beginning of 1501, he had entered the Court of King John-Albert, and even took part in the war against the Tartars and the Wallachs. On his return, he continued his studies, especially those on Latin versification by professor M. Paul Crosnensis, who had a great influence on him <sup>1)</sup>. By 1505, however, he left, and, travelling from one country into another, he reached Palestine and Egypt, coming home by Italy, after having seen many interesting regions and cities. By 1507 he had entered again the royal service, being highly appreciated for his acquaintance with many languages, in so far that the new King, Sigismund I, entrusted to him several missions in Prussia. Meanwhile the young courtier had composed a book of poetry, in which there were epitaphs on the royal secretary Valerian Drevecius <sup>2)</sup>; it was published in 1510, and was soon followed by *Epithalamia* on the King's marriage with Barbara Zapolya in 1512, and, in 1514, by a poem on his victory over the 'Moschi' <sup>3)</sup>. In 1515, he accompanied him to Vienna, where his master and the King of Hungary had a meeting with the Emperor. From there Dantiscus was sent three times to induce Venice to make peace with the Emperor, and as reward for his success, Maximilian I proclaimed him in 1516, *Doctor Vtriusque Juris*, also ennobling him, and granting him poetic laurels <sup>4)</sup>. No doubt as consequence <sup>5)</sup>, the King of Poland, who meanwhile had married Bona, the Duchess of Bari, sent the young poet, who spoke several tongues, to secure for the new

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<sup>1)</sup> *DantCar.*, 58-59.

<sup>2)</sup> *DantCar.*, ix.

<sup>3)</sup> *DantCar.*, x.

<sup>4)</sup> DE, 1 : Ccm, 1594, 323 : letter to Bishop Fabian von Lossainen, of Ermland : November 19, 1516.

<sup>5)</sup> DE, 2 : Ccm, 240, 178, by which the Emperor praises Dantiscus to his King (*no date*).

Queen, in the beginning of 1519, the possession of her patrimony : it was his first visit to Spain and its result seems to have been most favourable <sup>1</sup>).

On July 25, 1522, John Dantiscus was sent out again by King Sigismund of Poland as ambassador to Spain, with several messages besides that of the recognition of the Bari heritage <sup>2</sup>). He went this time by Germany to Belgium, and was well received by Margaret of Austria : by September 18, he wrote from the house of the Fuggers that he had reached Antwerp, where he arranged his further voyage. He makes a special mention of the fact that neither Luther, nor his books seem to be known generally in the Netherlands, although there were exceptions : thus there were just then an Augustine and also a priest to whom the choice was given either to abjure him or to be burned <sup>3</sup>). In that same letter, Dantiscus mentions the trouble he had had on his way from robbers before he reached Brabant with his six horses ; he also refers to some silly remarks which the King of Denmark, Christian II <sup>4</sup>), had made in Cologne about a saint's grave, and the reply which some mothers of fine girls had given him when he invited them to a feast at Utrecht. That letter from Antwerp was sent to Dantiscus' great friend and protector, the bishop of Posen, Peter Tomicki.

Peter TOMICKI, born in 1465, studied in his native Gniezno, in Leipzig and in Cracow ; he taught in Bologna and in Rome. Having promoted

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<sup>1</sup>) DE, 3 : Fbm, 3, 22 (March 28, 1519), from Chrysostom Szydlowiecki, Vice-Chancellor of Poland, Captain of Cracow ; DE, 4 : Upm, 154, 1 (Aug. 13, 1520), from Sigismund de Herberstain : *HTL*, II, 392. — The Duchy of Bari, in Southern Italy, had been bequeathed by Jane, Queen of Spain and Naples, to Isabella, Queen Bona's mother ; at the latter's death, her daughter wished to have that legacy approved of and secured to her by Charles King of Spain.

<sup>2</sup>) DE, 7 : Ccm, 262, 79.

<sup>3</sup>) DE, 8 : Ccm, 274, 29. — Measures had been taken in July 1522 against two Antwerp Augustines, Henry Vos and John van den Esschen on account of their favouring Luther : *Cran.*, 66 ; Allen, v, 1384, 2, viii, 2188, 58, sq ; Enders, iv, 184-86, 280, sq ; *AntvDiercx.*, III, 361-66 ; *BibRef-Ne.*, I, 594, II, 22, 395, viii, 1-114 : *CorpInq.*, iv, 136-56, 192, sq, v, 416 ; *Præp.*, 105, sq ; Köstlin, I, 641, sq.

<sup>4</sup>) Cp. *Cran.*, 54, a, b, 57, 2, 182, a ; *MarHon.*, 11, 43-49, 54, 60.

Doctor of Laws, he became King Sigismund's secretary, and in 1515, his vice-chancellor. He was nominated Bishop of Posen in 1520, and of Cracow in 1524, which placed him 'Primus post Regem' in the country. He was honoured by many dedications, such as the Seneca edition by Erasmus, 1529, who highly esteemed him, and whom, in return, Tomicki urged to accept the cardinalate in his last letter, four days before his death, October 29, 1535. Cardinal Hosius wrote his biography, and a monument was erected in Cracow Cathedral: *DantCar.*, 167-68; Allen, VII, 1919, *pr*; *Cracow*, 69, 119, 147, 164, 165.

From Antwerp Dantiscus journeyed to Calais, where he crossed, and went by Canterbury to London; he there saw the King and then sailed to Spain. Late in that same year 1522, he communicated to the Emperor his master's and the Queen's request about Bari and about the marriage conditions; he also referred to territories of Prussia taken in the last war, which belong to Poland, and imparted further news, to which replies were given at once <sup>1)</sup>).

In the spring of 1523, Dantiscus had returned to the Netherlands and was again welcomed by Margaret of Austria. He went to see Philip of Burgundy, Bishop of Utrecht <sup>2)</sup>), residing then at Souburg, Walcheren, as Geldenhouwer wrote on May 22 to Cranevelt <sup>3)</sup>), praising him as 'vir certe doctus et facundus'. He probably stayed for some time at Mechlin, where he saw the Archbishop of Palermo John de Carondelet, President of the Privy Council <sup>4)</sup>), to whom he communicated a request from the Bishop of Posen, and in whose secretary Remacle d'Ardenne, he not only found a friend, but even a *frater* on account of a similar interest as he had in Latin poetry.

Remacle d'ARDENNE, born about 1480 at Florennes, near Namur, studied in Louvain and afterwards tutored students in Paris and in Cologne, where he gave to John Dobneck, the theologian, his name Cochläus <sup>5)</sup>). He was greatly interested in poetry, and served several personages; one of whom, Alois Bont, took him to England, where he finished his drama *Palamedes*. After some time spent in France, he was appointed secretary to the Privy Council, Mechlin, in which quality

<sup>1)</sup> DE, 6 : Upm, 155, 187, *sq.*

<sup>2)</sup> *Cran.*, 10, *a-b.*

<sup>3)</sup> *Cran.*, 57, 6, *sq.*

<sup>4)</sup> *Cran.*, 56, *c.*

<sup>5)</sup> *CochlSpahn*, 11; he also was there a great friend of Ortwin Gratius: *Gratius*, 7, 22, 89; *CantE*, 31; *KAlgLu.*, 5, 9, 20; *KalMill.*, 20; *KalCCaj.*, 40, 79.

he took a share in the repression of heresy, which made him pleasing to Aleander, but caused him to be malevolently represented by William Nesen in the *Acta Academiæ Lovaniensis*. He had been a friend of Jerome de Busleyden, and had written some poetry which he offered to him, and which was duly appreciated : *Busl.*, 218-222. He died at Mechlin on May 13, 1524. Cp. *BibBelg.*, 791 ; Paquot, xi, 42-49 ; *Cran.*, lvii, 154, b, 217, 43 ; Allen, ii, 411, pr ; *HTL*, i, 6, 207, 220, 244, ii, 444, iv, 119 ; *KaGNie.*, i, 21, 32, 95, 112, ii, 20 ; Walther, 213 ; Muther, 109, 392.

On June 11, 1523, Remacle apparently had promised to come and see Dantiscus ; but being retained by an altercation between Prussians, Danes and citizens of Lübeck, who had applied to him, he excused his absence and promised to come and see him 'confecto prandio' <sup>1)</sup>.

In another letter Dantiscus related, on his return to Cracow, on August 8, 1523 to Bishop Tomicki that he had gone from Bergen to Mechlin to see Carondelet for a reply to their demand, which finally was given to him by the secretary Remacle <sup>2)</sup>.

In that same letter he relates to his friend Tomicki that, on his return journey, he passed by Wittenberg ; he there was received by Melanchthon, who procured him an interview with Luther : 'qui non Romæ Pontificem, et Vitembergæ Lutherum vidisset, vulgo nil vidisse crederetur', he wrote to his friend. The judgment which he gathered after four hours of talking and drinking, was far from favourable ; he found that Luther was 'simillimum Regi Danico [Christian II] in moribus et aspectu' <sup>3)</sup>. Vitæ sanctimonia, quæ de illo apud nos per multos prædicata est, nil a nobis aliis differt. Inveni virum acutum, doctum, facundum, sed citra maledicentiam, arrogantiam et livorem in Pontificem, Cæsarem et quosdam alios Principes, nil proferentem. Habet vultum quales libros edit, oculos acres, et quiddam terrificum micantes' <sup>4)</sup>. He moreover mentioned that if he should describe all, the day would not be long enough, and he adds that, on his way, he

<sup>1)</sup> DE, 135 : Ccm, 1599, 1173.

<sup>2)</sup> DE, 9 : Upm, 155, 191.

<sup>3)</sup> Prowe, i, ii, 162-64 ; *Melanch.*, 175, 357 ; *MelaVers.*, 9-13, 18, sq, 31, 78 ; Cartwright, 152.

<sup>4)</sup> In the *Acta Tomiciana*, vi, 299, n 265, is even added : Dantiscus affirmans eum esse dæmoniacum : *AdriHöf.*, 320.



had often heard country people pronounce invectives and imprecations against Luther, to whom were ascribed even the disastrously superabundant rains and storms of those days <sup>1</sup>).

The friendship which Dantiscus concluded about that time with Melanchthon, to which the just mentioned letter refers, gave great pleasure to a countryman of his, Justus Ludovicus Decius, a serious and most industrious man, entrusted with the supervision of the Duchy of Bari, who wrote to him to express his satisfaction about it on November 10, 1523 <sup>2</sup>).

Justus Lewis DECIVS, DIETZ, as he called himself occasionally, was born about 1485 at Weissenburg, in Alsatia. He had migrated to Moravia by 1499, so as to learn mining. After having worked some years for John Boner, of Landau, he was taken into King Sigismund's service for the administration of the salt mines, and was even sent on various missions, especially to Italy, until by May 1520, he was appointed royal secretary and administrator of the Duchy of Bari. He was a partner of a Cracow printer, and wrote, or subsidized, many books, such as *De Sigismundi Regis Temporibus*, 1521. By 1525, he retired on an estate of his, near Cracow, and studied : he encouraged some of Erasmus' writings, such as that on the *Pater Noster*, in so far that he made the Great Humanist become his special friend and regular correspondent : he sent him presents, and, from 1532, even gave him a yearly pension. He died on December 26, 1545. Cp. Allen, v, 1393, *pr* ; FG, 336-37 ; *HTL*, III, 196 ; *MonHL*, 51 ; *Auw.*, 104 ; *DantCar.*, 132-33 ; *Cracow*, 120, 192.

The news that Dantiscus had made friends with Melanchthon greatly pleased Decius, who sincerely wished to help that remarkable erudite out of Luther's tragedy ; he had heard of that visit through Mosellanus, to whom he expressed his thanks, as well as to Philip himself. This is the first of the several efforts made by a few prominent men on the Roman side to take Melanchthon away from Luther's party, whose wild and haughty obstinacy strangely contrasted with his attractive and seemingly conciliatory condescension, even towards his contradictors <sup>3</sup>). The fact that there had been

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<sup>1</sup>) Cp. Hipler, *Kopernikus und Luther* : Braunsberg, 1868 : 72-3 ; Köstlin, I, 535, 597 ; Janssen, II, 179, 220 ; *AdriHöf.*, 320 ; Denifle, I, 813-814 ; Grisar, II, 602, 674 ; *Melanch.*, 175 ; Tschackert, II, I, 32.

<sup>2</sup>) DE, 5 : Fbm, 3, 6.

<sup>3</sup>) Enders, III, 436 (letter of Luther to Spalatin, July 26, 1522), VII, 64.

already several disagreements, gave some hope to separate the great erudite from the disturber of religious peace in Germany. One more item in Decius' letter of November 10 is the sad news of the death of Pope Adrian VI.

ADRIAN FLORISZ, born at Utrecht on March 1, 1459, studied in Louvain, where, by 1490, he was appointed professor of divinity and was so excellent that Duchess Margaret of York paid for his doctorate in 1491, and that he was appointed Dean of St. Peter's in 1497, thus becoming Vice-Chancellor of the University. He attracted foreign erudites, like Hermolaus Barbarus, to Louvain, and was appointed preceptor of Prince Charles by 1510. He later on saved for him the Spanish realm, as is explained in *Busl.*, 316-17, and ruled that country, whereas, all the time, his former Louvain colleagues appealed to him on all important occasions, such as the trouble in 1520 with Erasmus, and with the *Trilingue*, when he spoke out the admirable verdict : *Bonas Literas non damno : Hæreses et Schismata damno* : *HTL*, I, 526 ; *Allen*, ix, 2466, 64-67. His accession to the Roman See caused an actual cleaning in the Vatican, as well as a complete reversal of its Policy, as results from his address of 1522 to the German Princes <sup>1)</sup>, in so far that his regency was highly praised by Popes like Pius IV, Pius V and Gregory XIII. Meanwhile the crowd that had fattened in Rome on the easy-going and expensive Court life of an Alexander VI, a Jules II, and a Leo X, loudly expressed the highest discontent. Unfortunately, although Adrian VI started the new, the only, way of ruling Christianity, political events, like the fall of Rhodes and also the subsequent danger of a Turkish aggression, so much the greater since France was up in arms against Austria, influenced the life of the saintly, self-sacrificing Shepherd, who was taken away from his flock after twenty months. Cp. *HTL*, I, 302, 525-26; *Walther*, 58, 87, 101, 149; *Busl.*, 312-18, &c; *Creighton*, 87, 99.

A few weeks before, on October 4, Decius had referred once more to the death of Adrian VI, and to the great disturbance in Italy, where the French now were entering; he also mentioned that — probably as a reaction of the disappointed elements, — the next Pope to be elected by the Conclave, would be a *de' Medici*. He even announces that the Queen is highly pleased with Dantiscus' most beneficent interference in the Bari question <sup>2)</sup>.

<sup>1)</sup> E. L. Taunton, *Thomas Wolsey* : London 1902 : 7.

<sup>2)</sup> DE, 10 : Fbm, 3, 5 ; cp. Cartwright, 453.

## DANTISCUS' RETURN TO SPAIN

Dantiscus was not long left unemployed in his native country : in 1524 he was sent again to Spain, as he mentions in his *Vita* and in some of his other poems <sup>1</sup>). He journeyed by Italy, where, on August 9, 1524, Archbishop Francis Marsupinus communicated to him a letter from Lewis Aliphius, Polish orator with the King of Naples, which indicated what he had to do at the Emperor's Court <sup>2</sup>). On September 21, 1524, Mercurino de Gattinara expressed him his regret not to have the means to supply him on his arrival at Valladolid with a better *hospitium*, and not to be able to arrange yet an interview at once with the Emperor, who was just suffering <sup>3</sup>).

Mercurino Arborio was born on June 10, 1465 at GATTINARA, which gave him his name. He was one of a numerous family, whose father died long before his time; it made him marry a rich orphan in 1490, and study law at Turin, thanks to her fortune. He became Duke Philibert of Savoy's confidant, and, having gained a lawsuit for his widow, Margaret of Austria, he was appointed as her minister, when she was entrusted with the regency of the Netherlands. In June 1518, he succeeded John le Sauvage as 'Chancellor of Castile', and was Charles V's great and wise adviser. Melanchthon praised him for his calm moderation and his belief in the effect of a Council <sup>4</sup>). Having lost his wife, he was created Cardinal on August 13, 1529, and he died whilst still busy at his work at Innsbruck on June 5, 1530. His autobiography was edited by C. Bornate, in *Misc. di Storia Italiana*, 1915, xvii, 231-585. He had been connected, not only with colleagues in the Emperor's service, like Transsylvanus, Lallemand and Valdes, but with most of the great men of his time, like Dantiscus (*ZGE*, v, 429), Cranevelt (*Cran.*, 86, a, 249, b, &c), de Schepper (*FG*, 146, 4-5) and many others. Cp. Bergh, i, 104; Pastor, v, i, 292, *sq.*, ii, 115, 125, 207, 242, 319; *SaxOnom.*, 78; *FG*, 357; Henne, i, 134, 201, ii, 304, 346, 362, iv, 91, &c; *KaWorEd.*, 24, *sq.*, &c; *KAlgL.*, 24, *sq.*, 88, 91; *KaGNie.*, i, 16, *sq.*; *EraCab.*, 48-51; Allen, iv, 1150, *pr.*; *Cran.*, 141, i, 142, a-d, and references quoted; Seck., ii, 108, b, 133, b; *DelPoBel.*, ii, 631; Wauters, i, 42, *sq.*

<sup>1</sup>) *DantCar.*, 297 : *Carmen XLIX*, 52 : *Missus in Hispania ter regione fui (viz., 1519, 1522 & 1524)*; 175 : *Carmen XLII*, 2, 165 : *Sum ter ad Hesperiam procul allegatus utramque*; 140 : *Carmen xxxv*, 1 : 7, *sq.* Cp. *EraCab.*, 51.

<sup>2</sup>) *DE*, 11 : *Upm*, 151, 2.

<sup>3</sup>) *DE*, 12 : *Upm*, 151, 3.

<sup>4</sup>) *Seck.*, ii, 157, b, and 143, a.

To Gattinara's letter Dantiscus replied a few days later, mentioning what he was desired to do and what to declare in the Bari question, and, at the same time, he offered to the Chancellor some furs as a present. Gattinara answered that the Will of the Duchess of Bari had not been confirmed yet, and he adds his thanks about the furs : still he could not accept them, unless permission should be granted ; he consequently suggests that leave should be requested from the Emperor either by Dantiscus, or through John Allemand or the Count of Nassau <sup>1</sup>).

On October 10, 1524, Gattinara announced that the Emperor expected Dantiscus on the 13<sup>th</sup>, and advised him to come with two or three horses, leaving Valladolid at 5 a. m., so as to reach Tordesillas, — 30 kms. S. W. of Valladolid — about 10 a. m. ; they would then go together and see His Majesty between the Mass and his *prandium*, after which he is usually indisposed ; it would allow Dantiscus to return the same day <sup>2</sup>). On November 2 and 3, Gattinara sent back the request of the King and Queen of Poland about Bari with a reply at foot, and the promise of copies of the letters of investiture and other documents, which the secretary Petrus Garcias would make ready and, if necessary, forward <sup>3</sup>). Probably on those occasions Dantiscus made the acquaintance of Count Henry of Nassau, who on October 17 sent him word about his recent journeys and doings <sup>4</sup>).

Henry, or Francis-Henry, III, of NASSAU, born at Siegen in 1483, was the son of Count John V, and of Elizabeth of Hessen-Catzenellebogen ; already at Charles of Austria's baptism, when he carried the candle, he had entered his father the Archduke's service, as he later on did that of Margaret of Austria. He was Lord of Vianden, Breda, Diest and other places, and he became one of the most influential councillors <sup>5</sup>).

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<sup>1</sup>) DE, 17 : [end of Sept. 1524] Upm, 154, 4 ; Allemand and Nassau are mentioned in further letters.

<sup>2</sup>) DE, 13 : Upm, 154, 5.

<sup>3</sup>) DE, 15, 16 : Upm, 154, 6, 7.

<sup>4</sup>) DE, 14 : Ccm, 1637, 521.

<sup>5</sup>) Walther, 63, sq, 95, 97, 149-51 ; Moeller, 62, 161, 260 ; Bergh, 1, 91 and passim, also 11 ; *MarHon.*, 52, 63, 67 ; *KAlgLu.*, 59, 91 ; *KaGNie.*, 1, 95, 11, 30, 37 ; Cartwright, 66, 142, 174 ; Seck., 1, 124, a, 142, b, 11, 133, b, 193, a, 111, 15, b, 201, a.

He was one of the best army leaders <sup>1)</sup> and he started the hostilities against France where he had been ambassador in 1515; against that country he shared the animosity of Chièvres, whom he succeeded as High Chamberlain <sup>2)</sup>. By 1522, he had followed Charles V to Spain, and as he had lost his first wife, Frances of Savoy, in 1511 <sup>3)</sup> and his second, Claudia of Chalons, — who brought to his family the Princedom of Orange <sup>4)</sup>, — in 1521, he married Doña Menzia de Mendoza, Marchioness of Zenete, on June 30, 1524 <sup>5)</sup>; she came with him to Breda where he had a fine castle built in 1532. She there had some lessons in Greek from Vives <sup>6)</sup>, who, at Breda, composed his famous *Exercitationes Linguae Latinae*, 1538 <sup>7)</sup>. That year was fatal to Count Henry of Nassau: having given a splendid reception to Queen Mary of Hungary in his castle, he died there a few days later, on September 14, 1538 <sup>8)</sup>.

## CORNELIUS DE SCHEPPER AND CHRISTIAN II

A few months before Dantiscus returned to Spain, the King of Denmark Christian II, on account of apparently unsurmountable difficulties with his Nobility and his Clergy, saw himself compelled to leave the country with his family and his treasures. He naturally thought of removing, at least for a time, to the Netherlands, and to appeal to his brother-in-law, the Emperor. On that account he sent his Chancellor Godschalk

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<sup>1)</sup> Henne, II, 349, 375, &c, III, 251, IV, 10, VII, 303-4; Pirenne, III, 83, 90, &c, 193, 315, &c; KaWorEd., 32, 87; KaGNie., II, 62; Walther, 211.

<sup>2)</sup> Henne, II, 349.

<sup>3)</sup> *Gran.*, 114, 80.

<sup>4)</sup> She was the daughter of Philibert, Prince of Orange.

<sup>5)</sup> *MonHL*, 430; *HTL*, III, 24, 43, 101-2, 461. — As Nassau is mentioned as known and writing to Dantiscus on October 17, 1524, he can hardly be identical with the Prince who, along with ten gentlemen, was taken prisoner by the French, whom he had mistaken for friends, near Villafranca, and who should have been set free in March 1525 on Margaret of Austria's request: *Gran.*, 114, 80, *sq*; Brewer, IV, 511, 574, 578, 589, 780, 1165.

<sup>6)</sup> Vives seems to have known her at Valencia and described her as most promising in his *De Institutione Fœminæ Christianæ*, 1523: VOO, IV, 83.

<sup>7)</sup> Bonilla, 244; *VioVita*, 20-23, 40, *sq*, 171, 211, *sq*, 216-19; *VioVal.*, 77-78, 100-01; *OlaCar.*, 21. — After Henry's death she married the Duke of Calabria, and Nannius dedicated to her his *Dialogismi Heroinarum*: Louvain, 1541: *MonHL*, 430; Polet, 268-69; *HTL*, III, 101.

<sup>8)</sup> Moëller, 106; Henne, I, 25, &c, VII, 303-04; Bonilla, 244-45; *Busl.*, 32; Cartwright, 66, 142, 174.

Ericksen to the Court of Margaret of Austria at Mechlin in February 1523, to look out for advice, and to prepare all for his master's advent. He found a most appropriate auxiliary in the clever and far-seeing young jurisprudent Cornelius de Schepper, who, at once, took in hand the justification of Christian II by some pamphlets which, judging by the opposition they provoked amongst the adversaries, were quite to the point. It was only natural that, when Christian II landed at Souburg on the last day of April and the first of May 1523, with his family and his court, he fully availed himself of the able services of de Schepper to help him in his appeal to Margaret of Austria and to his own nearest relatives. He consequently soon appointed the clever and active jurisprudent found by Ericksen as his Vice-Chancellor, and sent him on a mission to the Emperor in Spain, entrusting him, on his way thither, with urgent requests of help to Henry VIII.

Godschalk ERICKSEN, Ericii, Sassenkerle, originary from Schleswig, was Christian II of Denmark's discreet and trusty Chancellor. He had visited Bruges before, and made John de Fevyn's acquaintance by 1517; he preceded his master in February 1523; when the other personalities that had accompanied Christian II left, Ericksen remained. Even when the King decided trying his chance in Norway in 1531, Ericksen had started teaching his son, Prince John, a few months before the poor boy died. When Christian II became a lifelong prisoner at Knud Gyldenstjerne's treachery in July 1532, Ericksen entered Charles V's service, following him to Spain in 1533. He was subsequently sent on missions to Bavaria, 1533, to Cologne, Treves and Münster in 1535, and to the Hansa Towns in 1535. In the next years he is recorded amongst the administrators of the army, and was even sent to levy a corps of lansquenets in Germany, at the head of whom he preceded the Emperor into Ghent in February 1540. Having fallen from his horse at Valenciennes, he became ill and died on September 28, 1544 <sup>1)</sup>).

Cornelius de SCHEPPER was also called de DOBBELE, DUPLICIUS, which seems to have been the name of the family before the valour of his grandfather, John, Vice-Admiral of Flanders, caused the adding of the honorific title de Schepper, viz., Navigator. He was born at Nieuport in 1503, and educated by an uncle who was parish-priest at Ekelsbeke, near Cassel, until he went to Paris University where he studied under Gerard Roussel <sup>2)</sup>), and made the acquaintance of Michel d'Arande and

<sup>1)</sup> *Cran.*, 67, b; *Lanz*, 110-17; *HTL*, II, 166, 446, III, 22, 246, 282-83, &c.

<sup>2)</sup> *Renaudet*, 416; *Lefranc*, 97, 135, &c.

of William Farel <sup>1)</sup>. He afterwards went to Louvain, matriculating on December 3, 1522 <sup>2)</sup>, and he applied himself to languages in the *Trilingue* where he started a lifelong friendship with Goclenius <sup>3)</sup>; he also applied himself to philosophy and to jurisprudence, as well as to mathematics, in which science he soon gained a renown <sup>4)</sup> through his *Assertiones Fidei adversus Astrologos, sive de Significatione Coniunctionum Superiorum Planetarum anni M. D. xxiv Ll VI*, dedicated to Cardinal Erard de la Marck <sup>5)</sup>. That book, or the author's growing fame, brought him to the acquaintance of Godschalk Ericksen, Chancellor of King Christian II of Denmark, who had come to Mechlin on February 20, 1523 <sup>6)</sup>, whereas his master, with his family and his treasures, having fled from Copenhagen, arrived at Souburg in Zeeland, on April 30-May 1, 1523 <sup>7)</sup>. Meanwhile de Schepper had entered Ericksen's service, through whom he became fully instructed in the story of the Danish King, who had married Isabella, Charles of Austria's sister <sup>8)</sup>, and had afterwards visited the Emperor in 1521, when, on July 27, Cranevelt had welcomed him to a meeting with Wolsey <sup>9)</sup>. On account of his marked favour bestowed almost exclusively on low people and peasantry, he had roused against him the nobility and the clergy <sup>10)</sup>, who were backed by Lübeck, the secular enemy. Christian had many vices and unrestrained passions <sup>11)</sup>, such as the cruel revengefulness that, a few days after his coronation as King of Sweden, November 4, 1520, had led at Stockholm to the atrocious slaughter of all those who had ever opposed his ascending that throne <sup>12)</sup>. Yet with all his defects, he had also qualities: he actually wanted the welfare of his people, as follows from his efforts to introduce a general and sound instruction, from his organizing right justice, and from doing all he could to extirpate evil habits, for example, the iniquitous buying and selling through the want of a regular set of weights and measures, and the inhumane custom of appropriating all wrecks and vessels breaking down on Jutland's

<sup>1)</sup> Renaudet, 702; Herminjard, I, 205.

<sup>2)</sup> *Excerpts*, 103: 'Cornelius sceppere de nouo portu morinensis dioc.'

<sup>3)</sup> *HTL*, II, 166, sq; *OlaE*, 444, 486, 510.

<sup>4)</sup> *BibRefNe.*, I, 589; *Cran.*, 67, 24.

<sup>5)</sup> Antwerp, Byrckmannus, 1523: cp. *AltRel.*, 138, sq.

<sup>6)</sup> Brewer, III, 2846.

<sup>7)</sup> *Cran.*, 54, 1-20, 55, 53, 57, 2, 58, 11; *AltRel.*, 103, sq.

<sup>8)</sup> Cartwright, 13, sq.

<sup>9)</sup> *GeldColl.*, 120-21; *Cran.*, li, lxxiii, 11, 4.

<sup>10)</sup> On his accession Christian II had been obliged by those two bodies to accept their right to destitute the King if ever he acted against the constitution: *AltRel.*, 47.

<sup>11)</sup> He is known for his strange trust in the famous Sigebrit Willems, and his scandalous connection with her daughter Dyveke, until her decease in 1517: *RenDanm.*, 15-17, also 11-15, 87, 89, 92; Bergh, II, 135; *AltRel.*, 47, sq, 53, 58, sq, &c; Cartwright, 18, sq, 24, 38.

<sup>12)</sup> *DanHist.*, I, 269-71; *HTL*, II, 21.

merciless coast <sup>1)</sup>. Still the opposition became too strong : the nobility and the clergy having mastered, with Lübeck's help, Jutland and some of the islands, offered the crown to the King's uncle Frederic of Holstein ; it caused the flight of Christian to the Netherlands, where the bitter accusations of his enemies followed him. To answer those, de Schepper, who had accompanied King Christian to Wittenberg in October-November 1523 <sup>2)</sup>, wrote and issued *Christierni... Daniæ regis ad emissos contra se Lubecensium articulos quibus suscepti adversus eum belli rationem prescribunt... responsio*, and published it with a letter sent by Christian to his brother-in-law Charles V from Berlin, February 1524. It was soon followed by a second pamphlet : *Christierni regis ad duas epistolas quibus rationem belli adversus illum suscepti D. Frid. Holsatiæ dux, illius patruus, reddere conatur... responsio &c.* <sup>3)</sup>, with a letter of Christian from Aldenburg, April 10, 1524 : they were sent to Pope Clement VII, to the Emperor, and to the Kings of England and France. The very appropriate and strictly juridical arguments in favour of the exiled Christian, attest the sharp insight and the admirable judiciousness of de Schepper, who thus proved that the public life at least of his master was beneficent in many ways, and his right to the crown above all doubt <sup>4)</sup> : it led to his appointment as Vice-Chancellor. In that quality he was sent on October 28, 1524 to Henry VIII and Wolsey, so as to obtain their help <sup>5)</sup>, and from England he sailed to Spain, where he reached Madrid on December 13, 1524 to secure Charles' actual intervention.

It was during that first visit to the Emperor that de Schepper made Dantiscus' acquaintance, as results from the letter which, on his return voyage from Spain, he wrote from Plymouth : DE, 18 <sup>6)</sup>, on July 6, 1525 ; he announced that he had sent word leaving Spain from 'Loredó', viz., Laredo, a port in Asturia <sup>7)</sup>, through Jerome of Viromando, secretary

<sup>1)</sup> *DanHist.*, I, 267, 275-84 ; *GeldColl.*, vii, xxxiv, 1, 10, 14, 34, 68, 105, 108-9, 115-17, 120-21, 127, 234 ; *Geldenh.*, 17, 23, 41 ; *KaGNie.*, I, 49, II, 8, 13, 15, 24.

<sup>2)</sup> Köstlin, I, 634, 660, 762 ; Enders, vii, 387, viii, 2, 24 ; Cartwright, 41 ; — Christian offered a golden ring to Catherine de Bora in October 1523, who in 1525 married Luther : *Cran.*, 169, 5 ; *Bora*, 53, sq.

<sup>3)</sup> In Seck., I, 266, a, the *Apologia* is praised as written by a 'vir non indoctus nec immodestus' ; only the end is criticized as it says that the King consoles himself by the fact that God chastises his friends ; yet he soon after complains of being a derelict, and everybody's burden or laughing-stock.

<sup>4)</sup> *SchepRech.*, 17-22 ; *AltRel.*, 139, sq, 147, &c.

<sup>5)</sup> Brewer, iv, 777.

<sup>6)</sup> DE, 18 : Fbm, 3, 8-9.

<sup>7)</sup> A few miles E. from Santander.



to Dr. Wingfield, the King of England's ambassador <sup>1)</sup>, as well as a missive from 'Bilbaldo Cantabrorum' <sup>2)</sup>, offering protestations of friendship. He sailed first to 'Fowick', — Cornubia, Cornwall <sup>3)</sup>; then to 'Pleumodia', — no doubt Plymouth, — where he heard James Horswold (Horswolki), who highly praised Dantiscus, as several others did. Schepperus will see that Dantiscus' kindness to his King — Christian II — will not be forgotten, though 'fortunæ minorem quam virtutis rationem habuisse [appareat]' (Fbm, 3, 8).

Meanwhile Christian's Queen led, in dreadful penury, a sad life at Lier, as can be judged from the fact that her husband's ruthless behaviour towards her servants caused the exile of her confessor <sup>4)</sup>: her chief woman-servant was beaten, and her footman even put to death. Margaret of Austria thought of requesting Goclenius to tutor the royal children <sup>5)</sup>, when the poor Queen became ill. Her friend, the Abbot of St. Peter's, Ghent, had her transferred to his country-house at Zwynaerde. On his return to the Netherlands, de Schepper found her in a despairing state; he devoted all his time and efforts to help her; he consoled her, along with the Zwynaerde parish-priest Thomas Blanckaert, but could not prevent her sad and highly untimely death on January 19, 1526. She was buried with royal pomp in St. Peter's Abbey on February 4, 1526, and de Schepper's funeral poem was placed on her tomb <sup>6)</sup>. Her decease made a deep impression on the whole nation <sup>7)</sup>. In gratitude for the trusty aid offered <sup>8)</sup>, King Christian II confirmed the nobility of his Vice-Chancellor, and introduced some changes in the coat of arms of his family on January 28, 1526 <sup>9)</sup>.

<sup>1)</sup> Probably Sir Anthony Wingfield (1485-1552), who served in France from 1523.

<sup>2)</sup> Viz. Bilbao.

<sup>3)</sup> Fowey, a port of Cornwall on the river of that name, W. of Plymouth.

<sup>4)</sup> Cp. *AltRel.*, 492.

<sup>5)</sup> *HTL*, II, 245, III, 242; Cartwright, 44, 46, 85, 91; *LanzCorr.*, I, 145; *AltRel.*, 106, 112-21.

<sup>6)</sup> *AltRel.*, 158-166; Cartwright, 46, sq; *GeldColl.*, 234; *Geldenh.*, 23, 41, 65; *Eratlab.*, 56; Enders, v, 313-17; *Cran.*, 249, a; *FlandIll.*, I, 393; *HTL*, II, 166, sq.

<sup>7)</sup> Songs were made on her untimely decease: O radt van avontueren: cp. C. van der Graft. *Middelnederlandsche Historie Liederen*: 1904: 155, sq.

<sup>8)</sup> Cp. *SchepMiss.*, 29; *SchepRech.*, 22-25; *HTL*, II, 166-67, III, 242, 557; Allen, VI, 1765, 22; *Cran.*, 182, a.

<sup>9)</sup> The text is that of a copy in *SchepDoc.*, ff 3-4.

Christiernus Dei Gratia Daniae, Swetiae, Norwegiae,  
Gothorum, Slauorum Vuandalorumque Rex, Dux Slesuici,  
Holsatiae, Stormariae &c et Ditmertiæ, Comes in Oldenbourgh  
et Delmhorst, honorabili fideli nobis syncere dilecto Cornelio  
5 Duplicio Scheppero, consiliario et vicecancellario nostro  
salutem et nostri amoris affectum.

Faciunt jngentia merita tua erga nos et charissimam  
quondam coniugem nostram D : Jsabellam &c exhibita, vt  
nunquam satis existimemus nos tibi honorum et beneficij  
10 impendere : quoties enim consideramus quanto ardore,  
animi studio, diligentia et industria, quantis item laboribus,  
periculis, discriminibus functus es in obeundis negotiis  
nostris, iisdemque ad bonum foelicemque finem, quantum  
in te fuit, perducendis, partim apud Sacram Cesaream  
15 Maiestatem Dominum fratrem, sororium et confederatum  
nostrum charissimum, Jtemque Jll<sup>mm</sup> Angliæ Regem,  
atque alios promiscue Principes, profecto toties nobis in  
animo est testatam apud te relinquere gratitudinem nostram  
ostendereque te quicquid seruitij, obsequijque, quicquid  
20 item laboris, studij et diligentiae in causam nostri impen-  
deris non in ingratum Principem contulisse, probe cognos-  
centes nihil magis regium esse quam de his bene mereri  
qui virtute sua effecerunt vt de se optime quis mereri  
possit et debeat.

25 Proinde quoniam hac tempestate tibi a nobis abeundum  
sit, inseruiendumque Sacrae Cesareae Maiestati, cui haud  
dubie gratissimum futurum est officium tuum, ne ita a  
nobis discessisse videare, quasi nihil maius meritis fuisses,  
quam vulgus familiare nostrorum; vtque hoc Eulogium  
30 gratitudinis tecum circumferre posses, et quasi arrabonem  
quendam virtutum tuarum ostendere : matura habita et  
consiliariorum nostrorum deliberatione et consilio, requi-  
rentibus meritis tuis, statuimus re ipsa demonstrare et te  
nobis fidum et beneuolum fuisse, et nos quoque dignos  
35 quibus a probis honestisque viris qualis tu es, et hactenus  
semper fuisti et fuisse cognitus es inseruiatur.

Itaque quoniam certi facti essemus, maiores tuos fideliter  
probeque Principibus suis Flandris Comitibus inseruiisse,  
neque obscuras res domi militiaeque gessisse et precipue  
40 Auum tuum paternum Johannem Duplicium, cui rei militiae

naualis peritia, et res præclare gestæ Scheppero agnomen-  
 tum fecere, obque eas aliasque virtutes magni habitum  
 fuisse apud Illustrem et Generosum Principem Dominum  
 Philippum quondam Ducem Burgundiæ Comitemque  
 45 Flandriæ, maiores item tuos bono honestoque et non  
 ignobili loco natos procreatosque esse, teque ex his legitime  
 procedentem, auitum decus non æquare modo virtutibus,  
 sed et vincere et longe post te relinquere, non existimamus  
 opus esse ut per nos rursus nobilitareris, qui mos Regum  
 50 est erga benemeritos, quoniam beneficium hoc impendi  
 soleat his qui primam nobilitatem in domum suam  
 traducunt. Tu autem eandem per manus a maioribus tuis  
 acceperis et acceptam etiam hactenus illustraris, et adhuc  
 haud dubie illustraturus sis, sed alio beneficij genere  
 55 statuimus remunerandum.

Itaque habita procerum et consiliariorum nostrorum  
 sententia, ex certa nostra voluntate, iudicio et scientia tibi  
 ordinauimus, dedimus et concessimus, prout vigore  
 præsentium ordinamus, damus et concedimus, ex nostra  
 60 potestate Regia, tertiam partem armorum et insigniorum  
 regni nostri Daniæ, scilicet Leopardum coloris asuli tribus  
 cordibus rubris in campo aureo interdistinctum, Galeam  
 item torneamentalem siue apertam circumquaque eandem  
 sertum, ex cardinis pungentibus rosis interdistinctum, ad  
 65 inditium laborum et penarum quas pro nobis passus es et  
 exantlasti, lacinijs circumpendentibus ex auro asulo et  
 rubro, et in summitate illius inter binas alas strutionum,  
 equitem marinum galea aperta, altera manu vexillum, altera  
 strictum ensem tenentem : quem etiam in auitis armis tuis  
 70 te habere intelleximus, vti in hac charta pictoris manu  
 affabre elaborata cernere potes : — potestatem tibi dantes  
 prædicta insignia assumendi, ostendendi, sculpendum  
 curandi in omnibus annulis, signetis, domibus, fabricis,  
 sepulchris, libris aliisque omnibus locis ; item portandi in  
 75 omnibus torneamentis, hastiludiis, bellis et exercitiis aliis  
 nobilium virorum, vt tua vera, propria et legitima et non  
 aliter quam si eadem a maioribus tuis, a quarta generatione  
 acceperis. Item liberum facimus præfata insignia acceptis  
 a maioribus tuis adiungere, quæ esse intelleximus tignum  
 80 transuersum aureum, quod vulgo cheueron vocant, in

campo asuli, superius duobus cornibus aureis, inferius concha argentea rubro interdistincta circumceptum, idque siue diuisim, siue coniunctim, quemadmodum tibi magis ex re, et honestum videbitur.

85 Ad quorum omnium maiorem fidem, vtque intelligas te nobis adhuc curæ esse, sperantes omnem fidelitatem, seruitium et honorem exinde nobis aduenturum, ordinauimus, fecimus et creauimus prout harum robore ordinamus, facimus et creamus te, Cornelium Duplicium Schepperum,  
90 in perpetuum nostrum et liberorum nostrorum consiliarium, ita quod vbicumque futurus sis, hoc titulo consiliarij nostri et liberorum nostrorum, jtem omnibus et singulis priuilegiis, immunitatibus, libertatibus exemptionibus et honoribus  
95 nostrorum nobiles et consiliarij quouis modo vtuntur, fruuntur et gaudent, siue iure siue consuetudine, non obstante abalienatione, secessu et elongatione: a nobis liberis seruitio et familiaritate nostra qualicumque, ita etiam vt per hoc non sis obligatus nobis iuramentum facere, sed  
100 inseruire possis cuicumque Principi visum fuerit, sine vlla deuinctione et obligatione nostri, liberorumque nostrorum, nisi in quantum tu ipse volueris, liberantes te harum serie ab omni impetitione et molestia, quæ a posteris nostris hæredibus et successoribus aduersum te  
105 tuosque prouenire posset.

In quorum omnium maiorem fidem, robur et testimonium his litteris manu nostra subscripsimus, et sigilli nostri appensione curauimus muniri. Quæ datæ sunt Zwinedardie xxviii die Januarij Anno Domini M : D : XXVJ.

110 *erat signatum*

Christiernus.

*infra erat* : Ad mandatum Regiæ Maiestatis proprium Gotschalcus Ericus Cantzellarius. — *ex quo dependebant arma Regia in ligulis sericis albi et rubri coloris.*

Notwithstanding the beautiful offers and promises, de Schepper did not accept King Christian's advances, but entered the service of Charles V through Margaret of Austria's intervention <sup>1)</sup>; he continued his old friendships, such as that with Cantuincula <sup>2)</sup>, and he warned once more Melanchthon, whom he wanted to reduce to truth <sup>3)</sup>.

<sup>1)</sup> Cartwright, 19, 42, 47; *MarHon.*, 112.

<sup>2)</sup> CantE, 11; *GeldColl.*, 115.

<sup>3)</sup> M'Crie, 140; *Melanch.*, 268; *EraSpain*, 446.

On March 7, 1526, Cornelius de Schepper wrote from Antwerp <sup>1)</sup> to thank Dantiscus for his letter, for his kindness and for calling him his (Edipus; he thinks that great good will come of his journey to Spain, apparently even to the King of Denmark, who, unfortunately, lost his wife <sup>2)</sup>): Cornelius therefore considers himself free <sup>3)</sup>. He announces that Margaret of Austria thinks magnificently of him: 'ipsa citra interpretem affirmavit me non secus a se Cæsareæ Majestati commendatum iri quam optimum e suis familiaribus maximeque præcipuum. Idem Aurei Velleris equites; idem nobilissimi quique promittunt, neque vanis aut inanibus verbis, sed quod operam quoque meam nonnumquam sibi usui futuram persuadeant. Itaque ad vos paro iter'. He has received Dantiscus' letter, — which was two months on its way: 'Oratori Poloniæ amico tamquam fratri'.

Meanwhile Christian managed to be backed by Norway, which country he had governed most wisely and happily too from 1502 to 1512: he, moreover, was heartily welcomed there, not only by the people, but also by the nobility and the clergy, since he had returned, apparently whole-heartedly, to the Old Faith <sup>4)</sup>. He even wrote to de Schepper, on May 20, 1529, that he offered to him the title and the possession of the Lordship of Yaemtland, *Zemplelandia*, there <sup>5)</sup>. He started a campaign which he, strangely, abandoned, being cheated through Knud Gyldenstjerne's treachery by an offer of peace, for which he was invited to Copenhagen. On July 25, 1532, he reached that town, and he was at once taken prisoner, and securely locked up in the castle of Sonderborg, on the island Alsen <sup>6)</sup>. Meanwhile a solution was sought for the liberation of him, as well as of Denmark, which caused an enormous amount of complications with Germany and even France, and ended by 1548 <sup>7)</sup>. He was somehow freed on February 17, 1549 at the request of his family and of the Catholics of the three Realms: still he lived as a hostage at Kallundborg until his death, January 25, 1559 <sup>8)</sup>.

<sup>1)</sup> DE, 19: Fbm, 3, 10: the letter reached Dantiscus at Granada on June 26.

<sup>2)</sup> Cp. before p 18.

<sup>3)</sup> There probably was then no need of a second chancellor in Christian II's circumstances.

<sup>4)</sup> AltRel., 47, 198, sq; Seck., III, 13, b; Cartwright, 57, 64; Köstlin, II, 297-98: Charles V and his brother Ferdinand had put as condition of their help Christian's return to Rome: and Clement VII absolved him in 1530: AltRel., 180-81; Seck., III, 13, b.

<sup>5)</sup> SchepMiss., 223-24.

<sup>6)</sup> AltRel., 204-5; Cran., 67, b.

<sup>7)</sup> Lanz, xii-xxviii.

<sup>8)</sup> AltRel., 90, 486, sq, 490-95; Cartwright, 327, 449.

As to de Schepper, he had been sent by Margaret of Austria to Spain, where he soon gained the hearty friendship of Gattinara <sup>1)</sup>, in so far that Erasmus suggested him to ask de Schepper to write a word of warning to Nicolas Coppin *de Montibus*, the Louvain chancellor, considering the difficulties decided on by the professors of theology <sup>2)</sup>. After some delay caused by the unforeseen excesses of the imperial army in Italy, he was duly appointed by Charles V, and sent on a mission, leaving Burgos on February 7, 1528 for Scotland <sup>3)</sup>, but, as he wrote from Mechlin on May 21, he was directed instead to Poland. On his return, he married at Bruges the widow of Peter Laurin, Anne Elizabeth d'Onche <sup>4)</sup>; he concluded in Louvain a cordial friendship between Dantiscus and the *Trilingue* professors Goclenius <sup>5)</sup> and Campensis <sup>6)</sup>. His work as envoy and ambassador highly pleased his imperial Master : on Dec. 22, 1533, he was appointed supernumerary, on July 15, 1535, ordinary member of the Privy Council. He became most intimately acquainted with the chief personages of that time, like Francis de Cranevelt — 'quo nihil est apud nostros candidius', as Erasmus wrote <sup>7)</sup>; like Adolf van der Noot <sup>8)</sup>, Andrew Masius <sup>9)</sup> and even Eustace Chapuys, who related to him the sad fate of Thomas More, which he then communicated to Erasmus and Dantiscus <sup>10)</sup>; he also became one of the principal friends of Nicolas Olah, even before he was sent on a mission to Szapolyai in Hungary <sup>11)</sup>. He was highly esteemed by Mary of Hungary, whose full confidence he had gained <sup>12)</sup>, in so far that when entrusted with a mission to Francis I, he was requested to make use of the code when corresponding with her or with the Emperor <sup>13)</sup>. It was in part for the restitution of her property that de Schepper was sent to Solyman, and he was in so far successful, that he was returned there on another occasion <sup>14)</sup>: no wonder that he was appointed Councillor of State, and created *Eques Auratus* even; he meanwhile acquired the Lordship of Eecke <sup>15)</sup>. He continued to oblige

<sup>1)</sup> FG, 146, 3-24; Allen, VIII, 2336, 7-34.

<sup>2)</sup> Allen, VI, 1747, 119, sq.

<sup>3)</sup> Brewer, IV, 3879; HTL, II, 609-10.

<sup>4)</sup> HTL, II, 609-10, IV, 185, 482.

<sup>5)</sup> HTL, III, 557, sq, 563 : 'quem fraterno animo plurimis annis complexus sum', Goclenius wrote about him.

<sup>6)</sup> HTL, III, 172, sq.

<sup>7)</sup> Cp. OlaE, 605; Allen, VI, 1553, 56 : letter of Febr. 24, 1525 to Transsylvanus.

<sup>8)</sup> HTL, III, 99-101.

<sup>9)</sup> HTL, III, 282-90, &c.

<sup>10)</sup> ActaMori, 33, sq, 44; HTL, III, 26, 554.

<sup>11)</sup> HTL, III, 37-44; OlaO, 28; OlaE, 269, 348, 380, 456, 465, 481, 503-04.

<sup>12)</sup> HTL, III, 557-58.

<sup>13)</sup> Peyre, 37.

<sup>14)</sup> HTL, III, 356-7, IV, 367; Auw., 374, and, of course, SchepMiss.

<sup>15)</sup> Goris, 561; Henne, VII, 261, &c, VIII, 63, IX, 6.

Dantiscus as far as he could by taking care of his friends, and even of his relations <sup>1)</sup>. In 1545, he was again on embassy in England, and contributed to the plan of removing Princess Mary in secrecy to her Uncle's states <sup>2)</sup>: probably the tragic example of Christian II dissuaded its execution. He lost his wife on August 20, 1548 <sup>3)</sup>; her place was taken a few years later by Margaret Loonis, when Cornelius de Schepper was intently at work with the maritime transport <sup>4)</sup>.

## JOHN DE WEZE AND ALONSO DE VALDES

On March 8, 1526 <sup>5)</sup>, Pope Clement VII, referring to the nominations of the Archbishop of Gnesen on March 8, 1526, allows King Sigismund to appoint 'dilectum filium Joannem Dantiscum, clericum, apud Cæsaream Majestatem nuncium' to the Canonry and the Prebend 'Ecclesiæ Varmiensis', Frauenburg.

On May 9, 1526, Bishop John de Weze, King Christian's staunch supporter, had been sent to Spain, and wrote to Dantiscus from Toledo <sup>6)</sup>.

John de WEZE, or WESE, had been appointed secretary by Christian II in 1522 as successor to Diederik Slaghœk, doctor of canon law and medicine; notwithstanding his bad life, that Slaghœk had been appointed archbishop of Lund, and had proposed treating severely and punishing those who had taken any part in the opposition against Christian in Stockholm, as if they were enemies of the Church; it led to the awful *Blodbad*. He subsequently was condemned to death, and executed at Copenhagen on the Gammeltorv on January 24, 1522 <sup>7)</sup>. Weze had followed his master the King into his voluntary exile before he had been properly installed as Archbishop of Lund, in addition to being Bishop of Roskilde as he was before. When, however, Christian actually refused following Charles V's policy, de Weze resigned — as,

<sup>1)</sup> *HTL*, iv, 128-30.

<sup>2)</sup> Gough, 686, b; Tytler, i, 382-83.

<sup>3)</sup> *HTL*, iii, 246; James Jasparus published an epitaph on her in 1548: Antwerp G. Coppens: *BB*, i, 34.

<sup>4)</sup> Cp. further, closing chapters.

<sup>5)</sup> DE, 20: Knm, 230, 403: according to Prowe I, ii, 251-53, Dantiscus was received as canon by Bishop Maurice Ferber in 1528.

<sup>6)</sup> DE, 21: Upm, 151, 8; the letter reached Dantiscus at Granada on June 20.

<sup>7)</sup> *DanHist.*, i, 270, 272, 274, 283, 284; Yssel de Schepper, *Lotgevallen van Christiaan II*: Zwolle, 1870: 80-88; *CMH*, ii, 610, sq.; *GeldColl.*, 34, sq.

later on, Godschalk Ericksen also did ; — he was appointed Imperial councillor, and thus often sent on embassies. He was rewarded for his services by the episcopal see of Constance in 1537, as well as with the administration of the Abbeys of Waldsassen and Reichenau. His sister having married an up ten Haitzhovel, he entrusted the education of their son Henry Rudolph, — who took his name, — to Andrew Masius <sup>1)</sup>. He died at Augsburg on June 13, 1548, and was buried in the Abbey of Reichenau with an epitaph by Masius, which de Schepper found too eulogistic <sup>2)</sup>. Nannius dedicated to him his *Tres Homeliæ Divi Joannis Chrysostomi* on March 1, 1542 <sup>3)</sup>.

In that first letter to Dantiscus written in Spain, John de Weze, archbishop-elect of Lund, announces that he has been well received by ' Peter de Noues ' and his wife, as well as by Michael Sanchez, which gives him the occasion to mention and praise the greeting *hispanico more*. His comes Sigismund had not yet arrived, and he requests that Dantiscus should order his assistant Fabian to send letters from John Allemand and others to Haller, or to the Welser's or to the postmaster, to be forwarded to him in Brabant. He mentions the relations of Sigismund de Thurzer, whom he went to see, as well as the Count of Montfort, also John de Carondelet, the Lord of Breda Henry of Nassau, the Lord of Praet, and others, and amongst them one Stanislas <sup>4)</sup>, with whom he is drinking a bowl of Toledo wine.

Four months later, on September 15, 1526 <sup>5)</sup>, the Danish Councillor John de Weze was at Augsburg, from where he wrote to Dantiscus. He describes his difficulties, as well as those of King Christian II, and he sketches the political situation in Austria, Germany and Denmark.

<sup>1)</sup> *HTL*, iv, 116, sq, ii, 451 ; *PighE*, 8-14, &c.

<sup>2)</sup> *MasE*, 26, 65-66 ; *DanHist.*, i, 283-84 ; *DantE & OlaE passim* ; *Lanz*, 118-28, 155-58, 202-06, 277-81 ; *LanzCorr.*, i, 277, ii, 220, 375 ; *Brewer*, vii, 697 ; *Seck.*, i, 266, a ; *Cran.*, 57, 4 ; *HTL*, ii, 591, 599, iii, 200, 282-83, 286, iv, 89, 92, 116-18, 125 ; *PighE*, 9, 12, 387, 488 ; *AltRel.*, 273-76, 291, 317-18 ; *BeitSchlecht.*, 284, 287 ; *GeldColl.*, 35.

<sup>3)</sup> *Polet*, 275-77.

<sup>4)</sup> He was no doubt Stanislas a Lasco, who had come to Italy, but stayed a good while with King Francis, at the head of his army ; he was taken prisoner with him, but liberated ; he wished to help Francis in his detention : *Lasco*, 125.

<sup>5)</sup> *DE*, 22 : *Fbm*, 66, 138 ; the letter reached Dantiscus at Valladolid on January 29, 1527.



A few weeks later Alonso de Valdes, imperial secretary, sent several short letters to Dantiscus, whose friendship he had gained, as well as that of the newly appointed councillor Cornelius de Schepper, whom Margaret of Austria had sent to Spain.

Alonso de Valdes was born about 1490 at Cuenca in Castile with a twin brother Juan. He studied in Alcala, and entered Gattinara's service by 1520, and, two years later, the Imperial Chancery. He was Charles V's trusted secretary, and he defended him in his *Lactancio* against accusations of being responsible for the Sack of Rome in 1527, as well as in his *Mercurio y Caron*, of 1529. He was a staunch friend of Dantiscus and of Erasmus. In 1530 he tried to help Melanchthon to come to an understanding at Augsburg : although de Schepper did not encourage his plan, it was considered most favourably by Charles V and, some time later, by Cardinal Campeggio, until the Lutherans made it impossible : *Melanch.*, 268-71 ; *Seck.*, II, 165, b-167, a. He died of the plague soon after October 5, 1532, on which day he made his will in Vienna. Cp. *RevHisp.*, VIII (1901), 183-84 ; Allen, VII, 1807, *pr* ; *Vald-Dial.*, 15-18, 23-25, &c, 48, *sq*, 51, 72, 187, *sq*, 245 ; *EraSpain*, *passim*, esp. 465, *sq* ; *EraCab.*, 34, *sq*, 48-60, 66, *sq*, 435, 456 ; FG, 437-38 ; CMH, II, 388 ; *Cran.*, 142, c, 86, a, 159, d, 241, 36, 249, e ; *HTL*, II, 408-10, 174, 289-294, 445, 496, III, 17, 22-24, 79, 95, 97, 147, 563, 597 ; *Auw.*, 327 ; M'Crie, 131, *sq*, 139, *sq*. — In the *Homenaje a Menendez y Pelayo* : Madrid : 1899, I, 385-412, Ed. Boehmer edited the text of forty short letters preserved in the Frauenburg Archives : in this present edition, another set of eleven is added to them.

By the end of September 1526, Alonso de Valdes had received leave from the Chancellor Gattinara to introduce some changes in a document *Pro Cæsare ad Romanum Pontificem mittend[um]*, which he wished to submit to the advice of Dantiscus and of de Schepper, both of whom he invited to a 'prandium' <sup>1)</sup>. — A few days later he has to announce that the Chancellor is poorly, and that de Schepper probably will not be able to come ; he is rather at a loss about the 'prandium', which he does not want to be 'Camillinum' <sup>2)</sup>. — On October 12, Valdes thanks Dantiscus for his new poem, of which he will make a copy and burn the original <sup>3)</sup> ; he regrets his absence ; he also mentions that the Chancellor is sending some of his own men to Italy : he hopes 'post tristia feliciora' <sup>4)</sup>.

<sup>1)</sup> DE, 23 : Fbm, 130, 26 ; Boehmer, 5.

<sup>2)</sup> DE, 24 : Fbm, 130, 7.

<sup>3)</sup> Possibly a satire.

<sup>4)</sup> DE, 25 : Fbm, 130, 20 ; Boehmer, 6.

After a few months of absence of all communications, February 1527 brings some letters from Cornelius de Schepper. On the third of that month he writes from Valladolid <sup>1)</sup> about the replies he had sent to the questions of Gattinara, 'boni senis', and which were directed probably to Dantiscus, who now is requested to keep them in, and send them back. He announces that, on the day before, he had been offered money by the *œconomus* *D. Karolus*, sent by the *senex* 'in relevamen paupertatis meæ', he writes; 'ego gratiam habui, sperans propediem habiturum ex civibus meis Antuerpiensibus'. Schepperus is also sending later letters, which he had received from Gattinara, with a 'schedula appensa'. He saw L. de Praet, who promised his intervention with Charles the Emperor about being sent to Italy along with the Chancellor as soon as he is in good health again; still he thinks that it is better to apply to the Chancellor for it, and then let de Praet and Dantiscus act together.

Several days later, on February 22, de Schepper writes from 'Ponte ad Duriam' <sup>2)</sup> that news had come which deeply affected their *Nestor*, Gattinara; he had taken care of Dantiscus' request, and communicated it to their master (Gattinara), who replied that he was now unable to write, but would soon attend to it. From Italy it had been announced that there were disputes between the German and the Spanish soldiers; that several towns had had to pay ransoms to escape being plundered; that captains had been placed at the head of some towns: Guido Rangonus at Placentia, Francis de Bozuli at Parma, the 'Marchio Salutarum' at Bologna; that the Duke of Ferrara had been attacked; that Germans were conspiring against the Medici. It was added that the Duke of Ferrara offered to give Modena along with his son as husband to the daughter of Laurent the Magnificent, and a son to the 'patres ordinis superlatiuj'. De Schepper promises to take care of Dantiscus' interests, and says that he honours him as a father; he sends his greetings to the Bishop-elect of Lund; also to the 'Dn. Conriti et Melchiori nostro'; also to Dantiscus, his 'brother', his 'father' even, whose 'servus superlativus' he calls himself.

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<sup>1)</sup> DE, 26 : Fbm, 3, 13.

<sup>2)</sup> DE, 27 : Fbm, 3, 11.

On the next day, February 23, 1527 <sup>1)</sup>, de Schepper announces once more from 'Ponte ad Duriam' that the letter was taken during the day; he staid the night, but the 'senex' Gattinara was too much troubled about the dissensions between Spaniards and Germans in Italy to be moved to attend to Dantiscus' request, — which may even make 'vanum' just that for which he knows that the 'senex' had come. He repeats the greetings offered in the letter of the preceding day.

In the same month of February 1527, there were difficulties raised in Spain by some members of the Mendicant Orders against the writings of Erasmus. Cornelius de Schepper wrote about it to Vives, and mentioned that they tried to have the reading of any of his books prohibited in Spain <sup>2)</sup>. Their movement was for a time repressed by the friends of the great Humanist, and even by the very Chancellor Gattinara; still as the matter properly belonged to the Inquisition, and the movement had already had an actual result in some convents, it highly afflicted the friends, who tried to secure the protection of the authorities, — as he was certain to hear from the Lord of Praet.

On April 12 Juan de Vergara could announce the decided intervention not only of all 'boni' and of all magistrates, but even of the Emperor, as Vives mentioned to Erasmus in his letter dated from Bruges on July 20, 1527, in which he adds the story of the further development of the question <sup>3)</sup>. He quotes in that letter an extensive passage of de Schepper's missive <sup>4)</sup> and encourages his great Friend <sup>5)</sup>.

On March 26, 1527 John-Albert, Margrave of Brandenburg <sup>6)</sup>, sends a short note in German from Cacabelos, a place near Villafranca, in the N. W. quarter of Spain, announcing that he saw the captive French King, but had to walk the whole way. He requests Dantiscus to offer his greetings to the Count of Montfort, to Dr Wolfgang Brantner, to 'D. Cornelium' (de Schepper) and to 'D. Bernhardum', but before all to himself.

Cornelius de Schepper was chosen to accompany Gattinara to Italy, as results from the letter which he sent on April 21, 1527 to Dantiscus 'tamquam fratri', from the Convent of

<sup>1)</sup> DE, 28 : Fbm, 3, 12.

<sup>3)</sup> Allen, VII, 1847 ; VivE, 186-90.

<sup>5)</sup> Bonilla, 196.

<sup>2)</sup> *VivVita*, 92, 101.

<sup>4)</sup> LI 80 to 97.

<sup>6)</sup> DE, 29 : Ccm, 1637, 419.

O. L. of Montserrat <sup>1)</sup>, about 32 kms. N. W. of Barcelona. He announces to his *fraterculus* that he had sent a letter in the secret alphabet from Fraga, a town 25 km. S. W. of Lerida, on the way to Barcelona, where they were kept back by stormy weather. He wishes to hear about the Court, and is sorry to say that the Chancellor had received very bad news from Italy, where all authority seems lost, and where the soldiers devastate all; he even had some tidings from the Allobroges <sup>2)</sup>, which he refused to communicate. Schepperus closes his letter by sending his greetings to the Polish Vice-Chancellor, to the Count and the Margrave, but especially to Dantiscus, for whom he prays Our Lady of Montserrat.

More than three weeks later, on May 17, 1527, de Schepper wrote from Barcelona <sup>3)</sup> that he got Dantiscus' letter when ready to start off. All his superiors take as little luggage as is possible, so he consequently sends back his servant John Mullio, who might serve L. de Praet, but whom he recommends to Dantiscus himself in case de Praet should return to Flanders. He is full of expectations about going to Italy, the native country of their 'Maiagenitj' <sup>4)</sup> and he will accompany the Pope to Spain; two Genoese ships are ready for them at the wharf, a *caraca* for the conveyance, and a brigantine for the case of flight. He further offers his condolence at the decease of his companion Dr Brautner, and rejoices in the victory of Poland over the Tartars, but regrets the locusts. He will write from Genoa, and he hopes to receive some news about the Court at Palamos, N. E. of Barcelona. He greets the Vice-Chancellor and signs 'ex animo filius & inservitor'.

In the next days an announcement of the birth of a son to Charles V at Valladolid on May 20, 1527, sent by Alonso de Valdes <sup>5)</sup>, reached no doubt de Schepper's party on their voyage; they landed at Palamos, for, notwithstanding the danger of the French, the *senex* Gattinara, who is *vegetus*, insisted on sailing off; from there de Schepper sends a letter

<sup>1)</sup> DE, 30 : Fbm, 3, 16; it reached Dantiscus at Valladolid on April 27.

<sup>2)</sup> Probably military movements of the French against Italy.

<sup>3)</sup> DE, 31 : Fbm, 3, 18, 18<sup>bis</sup>; it reached Dantiscus at Valladolid on May 27.

<sup>4)</sup> Queen Bona (?).

<sup>5)</sup> DE, 32 : Boehmer, 1.

on May 27 <sup>1)</sup>; he will try and write from Genoa or Monaco, and hopes to return within seven months. A carrack is ready with one galley and three brigantines, and they are going to take ship : he wants to be recommended to the Vice-Chancellor, to the Lord Margrave and their Palatine confrater.

## TROUBLE IN ITALY

Referring to that letter, which on May 27, 1527, de Schepper sent to the centre of Spain, 'Celtiberis', he wrote on June 3 from Monaco <sup>2)</sup>, which after some dangers and attacks they had reached ; there news had come from Rome and from the success of Charles' army ; he declares that nobody knows where Chancellor Gattinara is bound for. It seems that the Pope is going to be taken to Spain. — He bitterly complains about some who rail at him, and accuse him of being the cause that the Chancellor left the Court for Italy ; he mentions that it is said that Charles the Emperor is not very friendly to him, de Schepper, and he consequently writes to Dantiscus requesting his help ; he also asks for news about Christian II, and greets the Polish Vice-Chancellor ; so he does Alexander and Haller, bankers, as well as his friend's *familia*. In the postscript he relates that a brigantine, sailing towards Spain, was attacked by Moors, and saved as by miracle ; amongst the passengers was John Durandus, secretary of the Vice-King of Naples, and the Imperial Orator in Venice.

Three weeks later, on June 27, 1527 <sup>3)</sup>, de Schepper wrote from Genoa referring to his letter of June 3 from Monaco, and mentions that the King of France had concluded a league with the Duke of Savoy ; he adds some news of the fleet : he fled in a ship, but was pursued and attacked by the French on June 24 : still he could escape and so could the Chancellor ; some brigantines, however, were taken. He then describes the situation in Italy : 'Hic omnia dubia et intranquilla.

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<sup>1)</sup> DE, 33 : Ccm, 240, 179 : it reached Dantiscus on June 7.

<sup>2)</sup> DE, 35 : Fbm, 3, 31, sq : it reached Valladolid on June 24, 1527.

<sup>3)</sup> DE, 36 : Upm, 154, 9-11 : it has some part in cipher with an attempt of a key.

Ingens ad hæc penuria annonæ. Italia tota Cæsarem odit <sup>1)</sup>. Cancellarius mandatum expectat a Cæsare. Exercitus Cæsaris adhuc est ubi prius. Vice-rex ubique male audit. Rex Angliæ dicitur parare exercitum. Cancellarius, ut satis intellexi, vellet Franciscum Sfortiam restitui. Sed nescio quid fiet ; non admodum mihi videtur fieri posse. Nihil tamen possumus scire quid futurum sit, priusquam literas habeamus a Cæsare. Ab his enim res omnes nostræ dependent <sup>2)</sup> '. He then inquires whether King Christian has returned to Mechlin. He also wishes for news, which he expects will be easily given, as Dantiscus is almost by himself amongst Spaniards. He sends greetings to the illustr. Margrave, to the nuncio Virginis, if he should come, and to the Polish Vice-Chancellor.

On July 17, 1527, de Schepper writes from Genoa <sup>3)</sup> to Dantiscus 'tanquam patri [suo]', referring to his preceding letters 'Celtiberis' and from Monaco, and he is now kept by the 'vires Gallorum & Venetorum'; the Emperor's army in Rome is 'sine duce, sine stipendio; Antonius de Leyva Insubriam tuetur'; he sketches the state of the army, of the Pope, of Venice, Italy and of Hungary, where, as is said, a Joannes Cæsar has sprung up from the ground with ten thousand soldiers, as if sent by the Lord : it makes the fable of Deucalion and Cadmus look real. What about it? His letter to the King of Hungary is copied by many : Valdesius, to whom it was sent, will show it. He refers to a book *De Rebus Moscovitarum*, by a Paul Jovius Novocomensis <sup>4)</sup>, which de Schepper considers to be better than that by John Faber ; he asks for that book, so as to show it to Mgr. Augustin Grimaldus, 'Episcopus Oristani et Dominus oppidi Monæci'. He sends news of the Chancellor Gattinara and of several personages indicated by the capital letters R, F & S, and written in cipher ; he mentions the tumults in Belgium, and facts about Italy and Rome, and wishes to hear about the King of Denmark, about the Court, and about the Count of Montfort and other friends.

<sup>1)</sup> Those four words in cipher — with transcription.

<sup>2)</sup> Cp. *EraSpain*, 397.

<sup>3)</sup> DE, 37 : Fbm, 3, 14-15 ; it reached Valladolid on August 6.

<sup>4)</sup> Cp. *SaxOnom.*, 101, 595.

The months of September and October 1527 are represented in Dantiscus' correspondence by several letters from Alonso de Valdes, who communicates the news from Italy <sup>1)</sup>, and, on September 10, his various moves from Coviglas to Palencia, whereas Dantiscus was at Paredes <sup>2)</sup>. On September 12, when he was at Palencia, peace with France is announced, and a lodging is offered to Dantiscus <sup>3)</sup>, which he may not have accepted, as he was poorly, judging from the fact that on September 24, he is congratulated on his recovery <sup>4)</sup>. On the first days of October, Dantiscus was expected at Palencia <sup>5)</sup>; still as Gattinara was said to be on the way back to Court, Valdes announced that expected arrival <sup>6)</sup>, and first started on the way himself, so as to meet him on October 6 <sup>7)</sup>: the Chancellor arrived himself at Palencia, to Charles V's great pleasure, and wanted to go to Burgos <sup>8)</sup>.

On October 18, 1527, Cornelius de Schepper announced from Saragossa <sup>9)</sup> that he had returned to Spain, and had already sent word through the Chancellor; unfortunately he had come from Italy '*plenus miseriæ*', having lost his papers and his books, as well as part of his *supellectilis*, and having experienced impudence both from the Italians and from the Spaniards. '*Plurimum cupio apud te esse*', he writes to Dantiscus, '*in culina pingui et opima : Italica enim parsimonia me fere in oblivionem traxit Germanici splendoris ; et præterea apud te vinum bonum, quod mihi in Italia bella interdixerunt ; et vicissim te sum multis et magnis fabulis suffarciturus. Para culinam : ego advenio*'. He greets the Vice-Chancellor and Dominus Alexander, and the '*paucos amicos*' that remain, and he signs as '*tuus filius*', addressing the letter to Dantiscus '*tamquam patri*'.

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<sup>1)</sup> DE, 34 : Fbm, 130, 34 ; Boehmer, 8.

<sup>2)</sup> DE, 39 : Fbm, 130, 44 ; Boehmer, 9 ; Paredes is 20 kms N. W. of Palencia.

<sup>3)</sup> DE, 40 : Fbm, 130, 1 ; it reached Dantiscus at Palencia on the same day.

<sup>4)</sup> DE, 41 : Fbm, 130, 42 ; Boehmer, 11.

<sup>5)</sup> DE, 42 : Fbm, 130, 39, 40.

<sup>6)</sup> DE, 43 : Fbm, 130, 22 ; Boehmer, 12.

<sup>7)</sup> DE, 44 : Fbm, 130, 45.

<sup>8)</sup> DE, 45 : Fbm, 130, 43 ; Boehmer, 14 : October 7, 1537.

<sup>9)</sup> DE, 46 : Fbm, 3, 17 ; it reached Dantiscus at Burgos on October 26.

On March 8, 1528, Cornelius de Schepper was ready to embark for Flanders at Vermeo — probably Bermeo, seaport to the N. of Bilbao, apparently, as *b* and *v* seem to be regarded as convertible. — He wrote from there <sup>1)</sup> that they were waiting for wind. With the Count of Montfort, George Rheynger, Lord Philip de Ravesteyn and the Rev<sup>mus</sup> D<sup>us</sup> Molitensis, — who wanted to go to ‘Azabra’, — he had chartered a ship with four sails and twenty-six oars for over 300 florins, of which twenty were his part. He wishes to be recommended to the Chancellor and to his friends through Dantiscus, to whom he writes ‘tamquam patri’.

Cornelius de Schepper, writing from Bruges on May 6, 1528 <sup>2)</sup>, announced that, instead of going to be sent to Scotland, it is decided that he shall go to Poland. He explains that nothing whatsoever is to be feared from the English, whose mind has quite altered : instead of starting war, they are compelled to ask for peace : the King and Wolsey stand by themselves in opposition to the people, ‘mirum’, he writes, ‘quam Cæsari favens’ ; a war would show at once which way the wind blows. I have had to wait, de Schepper continues, to know what the English decided on. I leave in ten days. ‘Campiductor noster magnus ille insignis adhuc apud Brabantos versatur, nisi forsitan intra quatuor aut quinque dies abierit. Hæc scribo Brugis ; versor in eo negotio <sup>3)</sup> impeditus, quod mihi nosti cordi esse, et procedit belle : imo ad extrema fere perventum est. Redibo tamen ad vos, nam id non impedit. Maior est enim utrobique virtutis honestique quam aliarum ratio. Sed hæc hactenus.

In Germania mire tumultuatur. Nam cum statuisset Joachimus Marchio Brandenburgii coniugem suam, sororem Christierni regis, aut igni tradere aut intra quattuor parietes inclusam fame enecare ob susceptum, vt ille ait, Lutheranium dogma, neque iam clam essent mine, illa sese nocte intempeste subduxit, fugitque in Saxoniam ad auunculum. Hinc bellum

<sup>1)</sup> DE, 48 : Fbm, 3, 19 ; the letter reached Madrid on March 18.

<sup>2)</sup> DE, 50 : Ccm, 243, 87-88 ; it reached Madrid on August 29.

<sup>3)</sup> Most probably his marriage with Peter Laurin's widow (October 8, 1528).



Trojanum. Repetitur coniunx' &c — hence war. 'Nescio quis finis futurus est. Scribam ad te copiose cum in Germaniam pervenero, nam hic ad manus non sunt characteres nostri <sup>1)</sup>: mansere enim Machliniæ, quo ego jam festino. Commendo me amicis omnibus, et seni subinde per occasionem veterem consuetudinem obtrudes. Nam ego ad illum scripsi, ex te intellecturum etiam alia quædam de rebus meis, quæ tu pro tempore et oportunitate facile poteris recensere. Si quid interim vacat quod in rem meam sit, poteris amici munus fungi'. Remember me if you write to your people. 'Ill<sup>mo</sup> D<sup>no</sup> Marchioni meo plurimum nomine saluta, adiunctis 30·000 bezolas manus, quarum 10·000 altera Joannes Anthonius Marlianus sibi habeat; totidem et frater tuus Bernardus. Nuncius Mariæ duplum harum sibi retineat. Ilaque omnibus has ex æquo impartire, et vale, frater amantissime.

Ex Brugis Flandriæ, vi<sup>o</sup> die mensis maij Anno Dni.  
M D XXVIII.

Tuus ex animo frater quem nosti.

On May 21, 1528, Cornelius de Schepper wrote another letter to Dantiscus <sup>2)</sup>, repeating that he had expected to be sent to Scotland, but since war is not probable, he has received a mission to Poland. He will journey by Holland, Weser, Bremen, Brunswick, Magdeburg, Leipzig, Warsaw, so as to avoid the Hessians and the elector of Saxony, who prepare an attack on Mayence. The reason of his mission is not special, as there is no friction at all. A cook of the King, an Italian, who came from Poland and was going to England, announced that Vilna is given to Lithuania. 'Dominus Melchior a Germania', their common friend, accompanies him as far as Leipzig. A thing which lay on his mind for that year, has been done to his heart's content <sup>3)</sup> — here follows a long passage in cipher. — He further mentions the rumour of war in Hungary, as well as of an attack by the Turks. He greets the Chancellor, Prince John Albert, John Anthony Marlian and Dantiscus' brother and he signs: 'Tuus ex animo frater tamquam filius'.

<sup>1)</sup> Probably the alphabets of secret writing,

<sup>2)</sup> DE, 53: Fbm, 3, 20; it reached Saragossa on July 20.

<sup>3)</sup> Evidently the arrangement of his marriage.

De Schepper's voyage was prosperous, as Alonso de Valdes told Dantiscus that he had heard, as he wrote on May 11, 'ex Venerea Civitate' <sup>1</sup>), that the Vice-Chancellor Cornelius and the others got safe to Belgium <sup>2</sup>). In that same letter Dantiscus is upbraided for taking amiss things which are quite natural to the custom of the country and to ways of people by which even the Chancellor is treated. He tells him that he kept back the letter which Dantiscus wrote to Gattinara in a burst of passion, and sent him just what he wanted. He requests his friend to take back his servant Philip, whom he dismissed in his rage on account of Eustace, and he looks out for his visit, but not in his anger.

That ill-humour may have been weighing for some time on Dantiscus, and he may have been looking out for an occasion to return home : at least that seems implied by a letter which his friend Peter Tomicki, Bishop of Cracow, and Vice-Chancellor of Poland, wrote on February 28, 1528, to tell him that, in accordance with his own desires, the King recalled him with honour by an accompanying letter, which was sent by his notary John Levicius, canon and cantor of Plock. Along with his letter, Tomicki also sent the necessary passports to the King of France and the Emperor, and promised that he would receive the reward for his excellent labours <sup>3</sup>). This letter seems to have reached Dantiscus only on September 9 : possibly the calling home was postponed by the political situation in Italy, and Levicius may have been overtaken on his journey by a counter-order. At any rate Dantiscus remained in Spain till 1529.

To the end of April or to the beginning of May 1528, also belongs a letter about an attack on Erasmus, which Valdes would have liked to send to the Basle erudite by his own trusty messenger, who had just brought to Spain a letter dated '8 cal. maij', April 24, 1528. The author of that attack was Luis Carvajal, *Caruaialus Beticus*, born about 1501,

<sup>1</sup>) DE, 51 : Fbm, 3, 129. — From May 3 to 20, the Emperor's Court was 'à Valence la Grande, auquel lieu... se y firent plusieurs festins et passe-temps, où se trouvarent plusieurs belles dames fort richement accoustrées' (Gachard, 80), — which possibly caused Valdes to call it *Venerea Civitas*.

<sup>2</sup>) Cp. DE, 48, p 33.

<sup>3</sup>) DE, 47<sup>bis</sup> : Ccm, 247, 61 : dated from 'Radoui'.

who had entered the Franciscan Order about 1515/16, and had studied several years at Salamanca and Paris, when he seemed to have duly admired Erasmus and Vives <sup>1)</sup>. Still, feeling the predilection granted by several of the leading men in Spain, such as a Valdes, who was *Erasmicior Erasmo*, as clearly appeared at the Valladolid Conference, he was moved to counteract that opinion, and taking offence at his bitter criticism on the living and actual doings of some monks, — which made him declare *Monachatus non est pietas*, — Carvajal wrote, in a few days, his *Apologia diluens nugas Erasmi*. Although in many places he shows his agreement with Erasmus, taking over from him several principles of Christian humanism <sup>2)</sup>, he attacks him for his opposition to scholastic philosophy, and for exposing the bad use made of monachism; standing on the ideal excellence of monasticism, and excusing excesses by verbal jugglery, he defends monks and friars, and tries by all means to destroy the prestige of the Humanist, who, after all, provided the very basis for the Spanish Counter-Reform <sup>3)</sup>.

Carvajal's *Apologia*, edited without name of printer, was reproduced at Paris, also without printer's name: only some passages too favourable to the Emperor had been left out <sup>4)</sup>. Erasmus replied to that edition by his *Adversus Febricitantis cujusdam Libellum Responsio* (Basle, Froben, March 1529), calling his opponent *Pantalabus*, after Horatius' *scurra* <sup>5)</sup>. He mentioned that reply first in a letter to John Henckel, on February 26, 1529 <sup>6)</sup>. Carvajal replied by a *Dulcoratio Amarulentiarum Erasmi Responsonis* (Paris, 1530), to which Erasmus gave a definite answer in his *Epistola ad Gracculos*, about February 1530 <sup>7)</sup>, and to which he refers in some letters, such as in that to Peter Mexia <sup>8)</sup>. In after years Carvajal wrote a memoir about Henry VIII's marriages, which was not issued; also a *Declamatio* on the Immaculate Conception, printed in Paris, 1541, a *De Restituta Theologia* (Cologne, 1545), and a sermon which he preached at the Council of Trent on March 6, 1547 (Antwerp, J. Gravius, 1548).

The following letter seems to belong to the first days of May 1528, as already mentioned on account of the messenger who was to take the reply and the *Apologia*, printed in Salamanca <sup>9)</sup>; Erasmus refers to some sentences in it on March 21, 1529 <sup>10)</sup>: it may not have come at once to

<sup>1)</sup> *Viv Vita*, 115-17; *VivE*, 196.

<sup>2)</sup> *EraSpain*, 545, 546, 633, *sq.*

<sup>3)</sup> *EraSpain*, 345-356; also 236, 261, 284, *sq.*, 412, 460, 531-2, 644, 767; *EraCab.*, 52-55, 56; *PortHum.*, 248.

<sup>4)</sup> Allen, VIII, 2126, 6-20, 2205, 237-244; *EraSpain*, 546.

<sup>5)</sup> *Satiræ*, I, VIII, 11.

<sup>6)</sup> Allen, VIII, 2110.

<sup>7)</sup> *EraSpain*, 345-356; Allen, VIII, 2275.

<sup>8)</sup> Allen, VIII, 2300, 22, *sq.*, 2301, 1, *sq.*

<sup>9)</sup> DE, 49: Fbm, 130, 23; Boehmer, 16.

<sup>10)</sup> Allen, VIII, 2126, 22-3, 28-9, 37-8, 41-2, 57-8, and the first line of 2163.

Valdes' hands, and he may have sent it only by his letter of November 10, 1528, which is not extant in that collection <sup>1)</sup>.

Videtur omnino amicis omnibus impudentem illum libellum Franciscanum <sup>2)</sup> mittendum esse ad Erasmus, quem existimant mecum expostulaturum si minus mitterem. Habeo nuntium qui litteras ab eo attulit 8 cal. Majas datas, quique tuto meas se missurum pollicetur. Libellum præter eum quem penes te habes, nactus sum nullum : quare si tibi usui non est, rogo ut ad me mittas ; dabitur a me opera ut quam primum alios habeamus. Si per ocium liceret, venirem ad te : habeo enim papistarum tragœdiam in meum dialogum Romanensem, sed non licet. Ergo vale. Tuus Valdesius.

On May 18, 1528, Valdes wrote from Sagunto <sup>3)</sup> that he had passed Dantiscus' house whilst he was still asleep. Other short, and, unfortunately, undated notes announce visits, or invite to a meal, or thank for a present, with an occasional mention of the Emperor's health, or some victory gained by Poland in Valachia <sup>4)</sup>. Judging from another, the group of friends has been enriched by the arrival of Nicolas Perrenot de Granvelle : by one Valdes announces that, on the following day, the new friend, along with Bartholomew Gattinara, official of Geneva, the Chancellor's nephew, and himself, intend coming to dinner <sup>5)</sup> : ' ne dicas tibi non prædictum... sed heus, tu vide, dicas convivis insperatos eos advenisse : sic enim constitutum est inter eos : volui tamen te admonere ne aliquo forsitan ires, nosque in re tanti momenti deciperes.

NICOLAS PERRENOT (Pernot) de GRANVELLE, Lord of that place, was born at Besançon, and was a *secretis consiliis*, at Mechlin, where his brother Claud, who was in holy orders, died on December 20, 1525 <sup>6)</sup>. He was sent to Spain, where he succeeded to Allemand, and became First Secretary of State <sup>7)</sup>. He enjoyed Charles V's confidence by his

<sup>1)</sup> Allen, VIII, 2163, 1, n.

<sup>2)</sup> Carvajal, *Apologia diluens nugas Erasmi* : Allen, VIII, 2110, pr.

<sup>3)</sup> DE, 52 : Fbm, 130, 46 ; Boehmer, 15.

<sup>4)</sup> DE, 54 : Fbm, 130, 5 ; Boehmer, 17 ; DE, 55 : Fbm, 130, 28 ; DE, 57 : Fbm, 130, 35 ; Boehmer, 19 ; DE, 58 : Fbm, 130, 3 ; Boehmer, 20 ; DE, 59 : Fbm, 130, 8 ; Boehmer, 21 ; DE, 65 : Fbm, 130, 1A.

<sup>5)</sup> DE, 61 : Fbm, 130, 25 ; Boehmer, 23.

<sup>6)</sup> *MalInscr.*, 445.

<sup>7)</sup> Walther, 165, 154, 159.

faithful and intelligent service <sup>1)</sup>. He had married Nicole Bonavolte, and had his several sons tutored by Adrian Amerot before he sent them to Louvain : the eldest being the Antony born in 1517, who matriculated there on August 31, 1528 : he became Bishop of Arras in 1548, and his father's successor. Nicolas Perrenot, who was a friend of Viglius and of Cranevelt, of Vives, Alderete and Mercator, attended with his son Antony the Council of Trent, and died at Augsburg in August 1550 : Hoyneck, i, i, 157 ; *Cran.*, 273, a, 257, a ; *MonHL*, 479 ; *DelPoBel.*, iii, 475 ; *HTL*, i, 273-74, ii, 411, 439, 446, sq, 566, iv, 257-59, 263 ; Simonis, 76, sq ; *MarHon.*, 238.

In another letter that belongs to those days, Valdes insists on the excellence of the gift which Dantiscus sent, and though only an epigram, those few verses bring 'ingenium, judicium, argutias, sales, lepores, et quid non !' He regrets that Gattinara is so exacting : otherwise he would come and see him ; he now has to close his letter with the request : 'fac sciam quid Cato ille Pratensis de tuo epigrammate judicavit' <sup>2)</sup>).

The *Pratensis* just mentioned is the great statesman Louis of FLANDERS, Lord of Praet, and of several other places. He was born at Bruges on November 25, 1488, and studied in Louvain, matriculating on February 8, 1501 <sup>3)</sup>, and made there Erasmus' acquaintance. He had lost his father when very young, and his mother entered a convent, leaving her son to go his own way. He was so fine a soldier, and so expert an administrator that, by 1517, he became Privy Councillor, and was sent from May 1522 as ambassador to England, where he encouraged Vives to write the *De Subventionem Pauperum* and the *De Consultatione*. His upright character caused some hard means to be used against him by Wolsey, when the latter changed his political collaboration from Spain to France. On his return in May 1525 <sup>4)</sup>, he joined the Emperor, and served him to the best of his abilities as councillor and ambassador, especially after Gattinara's decease. He was highly valued by Mary of Hungary, whom he practically assisted along with Antony de Granvelle. In 1543 he was attended to for three days in an illness by Gemma <sup>5)</sup>. By 1544 he became Governor of Holland, Zeeland and Utrecht and, later on, of Flanders. He was a friend and favourer of erudites and literators, not only of Erasmus and Vives, but of Judocus Badius

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<sup>1)</sup> Hoyneck, i, i, 19, 22, 25, 157, ii, i, 298.

<sup>2)</sup> DE, 58 : Fbm, 130, 3 ; Boehmer, 20.

<sup>3)</sup> *Excerpts*, 93.

<sup>4)</sup> *Cran.*, 150, a-d ; *MonHL*, 9, 20, 29.

<sup>5)</sup> *HTL*, ii, 562. Cp. letter of April 7, 1543 : DE, 444.

and Agrippa, Viglius and Nannius, Rataller and Schonhovius <sup>1)</sup>. Still he seems to have been not only disagreeable, but even harmful to some contemporaries, as results from his connections with the clever and patient John van Cuyck, of Utrecht <sup>2)</sup>.

Meanwhile Valdes wrote from Toledo <sup>3)</sup> — where the Court resided from October 31, 1526 to March 8, 1529, — as he knew that Dantiscus intended leaving, which actually happened on December 17 <sup>4)</sup>. ‘*Multa me impediunt*’, he wrote, ‘*quominus ad te uti statueram venire possim, præsertim cum in tuo negotio nil boni actum esse sciam. Maximum mihi heri terrorem incussit tuus Guido, cum diceret cras te abire decrevisse. Quod si futurum est, fac me certiozem, nam relictis omnibus, veniam ad te. Ceterum scripsi ad te hodie abiisse Alemanum; verum est: hodie enim bene mane discessit, aut potius hinc abductus est, daturus fortassis suæ improbitatis pœnas. Quodsi tibi vacabit hominem aliquo epigrammate dignare, rem facies amicis gratam, gratissimam autem tuo Valdesio. Vale.*’ — A few days later it became known that Lallemand was actually in prison.

John LALLEMAND, OF ALLEMAND, a native of Burgundy, had entered Charles of Austria’s service as secretary by 1519, when Maximilian Transsylvanus dedicated to him his *Legatio* <sup>5)</sup>. From 1522 he is styled ‘Signant en Finances’, and from 1527, he is regularly called First Secretary <sup>6)</sup>. He married a widowed daughter of Philip Haneton, secretary of the Great Council <sup>7)</sup>. He was very proficient, in so far that Wolsey gave him an annuity for services rendered in 1522-23 <sup>8)</sup>; he was a friend of Erasmus <sup>9)</sup>, who, from 1523, appealed to him so as to protect the *Trilingue* along with Gattinara, especially in 1525 by influencing the Emperor, who might send a word to the Dean of Louvain, through him

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<sup>1)</sup> Cp. *BN*; Allen, iv, 1191, *pr*; *FG*, 407; *Cran.*, 150, *a-d*; *Brug&Fr.*, i, 257, *sq*; *OlaE*, 414, 465, 498, &c; Gabbema, 546; *AltRel.*, 112, 268, 298; *MonHL*, 41, 46, 624; *HTL*, iv, 96, 113, 276, 364, ii, 149, 156, *sq*, 181, 491, 540, 562, iii, 86, 291, 467; Creighton, 108-09; Cartwright, 37, *sq*, 79, 94; AgripE, 318; *MarHon.*, 140; &c.

<sup>2)</sup> *Auw.*, 66, 70-71, 79, 91, *sq*, 386, 450.

<sup>3)</sup> DE, 56: Fbm, 130, 38; Boehmer, 18.

<sup>4)</sup> *ActTom.*, ix, 410.

<sup>5)</sup> Allen, vi, 1553, *pr*; *Cran.*, 68, *b*.

<sup>6)</sup> Walther, 165.

<sup>7)</sup> Allen, v, 1280, *pr*; *BasBrux.*, i, 81.

<sup>8)</sup> Brewer, iii, 2701, 3607; *KALgLu.*, 88, 99.

<sup>9)</sup> On Febr. 24, 1523, Erasmus applied to him for the payment of his pension: Allen, vi, 1554, 12-15.

or through de Schepper <sup>1)</sup>. Still he seems to have had a difficult character, which especially showed at the time of the trouble with Francis I, when he became an enemy of the pro-Cesarian Valdes. It even went so far that he was suspected of treason, and imprisoned in December 1528 <sup>2)</sup>, as is repeatedly referred to in the letters of that period. He was replaced by Nicolas Perrenot de Granvelle ; acquitted in 1531 <sup>3)</sup>, he did not return to Court, but retired into his estates near Besançon and Gray <sup>4)</sup>. — There was another John Lallemand, Lalaman-tius, a physician and Greek scholar, who edited medical treatises and, in 1557, a rendering of Sophocles, largely reproducing Rataller's version without, however, indicating his name <sup>5)</sup>.

In those days the taking of Rome <sup>6)</sup> had totally upset the opinions of the reigning Princes, and Charles V saw himself obliged to choose one of the two ways indicated by Gattinara at Monaco : either approving of his army leaders in their manner of treating a pseudo-*pontifex*, whose governing proved disastrous for peace and for religion, and who moreover systematically opposed the convening of a Council ; — or, declining all responsibility, and expressing regret of what had happened, submitting to the decision of the Council, which alone could end all the conflicts. The Emperor chose the latter alternative, and Valdes made up a message to all Christian Princes in that sense, mentioning the liberation of Francis I ; also the disapproval of the policy of some German powers adverse to Rome, and regretting the bad influence of several councillors on Clement VII ; that message also wished for the meeting of a Council, attributing whatever had happened to the foresight of the Lord, who arranges all for the best. He also tried to help the realizing of the Emperor's decision by appealing to reigning Princes, as he did when applying to Dantiscus, who, on August 17, 1527, wrote to King Sigismund to explain the situation, and to insist on asking for the Council <sup>7)</sup>, which Charles V proposed by might and main to the Pope, as follows from the narration of what happened on those dreadful days, when even the most respectful persons were unable to make up their minds <sup>8)</sup>. At any rate, Valdes stood by his Master, and spread, wherever he could, his conviction that the Emperor was not answerable for Rome's miserable fate. He evokes those recent events in the dialogue between the Archdeacon del Viso, who accuses Charles, and his young friend Lactancio, who, on the present occasion, exposes

<sup>1)</sup> *HTL*, II, 247-8, 255, 258, 260, 264, *sq.*, 282, 288 ; Allen, VI, 1554, 36-45, 1747, 108-124, 1643, 1690, 119, 1784<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>2)</sup> *Cran.*, 273, *a* ; FG, 294. In a preceding letter, DE, 54 : (p 37), Alemanus is said to be probably jubilating as things had become quite upset : it was as a natural result of the events.

<sup>3)</sup> Gachard, II, 81, 100.

<sup>4)</sup> Allen, VI, 1554, *pr.*

<sup>5)</sup> *HTL*, IV, 364 ; *SaxOmn.*, 278 ; Paquot, XIV, 173-74.

<sup>6)</sup> *CMH*, II, 24, 55, *sq.*

<sup>7)</sup> *ActTom.*, IX, 257.

<sup>8)</sup> Pastor, IV, II, 242-322.

the arguments of Erasmus in his *Querela Pacis*, and makes the deplorable excesses appear as the result of the sad state of the Church, so as to completely disculpate the Emperor. That dialogue, like the first, only circulated in manuscript copies <sup>1)</sup>; it met a strong opposition, which Valdes ascribed to John Lallemand <sup>2)</sup>; the latter, it seems, had excited the Nuncio, who requested the Emperor to punish Valdes as a Lutheran. In reply, Charles asked the advice of the Bishop of Santiago, John Pardo de Tavera, who pronounced it all to be as a glory to Valdes : and so it happened that Lallemand soon became suspect, and was imprisoned, whereas the Nuncio died unexpectedly <sup>3)</sup>. Meanwhile Francis I, backed by England, started war as notified at Burgos on January 22, 1528, which incited Valdes to compose another libel, a diplomatic plea, a political utopia, based once more on Erasmus' theories. He represents Charles V as the highest incarnation of human nobility, who totally transforms the old order, so as to secure the welfare of the State and of the citizens in a sound and lasting peace. The dialogue is entrusted to Mercury and Charon, and it sketches a real Christianity, in which virtue and perfection consist chiefly in the excellence and purity of mind and soul, rather than in any outward show, which makes appear ridiculous, for example, the fashion of dying in a cowl, as if one thus could cheat the Lord <sup>4)</sup>. It also introduces a sketch of ideal Christian men and women, striving to reach real perfection after the principles which Erasmus explains in his writings, from his *Institutiones* to his *Colloquia*. In the beginning of 1529, Valdes was still at work on his dialogue, for he mentions the famous duel which the Emperor had proposed to Francis I to save two nations from a dreadful war ; he also wished Charles V to read his composition, which he wrote in Latin before he had it translated into Spanish, so as to have it printed and published, as results from his letter of Toledo, January 16, 1529, to Dantiscus <sup>5)</sup>. The latter replies from Toledo on February 1, 1529 : ' Dialogum tuum mihi velim mitti ... Illa etiam quæ latine de hoc certamine seu monomachia ... conscripsisti ... mihi da cum primis ' <sup>6)</sup>.

Throughout all those events, Charles V was, if not alarmed, for certain struck, by Valdes' justification in the Dialogues, and he applied for advice to the Lord of Praet and to Nicolas de Granvelle : they examined the *De Capta Roma*, and what

<sup>1)</sup> *Dialogo de las Cosas ocurridas en Roma* (Madrid, 1928) : *EraSpain*, 399-419 ; Allen, VIII, 2163, 75, sq.      <sup>2)</sup> *EraSpain*, 415.

<sup>3)</sup> That Nuncio was the famous Baldassare Castiglione, called *Nuncio Virginis* or *Mariæ* on pp 31 & 34, as he was from the place of pilgrimage of *S. Maria della Grazie*, Mantua. He died at Toledo, Febr. 7, 1529, aged 51, broken-hearted, as is said, at imputations of treachery : Pastor, IV, i, 394-95, ii, 355-56, &c.

<sup>4)</sup> *EraSpain*, 429.

<sup>5)</sup> *ActTom.*, XI, 16.

<sup>6)</sup> *EraSpain*, 420-438.



there was of the second libel, and assured the Emperor's mind, in so far that he decided to send Louis of Flanders, Lord of Praet to the Pope in Italy. His leave is mentioned by Valdes in the following letter; incidentally it hints at that statesman's overbearing ways, which caused him to be called 'Cato' <sup>1)</sup>. The letter further announces that Dantiscus did compose a sardonic epigram, which Valdes, when he read it out to Gattinara, mistook as referring to himself. This is the text of Valdes' letter <sup>2)</sup> : 'Abegimus Pratensem : jam mihi paululum respirare licet, nam his totis diebus ne respiravi quidem <sup>3)</sup>. Cum mihi epistolium simul cum epigrammate tuum reddit Stach, <sup>4)</sup> sedebam in prandio cum Cancellario. Cum epistolium lego, in quo mones ut epigramma boni consulam, obstupui. Quasi nescires nihil me posse non boni consulere quod ex te profisciscatur. Cum autem ad epigramma venio, vix, ita me Deus amet, a risu temperare potui, ubi vidi me ex Valdesio Lalemantum effectum <sup>5)</sup>, cui os et clauditur et reseratur offis. Vale. Mitto litteras Cæsaris ad te; aliæ autem pro tuo Barensi nondum subscriptæ sunt a Cæsare. Iterum vale. Tuus Valdesius'.

About the same time — the last days of 1528, or the first of 1529 — Valdes wrote to Dantiscus <sup>6)</sup> about the first of his memoirs, of which he had corrected the text : 'Memor te mihi præcepisse ut Lactantium meum de capla et direpla Roma castigatum ad te mitterem, meque facturum recepissem, ut fidem meam absolvam libellum ad te mitto. Agnosces vere hypocritam : exterius enim non nisi deaurata omnia inspicies, ut magnum tibi pollicearis : quod si Silenum excusseris, nascetur ridiculus mus <sup>7)</sup>. Tu tamen, qui mea omnia amico animo et legis et accipis, audaciam meam boni consules. Vale. Tuus Valdesius'.

On January 15, 1529, Nicolas de Granvelle sent news from Toledo <sup>8)</sup>; he offers greetings to de Praet, and promises to take care of Dantiscus' affair, who received this message at Valladolid on January 23.

<sup>1)</sup> Cp. before, p 38.

<sup>2)</sup> DE, 60 : Fbm, 130, 27; Boehmer, 22.

<sup>3)</sup> Cp. before, p 38.

<sup>4)</sup> Boehmer reads : Hach.

<sup>5)</sup> Cp. before, p 39.

<sup>6)</sup> DE, 68 : Fbm, 130, 6; Boehmer, 26.

<sup>7)</sup> *ErAdag.*, 770, c : *Sileni Alcibiadis*.

<sup>8)</sup> DE, 62 : Fbm, 66, 181.

About that time, there was in Charles V's Court at Toledo, Maximilian of EGDMONT, Count of Buren, son of Florent of Egmont, Lord of Ysselstein, or Iselstein, who became first Lord of Buren <sup>1)</sup>. He had been trained in Louvain by Adrian Barlandus, and had attended the lectures of Goclenius and of the *Trilingue*, in so far that Erasmus, whose acquaintance he made there, praised him on March 13, 1521 for his knowledge of Greek <sup>2)</sup>. He afterwards became a valiant army-leader, saving Arras in April 1537, and behaving brilliantly at St. Pol in June 1537. He was made Governor of Friesland, and in 1546 he marched from the Netherlands with an army through Protestant Germany to relieve Charles V at Ingolstadt; in September 1548, his friend Andrew Vesale predicted his impending death, of which was made quite a spectacular event <sup>3)</sup>.

On January 17, 1529, Maximilian of Egmont thanks Dantiscus for his letter <sup>4)</sup>, and refers to their first interview as of love from 'primo visu'. If ever Dantiscus comes to Belgium, he has to go and see his parents; he adds that he has mentioned him to the Emperor, and he sends greetings from the 'maior magister curiæ, John de la Saulx' and of his son; also of the Marquess de Ancisa, the Lord de Corrir and the Lord de Pelou.

On February 1, 1529, Valdes sends a reply by one of Dantiscus' colleagues to Toledo <sup>5)</sup>, mentioning a contagious disease that made some victims. He relates that the Emperor still thinks of going to Italy: 'Cæsar in sua sententia perstat: quid futurum sit, Deus ipse novit. Pontifex Romanus [Clement VII] pugnabat cum morte, atque ægre sustinebat conflictum: uter eorum viceret, incertum. Agebatur jam Romæ de novo Pontifice designando. Allegabant Galli suspectam Romam ob vicina Cæsar's arma. Dumque illi tumultuantur, nos, quibus in hoc mundi theatro spectatoris munus a superis datum est, fabulæ exitum expectabimus. Vale. Toleti, cal. Februarii 1529. Tuus Valdesius.'

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<sup>1)</sup> *Cran.*, 51, c, 67, a, &c; *MonHL*, 362, 488, 676; *Auw.*, 327, 445; *Frisia*, 61, a.

<sup>2)</sup> *HTL*, I, 448, 485-6, II, 124-26, 451, III, 332, 411; *Daxhelet*, 270-71.

<sup>3)</sup> Henne, VIII, 357-60, 28, 142, 168, 290, 297, 301, III, 180, VI, 189-94, VII, 322-23, 343, 349; Allen, IV, 1018, *pr*, VII, 1949, 37; *BN*; *MonHL*, 477, 488.

<sup>4)</sup> DE, 63: Upm, 154, 15-16.

<sup>5)</sup> DE, 64: Fbm, 130, 47; Boehmer, 24; it reached Dantiscus at Valladolid on February 8.

Dantiscus replied on the first day of February, and on the 14<sup>th</sup>, Valdes thanks him <sup>1)</sup> : 'Quam mihi fuerint tuæ litteræ gratissimæ, quid opus est dicere, cum tibi compertum sit quo affectu tua omnia ego exosculor suspiciamque'. He complains about the trouble which is caused to him by Lallemand and by his partisans. He evidently does not think that he will die in prison. 'Hominem evasurum arbitror; non tamen in aulam Cæsaris deinceps admittetur, etiamsi evaserit'... He thanks Dantiscus for backing him : 'Quod in eum scripsisti, fuit certe et Cancellario et amicis omnibus gratissimum... Vides quam æquissimus fuerit optimus Deus, mei Dialogi vindex, qui Lalemantum in carcerem trusit et Nuntium Pontificis repentina morte rapuit, ut ne rebus quidem suis disponere quiverit. Hæc sunt Dei judicia <sup>2)</sup> '... He mentions that Dantiscus' letter highly delighted Gattinara, and that his missive to the King of Poland would be duly dispatched. 'Hic quoque rumor erat Cæsarem iturum Granatam : falso tamen, nam die primo Martii hinc discedet, apud Montem Serratum celebraturus Pascha; indeque sub initium Maji navim ascensurus, et Italiam versus, si Deus concesserit, navigaturus; ita decretum est... Cum hæc scriberem, deprehendit me Dominus Perrenotus : legit tuas litteras : risimus sardonium ut ajunt risum : jussit ut ejus nomine plurimum tibi salutem dicerem...' He sends the greetings of several friends and refers to Alfonsus Virvesius, whom Valdes reconciled with Erasmus; he closes with the request : 'Isidi cum prole meis verbis salutem dices'.

The 'Isis', who is greeted here, is no doubt the person who is also called *Isipe* or *Isope* : she was the Isabella Delgada 'in Vico Cabezon' of Valladolid, to whom Dantiscus was directed for a lodging. She was a most attractive young woman, mentioned in a letter by the skipper John Graff of Montfort, at Antwerp, July 7, 1527 <sup>3)</sup> as well as by John de Weze, in his missive of May 9, 1536 from Toledo <sup>4)</sup>. The too great familiarity with Dantiscus ended in the birth of a Juana in February 1527, as he announced to his future successor Fabian Dameraw Wojanowski, from Valladolid, on August 20, 1527 <sup>5)</sup>. When late in 1529 the Court left Spain, Dantiscus said farewell to the mother, promising to provide for her and her child, which he had to beat on that occasion <sup>6)</sup>. It became one of the great griefs of his life.

<sup>1)</sup> DE, 66 : Fbm, 130, 48; Boehmer, 25; it reached Valladolid on Febr. 18.

<sup>2)</sup> Cp. before, p 41; and *EraSpain*, 437, sq, 464, sq.

<sup>3)</sup> Frauenburg Archives, D, 4, 130.

<sup>4)</sup> DE, 323 : Olm, 151, 3-4.

<sup>5)</sup> Ccm, 1366, 19.

<sup>6)</sup> DE, 472 : Fbm, 131, 27-28.

Besides the message of perfect understanding of Valdes' opinions and schemes expressed in the just mentioned letter of February 1, 1529, Dantiscus had requested the text of at least part of Valdes' libel : 'Illa etiam quæ Latine de hoc certamine seu monomachia jam pæne oblitterata conscripisti, <sup>1)</sup> — evidently the very first draft, — ob veritatem historiæ et actum illum ultimum cum feciali Cæsaris in Gallia habitum, mihi da cum primis. Non possum satis mirari cur typis non excuderentur cum vernacula vestra adeo omnia ad longum sunt expressa' <sup>2)</sup>. To that request Valdes replied <sup>3)</sup> : 'Non misissem ad te historiam meam nisi tuum ex meo metiissem animum, et eo animo misi ut quo plura in ea immutata invenero, eo erit mihi officium gratius. Tu commoditate tua id facito, et quamprimum absolutum erit, ad me mittito. Hoc unum te rogo, ut secreto apud te serves quousque ad Pontificem eat : postea enim typis excudetur'. Dantiscus also had mentioned another libel in the same letter, which was also kept enveloped in secrecy, and of which he wished to get rid, as he expected that, before long, he would have to accompany the Emperor to Italy and Germany : 'Pasquillum et alia', he had written to Valdes, 'cum Hispania mihi relinquenda est, accipies : sunt enim adhuc in massa, nondum satis incudem expecta' <sup>4)</sup>. To which Valdes replied <sup>5)</sup> : 'Pasquillum cum apud me retinui, eam ipsam legem, quam tu mihi præscribis, ipsemet mihi præscripsi, nec ausus sum exemplum sumere te inconsulto : nunc autem, cum tu ipse id mihi permiseris, describam et ad te quamprimum mittam, et ea lege describam ut nec mihi, nec tibi noceat : sum enim eius animi ut non minus mihi cara sit tua quam mea existimatio : quod, si tibi nondum persuasum esse crederem, pluribus inculcarem. Vale. Tuus Valdesius.

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<sup>1)</sup> Since Francis I refused to execute any of the promises he made in accepting freedom from the Emperor, the latter replied to his provocation to a duel by sending his herald who, leaving on June 28, was only received on September 10 by coarse invectives : Henne, iv, 165, *sq.* On May 18, 1529 Ferdinand of Austria wrote to his brother : 'j'ai reçu un cahier ou est contenu tout le demene du combat dentre votre mate. et le roi de France : LanzCor., i, 229.

<sup>2)</sup> CabConq., iv, 409 ; Boehmer, 27.

<sup>3)</sup> DE, 70 : Fbm, 130, 24 ; Boehmer, 27.

<sup>4)</sup> CabConq., iv, 409.

<sup>5)</sup> DE, 71 : Fbm, 130, 18 ; Boehmer, 28.

No doubt Dantiscus, although requesting secrecy about his Pasquil, had not been as prudent as he pretended to be, for, a few days later, Valdes wrote to him <sup>1)</sup> : ‘ Viden quam mihi tragœdiam excitaris cum tuo Pasquillo ! Volitavit ille per totam Hispaniam ; multorumque litteris obruor quasi domi habeam Pasquillum. Tuum nunc erit pro me patronum agere : quod si præstiteris, et mihi rem gratissimam facies, et te ab invidia liberabis ; sin minus, omnes, quotquot venerint, ad te remittam. Est nobilis quidam pro Hispanorum captu eruditionis non aspernandæ, nec minus genere illustris, utpote duci del Infantazgo sanguine conjunctissimus ; is cum superioribus annis heroicis versibus ediderit ‘ talichristiam ’ ; audiens nunc Pasquillum apud me diversari, hanc quam vides epistolam ad me dedit, quam hac lege ad te mitto ut meo nomine ad eam respondeas. Vale. Vides quid bonus ille poeta vereatur. Responde, rogo, et cito, nam tabellarius hac nocte responsionem expectat. Iterum vale. Tuus Valdesius ’.

Meanwhile the removal of the Imperial Court to Italy was preparing. On February 14, 1529, Gattinara wrote from Toledo to Dantiscus <sup>2)</sup> at Valladolid, sending news and assuring that nothing is changed to what has been proposed ; he refers to Valdes’ letter. A few weeks later, the latter applies to Dantiscus <sup>3)</sup>, who probably had also prepared himself to the voyage, and expressed a doubt about the Emperor’s decision. ‘ Salvum te advenire gaudeo ’, Valdes wrote at Saragossa on April 18, 1529. ‘ Cæsar in sua sententia eundi ad Italiam tanta constantia perstat, ut si deessent naves, natationi se commissurus sit potius quam ab itinere alio divertat. Sed de his latius cras, nam in præsentia plura scribere non vacat. Cæsar cras hinc abibit, nos die Mercurii sequemur <sup>4)</sup>. Cancellarius longe melius valet <sup>5)</sup>. Tu quoque vale. Tuus Valdesius ’.

<sup>1)</sup> DE, 72 : Fbm, 130, 31 ; Boehmer, 29.

<sup>2)</sup> DE, 67 : Fbm, 66, 184 ; the letter reached Joannes Dantiscus on February 18.

<sup>3)</sup> DE, 75 : Fbm, 130, 13 ; Boehmer, 30 ; the message reached Dantiscus on April 19 ‘ in Otheno ’, probably a place on the way from Valladolid to Saragossa.

<sup>4)</sup> In 1529, April 18 was a Sunday : the Emperor left on April 19, and Valdes intended going away on April 21, Wednesday.

<sup>5)</sup> He often was ailing : cp. before, pp 26 & 27.

## LETTERS TO AND FROM ERASMUS

quoted or mentioned in this study  
and not referred to in Allen's Edition

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Letter from Dantiscus to Erasmus : end of October 1531 *pp* 104-10

»	»	Erasmus to Decius : beginning of 1533	179
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## CORRIGENDA

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On p 44	<i>l</i> 7 from below	instead of	1536	read	1526
86	<i>l</i> 14 from top	» »	and	»	an
96	note 2	» »	Cartusian	»	Carthusian
143	<i>l</i> 2	» »	<i>Marcellum</i>	»	<i>Marcellinum</i>
161	note 6	» »	D	»	DE
189	<i>l</i> 6 from top	» »	but which	»	but of which
189	<i>l</i> 7 from top	» »	to of which	»	to which
211	<i>l</i> 16 from top	» »	sympton	»	symptom
241	<i>l</i> 4 from top	» »	26	»	24
281	<i>l</i> 6 from below	» »	1535	»	1536
353	<i>l</i> 18 from top	» »	friends	»	friend
359	<i>l</i> 23	» »	Louvain.	»	Louvain,
363	<i>l</i> 24	» »	Emdem	»	Emden
416	<i>n</i> 3, <i>l</i> 2	» »	<i>xxxvii</i>	»	<i>xxxvii</i>

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## BOLOGNA AND RATISBON

Dantiscus, who in the first months of 1527 had made the acquaintance of John-Albert, Margrave of Brandenburg <sup>1)</sup>, who had become known to de Schepper, followed the Court to Barcelona, where Charles waited from April 30 to July 26 before he entered his galley on July 27, sailing off three days later <sup>2)</sup>. It was there that Dantiscus received on May 6 a letter, which his friend Cornelius had sent from Veere on March 9, 1529 <sup>3)</sup>. He writes that he is surprised not to hear from his friend, to whom he directs so many letters and business-men, such as Ulric Ehinger ; he announces that his embassy to Poland was successful, as he will relate on the first occasion when they will meet ; he writes in cipher about persons who are indicated by a sign, one of whom is also suspected in the Netherlands, and is kept there (probably at Veere) by a continuous storm, which nearly wrecked him with his wife and family ; he mentions his own return voyage from Spain, which was good, except for the last part. From John Levicius <sup>4)</sup> he hears that Dantiscus is still in Spain ; he refers to John Statidius of Buda, the Vaivode's *orator* in France and England ; he also relates that a Hochstetter, a rich merchant, is sent by Henry VIII to King Ferdinand, requesting him to leave to the Vaivode the towns he has conquered, in return for a large amount of money, which could be advantageously used against the Turk, and which otherwise would be handed to the Vaivode : there is no reply as yet. He further writes about the meeting of Spires, and inquires after the ' Dominus Maltensis ', Philip de Villiers de l'Isle-Adam ; as to the news that Gustav Erikson, pseudo-rex of Sweden, is going to marry Princess Hedwige of Poland, he thinks it is a shame, since all the Swedish noblemen are opposed to him ; nor can a Kingdom thrive from which all priests and religious people are banished. Severin Norby <sup>5)</sup>, is here, ready to attack either England or Denmark. ' Christiernus Rex agit apud Brabantos, abiecta

<sup>1)</sup> DE, 69, February 27 : DE, 74, March 25 : Ccm, 1637, 419, 421 ; cp. p 28.

<sup>2)</sup> Gachard, 46.

<sup>3)</sup> DE, 73 : Fbm, 3, 23-25.

<sup>4)</sup> He was canon-cantor of Plock, Bishop Tomicki's notary, and official messenger.

<sup>5)</sup> Cp. DE, 79.

*cura regnorum*'. He alludes to Christian's joining the Anabaptists, and adds some remarks in cipher, before offering greetings from himself and his family, also from the abbot of Middelburg, Maximilian of Burgundy <sup>1)</sup>, and of John Malbodius <sup>2)</sup>, the painter; he requests letters through Jerome Welser or the Fuggers, in Antwerp. In postscript he states that he wrote to the Chancellor to thank him for having him fully paid, as well as to Alexander (cp. before, p 30) and to Valdes, and he repeats his request of seeing that the money due to him be sent to either of the bankers mentioned.

Two more letters from de Schepper reached Dantiscus at Barcelona on June 6 : one is dated from Brussels on May 23, 1529 <sup>3)</sup> : he remarks that he writes more than his friend who '*secessit dictoriam*', whereas he, he has his wife. He announces that he has managed to get Dantiscus' brother George appointed as '*orator*' at Mechlin : he left the day before for Germany. He has heard about John Lallemand <sup>4)</sup>, and he finds that '*nihil ex auctoritate pristina decessit, ex consul rhetor factus*', since he retires. He sends to Valdesius his greetings, whereas his wife and her sister salute him.

The second letter is dated May 25, 1529, also from Brussels <sup>5)</sup> : de Schepper writes once more, probably after having received Dantiscus' complaint about being neglected, which suggested the conclusion that they better forgive one another. He regrets that he has not been able to treat Dantiscus' brother <sup>6)</sup>, or, at all events, to let him be treated by his wife, who would have taken care of the '*exteriora : est enim civilitatis gnara*'. At any rate, de Schepper thanks his friend for his congratulations on his marriage of the preceding year <sup>7)</sup> : '*et facis bene*', he adds; for he declares that he has never

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<sup>1)</sup> Maximilian of Burgundy, Lord of Fromond, a '*iuvenis ex aula subito translatus ad monasterium*' in 1518, as Erasmus wrote, from coadjutor of the Abbot of Middelburg became abbot; he died in 1535 : *HTL*, II, 464; *Cran.*, 121, *b-d*; Allen, VI, 1563, 31, IV, 1164, 46; Bergh, II, 137-39; Daxhelet, 296, *sq*, 147-49, 313, *sq*; Fruin, 480, 483.

<sup>2)</sup> Jean Gossart de Mabuse : *Cran.*, 10, 13, 54, 26, 121, c; *HTL*, II, 438; *Auw.*, 36.

<sup>3)</sup> DE, 77 : Fbm, 3, 28.

<sup>4)</sup> Cp. before, p 39.

<sup>5)</sup> DE, 78 : Fbm, 3, 26, *sq*.

<sup>6)</sup> Cp. DE, 77.

<sup>7)</sup> Cp. pp 33, 34.



found more constancy in friendship, though he judges it is 'rarum in mulieribus! Accedit amor meus', he adds, which increases day by day, as well as the experience of her 'virtus'; she is, he says, 'ingenio ad magna nata, nolique me domi torpore'. He adds that he should like to come to Spain, but he fears the sea, as, on March 11, he wrote through a painter voyaging to the Count of Nassau. He feels contented since he hears that Dantiscus stays with the Emperor; for, indeed, what could induce one to stay with the Court? He wants Dantiscus to watch his friend's interests, which are indicated in ciphers. At any rate, — no doubt alluding to a change contemplated in Dantiscus' career in 1528 <sup>1)</sup>, — he is pleased that his friend does not go to France; 'neque isthic fides est', de Schepper judges. He had written to the secretary of the King of Poland John Zambolski <sup>2)</sup>, whereas Nicolas Niptzytch, the Orator <sup>3)</sup>, had sent a letter which he could not read; meanwhile he writes to Chancellor Szydlowiecki, and refers to the peace with France, which is preparing by the 'Ladies' at Cambrai <sup>4)</sup>. He sends greetings to the friends.

On June 25, 1529 Cornelius de Schepper wrote from Brussels <sup>5)</sup> a letter of introduction in favour of the illustrious captain Severin Norby, requesting Dantiscus, — as a native of a Hanseatic town, — to welcome and to treat cordially his old enemy: although most terrible at war, he is, at heart, 'mitissimus et humanissimus'; he is, he writes a 'nobilis Ruthenorum', who, one day, may prove to us an invaluable help.

Severin NORBY was a most able Danish captain, who distinguished himself in the war with the Hansea towns in 1512. He led to Charles of Austria an admiral vessel, fully rigged and manned, at Christian II's marriage, and helped to pacify Friesland. In 1520, he was entrusted by the Danish King with the lead of the forces that subdued Sweden,

<sup>1)</sup> Cp. before, p 35.

<sup>2)</sup> Zambolski or Zambocki was secretary to Sigismund I.

<sup>3)</sup> Niptzytch was for several years Polish ambassador in Vienna.

<sup>4)</sup> The peace prepared at Cambrai by Margaret of Austria, aunt of Charles V, and Louise de Savoie, mother of Francis I, was signed on August 5, 1529.

<sup>5)</sup> DE, 79: Fbm, 3, 27; it reached Dantiscus on October 20, at Piacenza.

although, horrified at the *Stockholm Blodbad*, he gave an asylum to all who fled on his ships. He stood by Christian II in his trouble in 1523, and helped him on all occasions, as he was actually master of some islands in the Baltic Sea. In 1528 he seconded the King, but was compelled to surrender : although the Lübeck authorities claimed him as their prisoner, he was indemnified for his losses by Scelvitsborg, Rønneby, and other territories in the Bleking. Overpowered at a new endeavour, he was ordered by Christian to appeal to Russia, where Vasili kept him as a captive, until Charles V had him freed. He went to the Netherlands, and from there to Italy, where, in 1530, he died at the siege of Florence, at the very time when his bravery would have rendered great service to Christian. De Schepper composed a fine epitaph on the valiant man. Cp. *AltRel.*, 53, 68, 102, 117, 149-52 ; *DanHist.*, I, 263, 268, 271, 288-89, II, 23.

Meanwhile the Emperor and his Court, leaving Barcelona on Juli 29, 1529, reached Palamos on the next day, and the Italian harbour Savona on August 7. They landed at Genoa on the 12<sup>th</sup>, and remained there till about the end of the month, when they started moving by Tortona to Piacenza where, from September 5, they remained to October 25 <sup>1)</sup>. Maybe Dantiscus followed the Court leisurely, for he was still at Genoa on Sept. 1, when he received a letter from John Choiensky, archdeacon of Cracow, Bishop of Przemisl, writing him on July 12, from Vilna <sup>2)</sup> to thank him for a letter ; he refers to ‘illi domino Scepero oratori... adolescenti omnibus nominibus commendatissimo... vt nusquam se sibi dissimilem exhibuit, vt qui humanus, prudens et eruditus.

On January 10, 1530, John de Weze, the Archbishop-elect of Lund, writes from Mechlin to Dantiscus <sup>3)</sup> to thank him for the letter he has received along with the missive of de Schepper, ‘*fratris mei*’, as he calls him, as well as for his kindness and his generosity ; he is ready to do whatever he can to show his gratitude. ‘Scripsi D<sup>no</sup> Cornelio vt in meis negociis velit aliquando uti patrocinio et auctoritate vestra <et me iuvare> eadem dignabitur : rogo humiliter, ex suo solito amore, honorem meum commendatum habere, et res

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<sup>1)</sup> Gachard, 46.

<sup>2)</sup> DE, 80 : Ccm, 1595, 17-18 ; it reached Dantiscus at Genoa on Sept. 1, 1529.

<sup>3)</sup> DE, 83 : Ccm, 243, 105 ; it reached Dantiscus on January 27 at Bologna.

meas promovere, sicuti latius a dicto domino Cornelio jnformabitur'. That letter reached Dantiscus at Bologna, from where he wrote to an official in the Polish Chancery on January 25 <sup>1)</sup>, requesting to be paid the fee which had been long due to him : in fact he owed part of it to Valdes, and part to de Schepper, who had advanced sums (300 and 250 £.) to him ; he refers to Levicius, and hopes soon to be helped through Fugger or Welser.

Meanwhile Charles V, who had reached Bologna <sup>2)</sup> on November 5, and stayed there for his coronation, was actually made Emperor there on February 24, 1530 <sup>3)</sup>. Dantiscus, who had been honoured by an audience by Pope Clement, and had conversed with several of the Cardinals, was there 'cum Pontifex Cæsaris tempora imperii corona cingeret'; — he had composed there already in the preceding December <sup>4)</sup> his *De nostrorum Temporum Calamitatibus Silva*, in which he addressed the Pope, on ll 324-25 :

Tu modo ne dubita, promere signa iube !

Cæsaris imperii sacra tempora cinge corona !

In his 'Vita' <sup>5)</sup> he afterwards referred to that grand event :

Audivit triplici me cinctus papa tiara,

Et prope cardinei turba sacrata chori.

Hoc tum Felsinea <sup>6)</sup>, quo tempore Carolus orbis

Imperium cepit Quintus, in urbe fui.

Testis erit facili currens mea carmine silva,

Quam dolor extorsit temporis ille mali.

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<sup>1)</sup> DE, 84 : Upm, 155, 213, 214.

<sup>2)</sup> Gachard 46-47, 85 : he remained at Bologna until March 22.

<sup>3)</sup> Henne, iv, 270 : the ceremony is described in Gachard, 86-94.

<sup>4)</sup> It was edited as *De nostrorum Temporum Calamitatibus Sylva Bononiæ edita ix. Decemb. MDXXIX* : Bologna, J. B. Phaellus, Mense Januario, 1530 ; it was reprinted in Cracow, 24 Febr. 1530, and at Antwerp, along with a poem by Janus Secundus on the Cambrai Peace and A. Resendius' *Encomium Urbis et Academiæ Lovaniensis*, by John Grapheus : *DantCar.*, xi-xii ; *NijKron.*, I, 683.

<sup>5)</sup> *DantCar.*, 295-301 : ll 41-46.

<sup>6)</sup> Bologna was originally called *Felsina* (cp. *ElPoet.*, 152 ; *ClDict.*, 168, a) ; in his *Silva*, l 431, Dantiscus mentions the town as : *Urbs est Felsina clara satis*.

Writing to Erasmus from Augsburg on February 3, 1530 <sup>1)</sup>, John Choler <sup>2)</sup> announces the acquaintance he just has made of Dantiscus : ‘Imprimis autem me delectauit et inuit plurimum Ioannis Dantisci, oratoris serenissimi Poloniæ Regis, familiaritas et ami<ci>cia : cuius tanta est comitas vt parem vix viderim vnquam. Tui nominis imprimis est studiosissimus ; nihil loquitur aut sentit de te nisi summa et præclarissima quæque, et ob id mihi futurus est perpetuo charissimus. Hunc hominem serius cognitum, quod præter voluntatem meam relinquere citius coactus sim, summopere doleo ; nulla tamen vnquam locorum longinquitas a me illum separare poterit, quem egregia illius virtus moresque candidi tam arcte mihi coniunxerunt...

From March 25 to April 18, the Court was at Mantua, where Dantiscus, after trying in vain to see Valdes, the latter wrote, on April 9, 1530 <sup>3)</sup> : Doleo te adeo officiosum ut me domi convenire volueris, et me adeo infelicem quod domi nequaquam offenderis. Negotium tuum non potest tibi magis curæ esse quam mihi, sed tu, si me amas, quemvis potius e famulis tuis ad me mitte quam Levicium <sup>4)</sup>, cujus me mirum in modum offendit superstitio. Si quid erit in quo tua opera opus sit, te monebo : interea permittito me negociari, et desine toties me cum tuis debitoribus obtundere. Vale’. — Dantiscus, no doubt, offered his excuses, so that Valdes replied <sup>5)</sup> : ‘Admittimus justissimam tuam excusationem. Veniam ego ad te, si tamen commode potero ; sin autem, me tu vicissim excusatum habebis. Non opus est ut Levicius ad me veniat ; ego rem ita expediam ut intelligas adesse Valdesium’.

<sup>1)</sup> Allen, VIII, 2269, 28-37 ; Ent., 109.

<sup>2)</sup> John Choler, or Koler, had returned from Italy on January 29, 1530 (Allen, VIII, 2269, 1) and had seen Dantiscus there ; he was from 1512 provost of Chur ; he took a great interest in studies and kept on a regular correspondence with Erasmus from 1529 to 1535 : he is said to have suffered heavily from gout, and to have died a few days before March 21, 1536 : FG, 325-27 ; Allen, VIII, 2195, *pr* ; *Adelm.*, 142 ; *SaxOnom.*, 163 ; *MonHL*, 45, 453 ; *HTL*, IV, 430, II, 149, 496, III, 22, 30, 34, 392, 609 ; *ActaMori*, 22.

<sup>3)</sup> DE, 85 : Fbm, 130, 30 ; Boehmer, 32.

<sup>4)</sup> Levicius was then on mission for the Queen to the Duchy of Bari : cp. *pp* 47, 51 ; he probably did not receive his salary and was in straits.

<sup>5)</sup> DE, 76 : Fbm, 130, 33 ; Boehmer, 31.

LIVINUS ALGOET, (H)Alsberghe, Goethals, *Panagathus*, a native of Ghent, entered Erasmus' service in 1519, on Mark Laurin's recommendation : he was then still studying in the *Trilingue*, though with little zest. Some time later, in September, 1524, he was once more sent to the University to study medicine, and serve as præceptor to Thomas Winter, Cardinal Wolsey's relative. He returned soon to Basle to carry out letters, but in 1527, he did not return to Erasmus. Provisionally de Schepper engaged him in 1530 at the Diet of Augsburg, which Algoet described ; he went to the Netherlands, taking de Schepper's letter of May 9, 1530 : DE, 87. On his return to Brussels, de Schepper recommended him to Mary of Hungary's secretary Olah, who engaged him as teacher of the young pages at the Queen's Court <sup>1</sup>). When in 1532, the Court stayed at Ghent, Olah lived in the house of the widow of Erasmus' friend Antony Colve, Clava ; Algoet there became engaged to their granddaughter, and, though he had no sure position, and she, no fortune, they married on August 6, 1532, 'calide magis quam callide', as Erasmus remarked. He visited the great erudite in 1533, and only in 1538 he was appointed as 'King of Arms' for Flanders. He made the genealogy of Queen Mary, and wrote reports on events, like the one on the Diet of Augsburg, which, however, remained unprinted. He composed some epitaphs, like those on Erasmus and Queen Isabella of Denmark, and made a few geographical maps. He fell ill at Heilbronn, and died at Ulm on January 25, 1547. Cp. Allen, iv, 1091, *pr* ; FG, 383-84 ; *Cran.*, 58, a, &c ; *MonHL*, 7, 44-45, 48, 50, 53, 55, *sq.*, 227 ; *HTL*, II, 136-39, III, 38, *sq.*, 41, 106, 111-12, 115, 412, 451, iv, 258, 514.

Whereas the Emperor and the Court had left Mantua on April 18, 1530, — apparently on their way to Innsbruck, where they stayed from May 4 to June 5, 1530 <sup>2</sup>), Dantiscus had been unable to follow as he was ailing. He there had a letter from Valdes, dated April 28, 1530 from Trent <sup>3</sup>), mentioning several affairs, which Nicolas Granvelle and he himself should take care of as soon as Charles V's health was better. John-Albert, Margrave of Brandenburg, who himself was ill at Neunburg in the preceding December <sup>4</sup>), regrets, on May 10, 1530 <sup>5</sup>), that Dantiscus is ailing, as their friend

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<sup>1</sup>) Cp. *OlaE*, 174-75, 196, 225.

<sup>2</sup>) Gachard, 47, 95 : Cardinal Gattinara (cp. pp 12, 39, &c) died there, and Nicolas Perrenot de Granvelle was appointed as his successor, at least for part of his work. Cp. *LaemKirch.*, 132.

<sup>3</sup>) DE, 86 : Ccm, 1596, 253.

<sup>4</sup>) DE, 81 : Ccm, 1637, 429 : December 6, 1529.

<sup>5</sup>) DE, 88 : Ccm, 1637, 431 : it was sent from Innsbruck and reached Mantua on May 18.

Cornelius de Schepper told him. De Schepper himself wrote, on May 9, 1530, from Innsbruck <sup>1)</sup> to express his sadness to be deprived of Dantiscus' company; all his friends regretted his absence. He further announces that he offered 'vngulam illam', — most probably a copy of the satire '*De nostrorum Temporum Calamitatibus Silva*', issued at Bologna in January 1530 <sup>2)</sup>, — with a preface in Dantiscus' name to the Count of Nassau, who derived great pleasure from it. Levicius had not arrived as yet: he went from Trent, it seems, to Venice, as he had borrowed money: 'vide', he writes, 'quam sit semper sui similis' <sup>3)</sup>. As further news, de Schepper announces that the two Queens of Hungary came the day before <sup>4)</sup>: Charles the Emperor went to greet them. 'Ex Erasmo suscepi literas per Livinum meum <sup>5)</sup>. Is se tibi plurimum commendat, legitque *Sylvam* tuam, pietatemque tuam laudat <sup>6)</sup>. Scripsit de Bello Turcico consultationem <sup>7)</sup> valde piam: quam videbis cum huc veneris; Rev<sup>mus</sup> Dominus Cancellarius noster <sup>8)</sup> eam totam meo instructu perlegit: legisset alia quædam, nisi dysenteria illum impediisset'. He adds news of Augsburg, where Luther and Melancthon are coming to with the Elector of Saxony. He also tells news about Charles the Emperor, about Gattinara, and his illness, which keeps himself, the writer, there. 'Hoc est etiam in causa quominus de Hylario quicquam transigere potuerim' <sup>9)</sup>. Greetings are sent from the 'abbas Middelburgensis', Maximilian of Burgundy <sup>10)</sup>, and D<sup>nus</sup> Anthonius <sup>11)</sup>.

Hilary BERTOLF, BERTULPHUS, born at Lede, near Ghent, studied under Eligius Houckaert <sup>12)</sup> and in Paris; he taught for a time at

<sup>1)</sup> DE, 87: Upm, 154, 51: it reached Dantiscus at Mantua on May 18.

<sup>2)</sup> *DantCar.*, xi-xii; and before, p 51.

<sup>3)</sup> Cp. before p 52.

<sup>4)</sup> Probably Mary of Hungary and the Queen of Austria-Hungary.

<sup>5)</sup> Livinus Panagathus, Algoet: Erasmus former amanuensis, taken into de Schepper's service: cp. p 53.

<sup>6)</sup> Cp. before p 51.

<sup>7)</sup> The '*Consultatio de Bello Turcis inferendo*' was issued at Basle, Froben, 1530: *EraBib.*, 1, 64.

<sup>8)</sup> No doubt Gattinara, in his last illness.

<sup>9)</sup> Viz., Hilary Bertolf.

<sup>10)</sup> Cp. before, p 48.

<sup>11)</sup> Possibly de Leyva.

<sup>12)</sup> Cp. *Cran.*, 19, a.

Toulouse, and met Agrippa at Geneva <sup>1)</sup>. In 1522, he entered Erasmus' *familia*, and was sent to Francis I in the last weeks of 1523. He later on was taken into the service of Margaret de Valois; by 1528 he married, and from November 1531, if not already in the summer of 1530, he was in Dantiscus' service, — after some difficulty, however <sup>2)</sup>; and thanks to him, had a bundle of epitaphs for Gattinara printed in 1531 <sup>3)</sup>. He left in 1532 to return to France, where he was an intimate of Rabelais, and worked for Gryphius. Unfortunately he and his family died from the plague in August 1533. He left, besides some sharp remarks about his own long nose, an edition of a Latin Grammar, 1523-24, and several poems : cp. *BibBelg.*, 390; *GandErVir.*, 57; Paquot, ix, 102; FG, 303; *GeldColl.*, 74, 142; Allen, v, 1257, 13, 1403, 24, &c; *Cran.*, 19, a, 79; AgripE, 135, 153, 476; Herminjard, I, 210; VivE, 168, 170, 173, 176; Roersch, I, 69-82, 95, II, 20, 29, sq; *ActaMori*, 65; *HTL*, II, 100, 441; III, 22, 31, 141, 385.

On May 27, 1530, Cornelius de Schepper again wrote from Innsbruck <sup>4)</sup>, expressing his sadness not to hear either from Dantiscus or from his brother Bernard <sup>5)</sup>; even their friend John Vitus had returned from Mantua without any news. Now, fortunately, Bernard has come, and moreover news has reached the Court that the clever Polish ambassador has been endowed with the bishopric of Kulm, or Culm, for which most hearty congratulations are offered. Meanwhile the Chancellor Gattinara has been very ill <sup>6)</sup>. Christian, the King of Denmark has also arrived at the Court; he contemplates attacking Sweden, incited as he is by the bishops who had been banished by Gustavus Erikson Vasa <sup>7)</sup>: de Schepper made him welcome to his Imperial Majesty and to King Ferdinand, and stated that he had spoiled, not only his own interest, but even that of his defenders by his Lutheran principles. De Schepper further provides the latest tidings from Augsburg, where Count William of Nassau <sup>8)</sup> represents

<sup>1)</sup> Cp. Allen, ix, 2544, *pr.*

<sup>2)</sup> FG, 192, 29; Allen, ix; 2570, 12 : in the same letter, *ll* 45-47, is mentioned : *Hilarium ... redisse in gratiam cum Dantisco denuo : cohabitavit ei iam* (Nov. 19, 1531).

<sup>3)</sup> A. Roersch, in *Mélanges Paul Thomas* : Bruges, 1930 : pp 605-614 : *Nouvelles Indications c. Hil. Bertulfus*; Roersch, II, 11.

<sup>4)</sup> DE, 89 : Fbm, 3, 35.

<sup>5)</sup> Cp. before, p 28.

<sup>6)</sup> Cp. before p 53 : he died on June 5, 1530.

<sup>7)</sup> *DanHist.*, I, 290, sq.

<sup>8)</sup> Of Dillenburg, father of William of Orange : Pirenne, III, 402.

the Emperor. 'Negocium cum meis', de Schepper adds, 'in lingua Gallica nondum expeditum : Latinum apud me est : Bestia maior facit difficultatem'. — If Dantiscus happens to be in Venice, he might look out for Nicolas Fernandez from Antwerp, in the 'Red' or 'White Lion', and tell him that he, de Schepper, has a message which might be of great profit to him ; the 'caupo' is called Michael Bruinsteen. He sends greetings from the senex Gattinara, from William, Count of Nassau, from the Margrave of Brandenburg and from Valdes.

Probably before the letter was closed, de Schepper was informed that the affair of the King of the Danes had been resolved ; John de Weze, the Archbishop-elect of Lund had not come : 'male audit quod tyrannice cum domino suo tali quali vixerit ; interim non abstinens conviciis et abutens autoritate ; de me quoque, — de Schepper declares, — Lundensis male sentit, credens quod non insteterim pro suis rebus : interim non temperans parum amicis verbis. Atqui tu, (he addresses Dantiscus) testis es quod in re propria non ita vacaverim ut in ipsius ! Sed hæc est gratia !'. He closes by repeating his salutations to his friend in Mantua, to whose coming he is looking forward.

URSINUS VELIUS, or rather Caspar Bernhardt, born at Schweidnitz, near Breslau, in 1493, studied in Cracow, in Leipzig and in Rome, where he lived in the district Velia, which is said to have provided his name *Velius*. Having served for some time the Bishop of Gurk, Matthew Lang, he taught in Vienna, and was appointed tutor to the children of King Ferdinand. He was famous as erudite and as poet, and a trusty friend of Erasmus and of Dantiscus. Early on March 5, 1539, he left his house, and was never seen or heard of again. A brother of Janus Secundus, himself a poet, Adrian Marius, wrote an epigram *In Mortem Ursini Velii* (*DelPoBel.*, III, 450). Cp. *HutOS*, II, 491-93 ; *CeltE*, 51, 80 ; *RhenE*, 282, 296, 308, 407, 630 ; *OlaE*, 48, 70, 152, 168, &c ; *Hoyneck*, II, i, 59-64, 128 ; *FG*, 436 ; *OlaCar.*, 24-25 ; *HTL*, II, 14, 36, III, 21, 42 ; *Busl.*, 397 ; *Auw.*, 408 ; *Allen*, II, 548, 4 ; *DantCar.*, 73 ; &c.

On June 10, 1530, Ursinus Velius writes to Dantiscus <sup>1)</sup> that, in March, he had been told by an old fellow student of his at Cracow under Constantius Italus, Florianus Zyclo, a Polish nobleman, that he intended returning to his native

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<sup>1)</sup> DE, 90 : Ccm, 243, 233 : it reached Dantiscus on June 13.



country ; on that account he did not write. He since learned from Brassicanus <sup>1)</sup>, that he was still at Court, and had recently edited at Brussels, his, *Velius*’, *Epistolam*, ‘*exemplis versiculis quos de eius <Dantisci> studijs and ingenio inseruerat. Utinam vero*, he adds, *si emissa est Epistola, mutati sint in ea unus alterque versiculus, de quibus tempestive Dominationem Tuam Rev<sup>am</sup> admonuj ! — cuius editæ <epistolæ> exemplum vnum ad me primo quoque tempore mitti vehementer cupio*’.

About that same time a Cracow printer, Jerome Vietor, who happened to be in Vienna, wrote from there on June 19, 1530 to Dantiscus <sup>2)</sup> that he had heard that he had been created Bishop, which gives him an occasion to praise him and his virtue, his erudition, and his recent book : ‘*foetura tua Elegiaca*’ he calls it. He requests him to send all new publications, such as the ‘*Ingressus Cæsaris-Augusti*’ in the town of Augsburg.

From June 15 to November 23, 1530, the Imperial Court was at Augsburg <sup>3)</sup>. From there Charles V sent a letter to the Pope on July 7 about the appointment of Dantiscus as Bishop of Culm <sup>4)</sup>. ‘*Beatissime Pater*’, he wrote, ‘*scribimus ad oratorem istic nostrum ut pro R<sup>do</sup>. Joanne Dantisco, episcopo Culmensi, ser<sup>mt</sup> Regis Poloniæ apud nos oratore, viro nobis gratissimo, Sanctitatem Vestram alloquatur, quam majorem in modum rogamus ut homini summam fidem habere, et, quod ab ea petimus, nobis concedere dignetur. Quod nos vicissim omni filiali observantia promereri curabimus erga Sanctitatem Vestram, quam feliciter valere et isti Sanctæ Sedi Apostolicæ diu præesse optamus. Datum in civitate nostra Imperiali Augusta die vii mensis Julii anno Dni. MDXXX...*

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<sup>1)</sup> Brassicanus is probably the John Alexander Brassicanus (c 1500-Nov. 25, 1539), a son of a master of Tübingen. He took service as an attendant on Maximilian of Bergen, and so he became acquainted with Erasmus ; he witnessed in October 1520 the burning of Luther’s books in Louvain. He taught in Vienna and gathered a wealth of old documents : cp. Allen, iv, 1146, *pr* ; de Jongh, 232.

<sup>2)</sup> DE, 91 : Upm, 154, 19-20 ; ‘*Hieronymus Vietor, Typographus Crac.*’ wrote another letter to Dantiscus on March 30, 1537 : *Epistolæ ad Dantiscum*, 101, in the Frauenburg Episc. Archives, D, 4.

<sup>3)</sup> Gachard, 48, 96.

<sup>4)</sup> DE, 92 : Fbm, 130, 49 ; Boehmer, 2, 3.

To that letter, Valdes added <sup>1)</sup>: Doctor M. Miguel May, regente nuestra canc. del nuestro conseio y nuestro embaxador en Roma, ya sabeys la voluntad que tenemos al mag<sup>co</sup>. Joan Dantisco que ha residido mucho tiempo, y reside en esta nuestra corte per embaxador de los ser<sup>mos</sup> rey y reyna de Polonia, assy por la affection grande que conoscemos tiene a nuestro servicio como por las buenas qualidades y virtudes de su persona. Ha le agora el dicho ser<sup>mo</sup> rey concedido un obispado en su tierra, de que por cierto por las causas suso dichas hauemos mucho holgado, y porque a causa de los grandes gastos que ha hecho en esta nuestra corte, se halla tan alcançado que no tiene con que pagar las bullas, os encargamos y mandamos que en nuestro nombre supliqueys a su Santedad, dando le nuestra carta de crehencia que con esta va, que tenga por bien de mandarle dar el despacho de la dicha yglesia por via de breve y en la menor costa que fuere possible, que lo rescibiremos de su Santedad en singular gracia. Y vos en procurarlo con toda deligencia nos hareys mucho plazer y servicio. Fecha en Augusta a vii de Julio de MDXXX annos. Yo el Rey. Por mandato de su ma<sup>d</sup> Alonso de Valdes.

On July 22, 1530, Melchior a Germania announced from Mechlin <sup>2)</sup>, that he had heard from the Archbishop-elect John de Weze, and from de Schepper, the recent appointment of Dantiscus as Bishop, for which he offers his congratulations. He adds that there is hardly any news, except the recent marriage of Francis I with Eleanor of Portugal; he further mentions that Margaret of Austria is there with the Princes of Denmark, whilst the King is at Lier; that the old *convivæ* of Dantiscus Summergotz and Michael now board in the 'Speculo' <sup>3)</sup>; he also repeats a request for which Cornelius de Schepper had already pleaded, which would help him to live in the coming years.

On July 30, 1530, Dantiscus sent to the King of Poland <sup>4)</sup> an 'exemplum literarum', namely a request which he had written 'ad S. Regiam Majestatem Augustæ Vindelicorum,

<sup>1)</sup> Boemer, 3.

<sup>2)</sup> DE, 93 : Upm, 154, 28 ; cp. before, p 34.

<sup>3)</sup> No doubt the Mechlin inn.

<sup>4)</sup> DE, 94 : Upm, 155, 193.

R. Imperij Comitii' about the differences between Poland and Hungary, as well as the result of the negotiations carried on from April to July 1530 by King Ferdinand and the Count of Nassau.

In August, Valdes sent to Dantiscus <sup>1)</sup> a lot of documents of which the contents had been recently examined, discussed and executed at Mantua : petitions to the Queen, the tenor of letters to be sent, the missive of the Pope 'to [a] beloved son', of November 27, the order on which Thomasius was 'virgis cæsum', the decisions taken about Lutherans, and such like ; he requests his friend to examine them with de Schepper and, according to their advice, destroy, alter, or complete them, as he has little faith in his judgment, but so much the more, and rightly, in that of his friends. In another note of the same period <sup>2)</sup>, Valdes announces that he is quite as impatient as Dantiscus is : yesterday in the beginning of the night, the Secretary Garcias conversed with the Emperor about his request : the result is good as far as is decided : he will see that it will soon be duly arranged.

In the summer months of 1530, the attention of Europe was kept continuously interested in the imperial Court residing at Augsburg : no wonder that Dantiscus got letters from friends, whom he had recently made in Italy : one was from Ph. Nicola, of Cremona, who wrote on August 21 <sup>3)</sup>, asking for news about his '*familiaris*' and about his friend de Schepper, whom, if it were not for the costs, he should visit ; he remarks that Germany is rightly prevented abolishing all to which it was accustomed : whereas actually people, as well as priests and monks and others, are held in order by prayer and confession, penance and other practices of the Church. He mentions the decease of the 'bonus senex' Mercurinus — namely Cardinal Gattinara. — On September 13, 1530, Ludovicus Spinula writes from Genoa <sup>4)</sup>, to thank Dantiscus for his *Silva*, that exhorts the Christians against the Turks.

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<sup>1)</sup> DE, 95 : Fbm, 130, 32 ; Boehmer, 33.

<sup>2)</sup> DE, 96 : Fbm, 130, 11.

<sup>3)</sup> DE, 96<sup>bis</sup> : Upm, 154, 29-30 : it reached Dantiscus on October 4.

<sup>4)</sup> DE, 97 : Upm, 154, 34-35.

He reminds him that he learned to esteem him whilst he stayed with him at Genoa and also at Bologna, where he had him lodged, and where he had helped him. He recalls the suppers to which he had invited him, and which had been made into feasts through his erudite talk and that of Cornelius de Schepper. He mentions that his brother Ambrose, also, likes Dantiscus, and continually inquires about him. He mentions that he should wish to have Dantiscus' judgment about Luther, about the Council, about the Church, and especially 'de Erasmo, uiro illo facile huius ætatis bonorum artium principe; an Cæsarem uiserit; cuiusnam uel ponderis, uel authoritatis sit eius sententia'. He hopes for a reply which can be sent through his townsman Stephen Grimaldus, who carries this letter; he especially wants Cornelius de Schepper to be greeted.

George, Lord of LOGAU, LOGUS, a noble Silesian, was a countryman and friend of Ursinus Velius; he had enjoyed studying in Italy, thanks to the kindness of Stanislas Turzo. He there had made the acquaintance of Viglius, who accused him to Erasmus of having a too good opinion of himself, possibly judging as exaggerated the esteem which others, and, amongst them, Ursinus Velius, had of him. He wrote poetry for Cracow editions of Erasmus' writings, and attended the Diet of Augsburg in Ferdinand's train. Thanks to Turzo, he afterwards returned to Italy, where he enjoyed the lectures and friendship of Lazarus Bonamicus, and edited in 1534 some old texts of Gratius, Nemesianus and Ovid. He afterwards secured a prebend in Holy Cross, Breslau, where he lived and studied: he became canon of St. John, and Provost of H. Cross and died there in 1553: cp. Hoyneck, II, i, 60, 64, 90, 114, 118; Sax-Onom., 120; Allen, IX, 2568, 15. His poems were praised by Lilio Gregorio Giraldi and Burman.

On September 18, 1530, the noble Silesian George LOGUS, von LOGAU, wrote from Padua <sup>1)</sup>, as he had promised when leaving Augsburg, availing himself of Joannes Levicius' departure. He is now studying in Italy, realizing his life's dream; he enjoys the company of his two friends Loxa and Venceslas, and hopes that Dantiscus will help him in obtaining the nomination, or rather the *gratia expectativa* to a prebend in Holy Cross, Wratislavia. He attends the lectures of Lazarus Bonamicus <sup>2)</sup>, Padua professor of Greek and Latin literature <sup>3)</sup>,

<sup>1)</sup> DE, 98: Fbm, 6, 129-130.

<sup>2)</sup> Cp. SaxOnom., 124, 601.

<sup>3)</sup> Cp. DE, 243.

to whom Dantiscus had recommended him. He wishes to send greetings to Cornelius de Schepper, 'juveni ingenij et virtutis laudibus natissimo et promptissimo, Achatu et Patroclo tuo'. He also would like to salute Melanchthon, 'literarum et noticiæ nuper inter nos conflata causa'.

Amongst the personages whom Dantiscus met at Augsburg, was, besides Melanchthon, Eobanus Hessus. That EOBANUS Coci, born at Halgehausen, in Hesse, HESSUS, on January 6, 1488, a Sunday, HELIUS, studied at Erfurt, and wrote his *Heroides* in 1514, which caused him to be appointed professor of classics at Erfurt in 1517. He admired Erasmus, and with some of his friends, he came to see him and Louvain University in October 1518, as is described in the *Hodæporicon* <sup>1</sup>). Unfortunately his and his friends' cult for Erasmus lost in power at Luther's rebellion, though Eobanus did not follow him after he broke with Rome. Erfurt University declined, as all attention was devoted to Reformation: so he resigned and taught at Nuremberg from 1526, and practised medicine: as is suggested here, he welcomed Dantiscus and Gattinara, and, in 1532, John Campensis <sup>2</sup>). By 1533 he was recalled at Erfurt, and from there moved to Marburg in 1536 as professor of History: he was visited there by Gaspar Schets, and, soon after, died on October 4, 1540 <sup>3</sup>).

On October 12, 1530, Eobanus Hessus thanks, from Nuremberg <sup>4</sup>), John Dantiscus for his kindness, and especially for his liberality: the gold piece which he gave, has been made into a ring, and the big pearls, the '*uniones*, auro inclusæ' have been given to his wife. He regrets that he has not finished Mercurino's epitaph as yet, as he intends giving it as a present. He sends his kind regards, as well as those of Melanchthon, and greets Cornelius de Schepper and George von Logau.

No doubt Dantiscus had availed himself of the unavoidable leisure at Augsburg to send letters to his friends, such as Bernard Vapowsky, cantor and canon of Cracow, to whom he wrote twice to remind him of their old friendship: on

<sup>1</sup>) Louvain, 1519: cp. *HTL*, II, 32-37.

<sup>2</sup>) *HTL*, III, 191, sq.

<sup>3</sup>) *HTL*, III, 359. Cp. Hessus; Allen, III, 874, *pr*; FG, 371-72; *SaxOnom.*, 33, 108, 584; *Cran.*, 95, h, 142, c; *DelPoGer.*, IV, 545, 802, 1159, &c, II, 1440 (on Gattinara); *HTL*, I, 352, 378, 469, 497, II, 66, 287, 327, 391, III, 191-95, 203, 358, sq, 542, 556, 599, IV, 513; *Auw.*, 438; *HutOS*, II, 390-93; Neff, xix, sq, 1-54; Rommel, I, 205, II, 195, sq; CeltE, 564, 614, sq; Rupprich, 35, sq; *UniMarb.*, 6, 17, 37; CorvE, 18, 23, 75, 84, &c.

<sup>4</sup>) DE, 99: Fbm, 3, 36; the letter reached Dantiscus at Augsburg on October 20.

December 1, 1530, Bernard thanked him and sent him two copies of the *Corographia Terræ Sarmaticæ*, which he had issued, and of which he wished one to be sent to John Eck, who had asked for it <sup>1)</sup>).

## DANTISCUS IN THE NETHERLANDS

On December 31, 1530, the Emperor was since fifteen days at Cologne, from where he only left on January 7, so as to reach Aix, where he remained from the 10<sup>th</sup> to the 15<sup>th</sup>, when he arrived at Maastricht <sup>2)</sup>). He resided at Liège on January 16 and 17, and, on the latter day, de Schepper wrote from Maastricht to announce to Dantiscus <sup>3)</sup> that he had come there the day before. As it happened, Charles had left, — and so had the English ambassador, — on the morning of the 17<sup>th</sup>, although he had been invited by the Bishop of Liège : the French ambassador intended remaining there. As to de Schepper, he had bought a horse and was going home by Diest and Mechlin, which is one of the two ways to reach Bruges, the other, by Louvain, being longer, though better. The inn where he has stayed, is, he says, quite right : the hospes is kind, and the hospita ‘faceta’; he is sure that Dantiscus will be quite well looked after there, — thus implying that Dantiscus was still on his way, and had not even kept up with de Schepper, who, naturally, wished to get home as soon as could be after the long absence.

Dantiscus had reached Brussels, where the Emperor resided from January 24 to March 13 <sup>4)</sup> ; there some letters were handed to him on February 17 : by one, of January 21, Cornelius P. Decentius, of Cracow <sup>5)</sup>, congratulates the new Bishop, and refers to his recall, for which he has interviewed his *herus*, probably the Bishop of Cracow, Tomicki, who was to see King and Queen about it. He wants ‘aliquid de cantu figurato ut vocant, quo capella Cæsaris et Ferdinandi abun-

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<sup>1)</sup> DE, 100 : Upm, 154, 39 : it reached Dantiscus in Brussels on January 25, 1531 ; Hipler, 472-74.

<sup>2)</sup> Gachard, 49, 97-98.    <sup>3)</sup> DE, 102 : Fbm, 3, 39.    <sup>4)</sup> Gachard, 49, 98.

<sup>5)</sup> DE, 103 : Ccm, 1595, 205-07 : it reached Dantiscus in Brussels on February 17.

dant'; he hears that much music is printed now 'in cantionibus vulgaribus', of which he wishes to have some, — a fine proof of the excellence and renown of the musical art in this country at the time.

On January 23, 1531, Chancellor Christopher Szydlowiecki, '*Castellanus*' of Cracow, sent a letter to Dantiscus <sup>1)</sup>; and requested him to tell His Imperial Majesty and Ferdinand what is marked with A in a letter from Lud. Grittus sent by Stanislas Kostka. He also referred to the marriage of the youngest daughter of Queen Hedwige, as well as to news from the messenger of Lewis, Duke of Bavaria, Martin Gresdorfers, and lastly to the Turk and his plans : he requests his help and advice. That letter was one of a group of three which were sent through Sigismund ab Herberstain, Austrian ambassador, who, on February 3, 1531, wrote from Vienna <sup>2)</sup> that, along with it, he is sending one from the King of Poland, and a third which Severin Bonar wants to dispatch to Dantiscus : he binds them together to be entrusted to the carrier, but especially recommends that of the Captain of Cracow : it is preserved, but the two others seem lost.

On January 29 — quarto Kal. Febr. — Ludovicus Spinula, from Genoa, — who had already sent a letter to Dantiscus on September 13 <sup>3)</sup>, — writes once more <sup>4)</sup> to thank him for his kindness in sending a reply, and especially for having provided the occasion of making the acquaintance of Cornelius de Schepper : he wants to be a true friend of the one as well as the other ; he praises both of them and expresses wishes for their happiness and their good fortune. He especially congratulates the new Bishop. He further announces news : '*Baptistam Gentilem, Ludovici fratrem, factum esse caput Reipublicæ*' [of Genoa <sup>5)</sup>] ; he announces that Philip Aurium, — evidently Filippino Doria, — the admiral, has died <sup>6)</sup>. He

<sup>1)</sup> DE, 104 : Upm, 154, 40-41 : it reached Brussels on February 17.

<sup>2)</sup> DE, 108 : Upm, 154, 44 : it reached Brussels on February 17.

<sup>3)</sup> Cp. before, p 59.

<sup>4)</sup> DE, 105, 106 (by mistake) : Upm, 154, 42-43 & Ccm, 46, 119, sq.

<sup>5)</sup> CMH, II, 59.

<sup>6)</sup> CMH, II, 58.

reads with great pleasure Dantiscus' *elegiæ de adventu Caesaris* <sup>1)</sup>; he refers to Cornelius de Schepper, and to his own brother Ambrose, who highly values Dantiscus, and he finishes by saying that messages can be sent through 'Troilus Negroinus'.

A few days later, on February 5, 1531, Paulus Parthonopæus wrote from Genoa <sup>2)</sup>, complaining that he has not received any letter from Dantiscus, as Spinula had; yet he affirms his deep affection and sends his greetings as well as to de Schepper.

On February 3, 1531 <sup>3)</sup>, the Louvain printer and bookseller Bartholomew Gravius <sup>4)</sup> writes to Dantiscus that the 'sphæra' which he ordered will be ready within eight days, and that Goclenius will convey it to him; he thanks especially for the marks of esteem Dantiscus gave him, and regrets that he did not accept his invitation to a breakfast; he offers in all simplicity the reasons causing that refusal: the first being the lack of time, as he had to see to his affairs, and the second, the humble avowal that he had drunk too much on the preceding evening, so that he not quite 'edormivera[t], at jam tardius adveneri[t]'.

On April 17, 1530, Charles V had appointed at Mantua Cornelius de Schepper as inquisitor-general in his kingdoms for the question of the 'Marans' <sup>5)</sup>: unfortunately that question was an occasion of continuous variances between the central authorities and the town of Antwerp <sup>6)</sup>.

<sup>1)</sup> *De nostrorum Temporum Calamitatibus Silva*, II 343, sq : *DantCar.*, 152, &c.

<sup>2)</sup> DE, 109 : Upm, 154, 45-46.

<sup>3)</sup> DE, 107 : Fbm, 3, 40 : it reached Dantiscus on Febr. 3, in Brussels.

<sup>4)</sup> Bartholomew de Grave, Gravius, was associated as printer with Rescius before March 1531 (*HTL*, II, 223, 627, &c), but soon quarrelled; in 1533 he was established as bookseller '*Sub Sole Aureo*', where he printed for himself and carried on a trade in terrestrial globes; his son Henry promoted Divinity Doctor, and became professor in Louvain and Vatican librarian : *HTL*, II, 513, 535, 562, III, 27, 55, 106, 253, 586, IV, 10, 86, 97-8, 100, 239, 247, 311, 344, 347, 437, 445, 470; PighE, 195, 197, 456; Auw., 242, 524; NijKron., I, pp 852-57, II, 1002, sq.

<sup>5)</sup> Portuguese Jews who had been converted.

<sup>6)</sup> *BeitClem.*, I, 14-24; Goris, 553-577 : *KaGNie.*, I, 46, 99.



The inquisitor had deputed for the inspection of Flanders and Brabant John Vuystinck : in February 1531, he arrested four Portuguese Jews, who had recently arrived at Antwerp. The town Court condemned them on February 20 ; yet when they appealed to the Emperor on the strength of the letters of safe-conduct which he had granted them in 1526, the order was given to liberate them, with the exception of one, Antonio Vaes, who had denied the existence of Christ, and was only dismissed after taking the oath of orthodoxy <sup>1)</sup>. Still the Emperor was displeased with de Schepper, who defended himself by this letter about some facts which were objected to him. It was written in the latter half of February or the first days of March, for the Emperor was in Brussels from February 14 to March 14, when he left for Louvain, and on March 24 for Ghent. The next letter is of a few days later : de Schepper returned from Brussels to Bruges where he for certain was on April 15 : DE, 116. — The difficulties he experienced did not make de Schepper any less zealous in the execution of his task, as clearly results from his hearty connections with Dantiscus <sup>2)</sup>, like in later years with his colleague Francis van der Dilt, the ambassador <sup>3)</sup>.

By the end of February or in the beginning of March <sup>4)</sup>, Cornelius de Schepper, writing from Brussels, wants Dantiscus to tell the Count of Nassau that, on the day before, he had seen the Emperor, who asserted that it was only 'excogitatum' from him that the Marans had plenty of means, assuring that they were poor, and had brought no goods, when arriving in this country ; yet he, de Schepper knows, and so does Dantiscus, that they dispose of some fortune, as results from the testimony of the Fuggers and the Welsers. His Majesty was also highly displeased with de Schepper for having communicated his opinion to the Chancellor and to Nassau, and for having warned many others. When Cæsar finished by concluding that 'magnum emolumentum' could be taken, de Schepper remarked that he had no right to take anything in this country, having no mandate. Dantiscus consequently is requested to warn Nassau, so that when the matter were under discussion, he might declare that what 'he knows comes from others, and not from me. — There is little hope', he concludes, 'in Charles V : so you must not let me in

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<sup>1)</sup> Goris, 562.

<sup>2)</sup> *HTL*, II, 137, 386, 609.

<sup>3)</sup> *HTL*, II, 175, 168-70 ; *Cran.*, 249, e.

<sup>4)</sup> DE, 110 : Fbm, 6, 124 : R<sup>o</sup> D<sup>no</sup> Joanni Episcopo Calmensi.

danger where you can help me, at least, if possible, by what softens ('leniat') the Emperor's mind towards me. I shall not be ungrateful to either of you, and you, Dantiscus, are able to help a lot. Cuperem mihi, etiamsi in minimo esset, provideri in hac patria, quia cum Cæsare despondi animum ! Humilis servitor Corn. Duplicius'.

Of about the same time and place is another letter of de Schepper to Dantiscus <sup>1)</sup>; it was written in reply to his friend's encouragement : 'Gratiam tibi habeo qui me in hoc casu afflictum consolaris. Ego, quod ad me attinet, si solus essem, æquiore animo ferrem. Nunc etiam laturus utcumque sors ceciderit, innitens meæ integritati, cui scio nihil impingi posse. Quicquid enim factum est, aut fieri decretum, id sane bona fuit intentione et in opere bono. Si scirem tibi non esse gravem præsentiam meam ob tua negocia, aduolarem breui. Nunc etiam aduenturus ad te hora decima. Quod de palatio ais, nihil est, nam Cæsar abijt venatum. Si ad dominum de Nassau ire decreueris, aut ad Cardinalem Leodiensem, qui heri aduenit, renuncia mihi et ero tibi umbra. Alterutrum autem cuperem a te fieri ut saltem si quid in futurum aduersum me struatur, ijs patronis possim elidere. Sperabo interim in Deum, et consilio tuo, quod debeo, obsequar. Humilis inservitor. Cornelius.

## JOHN VAN CAMPEN

Soon after his arrival in the Netherlands, Dantiscus <sup>2)</sup> made the acquaintance of, and contracted a most hearty friendship with, two great professors of Louvain University, Goclenius and Campensis, as well as with the outstanding student Gemma Frisius, whom he took into his service. The intimate connection that united them from then on, and the eager interest in each other's work occasioned a most interesting and extensive correspondence which follows here, but has been mentioned already in the *History of the Trilingue* with which it is staunchly connected : reference is made there to it, especially in volume II, 67, 418, 536-62 and volume III, 110, 136, 152, 156-208, 211, 244, 539-40, 547.

John van CAMPEN, CAMPENSIS, was born on the last days of July or the first of August 1491, from a good family at Kampen, Overijssel,

<sup>1)</sup> DE, 111 : Fbm, 6, 141 : Rmo Dno Joanni Epō Culmensi.

<sup>2)</sup> Dantiscus' interest in their work and also in Louvain University is sketched in *HTL*, III, 17-24.

which gave him his name. He went to Louvain where he applied himself to theology under his great countryman Adrian of Utrecht, and, by 1509, started a comparative study of the doctrine in St. Paul's Epistles with that of the other Sacred Books, a research which led him to a conclusion in 1535 <sup>1)</sup>. As, by a natural impulse, he looked for a solution in all doubtful passages, he was led to the study of the Bible text in its original composition, which caused him to turn to Hebrew soon after 1515; by 1522, he mentioned that he had been highly interested in that language, thanks to the teaching of Matthew Adriani and of his successors in the *Trilingue*. From what he declared later on, he must have even started tutoring on it by 1519 <sup>2)</sup>. When by the end of December 1519, or the first days of 1520 the authorities of the *Trilingue* offered to him the succession of Robert Shirwood, he accepted only on condition that he could go and learn even more thoroughly the sacred language from some authorities. He evidently proceeded in his study, according to the right principles proposed in the *Trilingue*: he wanted particularly to find the sense of the Bible, and looked for a lead as well to right theology and to the Fathers, especially for elements that were purely linguistic. As to the traditional value of the vowel points, he took it as his aim to consult — see and hear, — the highest authority on the matter, Elias Levita <sup>3)</sup>. Unfortunately time and circumstances did not allow him to reach that man: he had to return to Louvain to start his teaching. Yet, ten years later, that desire to see and hear the famous Levita, made him even stop his lectures for a time. Meanwhile, at his return from Germany in the autumn of 1521 <sup>4)</sup>, he had taken up his work on October 18, and was admitted to the University Council on February 27, 1522 <sup>5)</sup>, being ordained priest in the twenties.

It may be safely accepted that he began his lessons on Hebrew by the beginning; yet it seemed that he did not like resuming the same subject at every new arrival, as he himself had hardly any satisfaction in communicating what nearly everybody knew. Directing all his attention to questions connected with the language of the books of the Old Testament, of which the sense had suffered considerably by the translations <sup>6)</sup>, his lectures were only appreciated by a few well-trained auditors, as he did not make them into continuous repetitions of the first elements <sup>7)</sup>. That too high aim of his teaching, and his continuous suffering from a most disgracing skin-disease, which caused frequent absences, were for a time most disagreeable mishaps, from which, unfortunately and quite heartlessly, one of his hearers, Nicolas Clenardus,

<sup>1)</sup> DE, 298: February 4, 1535: Fbm, 3, 102, *sq.*

<sup>2)</sup> Introduction to his Hebrew Grammar, printed by Th. Martens, (June) 1528: Iseghem, 337; NijKron., I, 1201.

<sup>3)</sup> HTL, III, 54, 60, 159-165.

<sup>4)</sup> HTL, I, 504-505.

<sup>5)</sup> HTL, II, 360.

<sup>6)</sup> Cp. HTL, III, 104, 154.

<sup>7)</sup> The lectures were said to be too difficult: HTL, II, 508, 580, and, on the other hand, his outspoken orthodoxy displeased a Sleidanus and a Sturm: HTL, II, 603-04.

unduly profited to substitute himself so as to organize Hebrew elementary lessons, for which he even composed a handbook, evidently making ample use of van Campen's teaching. It made the latter's auditory become smaller as years advanced <sup>1)</sup>. To that lack of success and popularity <sup>2)</sup>, came the trouble caused by invidious contemporaries, who, like the Franciscan Francis Titelmans and especially Nicolas Clenardus, did what they could to make his lectures and Comments on the Psalms and on the Ecclesiastes discreditable <sup>3)</sup>: they even prevented their being printed and published, — as is related at length in the *History of the Collegium Trilingue* <sup>4)</sup>. It all contributed to render the work accomplished by the long-bearded erudite, with his sallow complexion, yet pure heart, as Erasmus described him <sup>5)</sup>, so utterly difficult, that, on account of his health continually impairing, he was actually brought to think of leaving Louvain, at least for a time, notwithstanding the encouragement and the admiration which was lavishly offered to him, not only by his colleague Goclenius, but by outsiders like Olah and Goes <sup>6)</sup>, Morinck and Jespersen <sup>7)</sup>, and from the day they made each other's acquaintance, by that great-hearted judge of men, Dantiscus <sup>8)</sup>. The rest of his biography follows from this correspondence.

On March 7, 1531, professor John Campensis <sup>9)</sup> sends to Orator Dantiscus at Brussels a letter to tell him how sorry he

<sup>1)</sup> *ClenCorr.*, I, 135, 215 (quasi Hebræum... spoliasset auditorium... opinione nostri Campensis); also 57, 92, 94, 208, 228-29; *MonHL*, 420-21. Clenardus' letters show by December 25/27, 1536 that he expected that Campensis, then at Padua and Rome with Cardinals, should write to him! and he accuses his *superbe silentium* and even his decision to be *immemorum immemor!* (July 8, 1537): *ClenCorr.*, I, 86, 92, 110, 118 (Valeat, valeat cum suis purpuratis. Nihil illi inuideo.), 135, 208 (he mentions his decease in 1540-1541). Cp. also *ClenCorr.*, II, 14, sq, 86, 149.

<sup>2)</sup> *HTL*, II, 621.

<sup>3)</sup> *HTL*, II, 613, III, 157, 159, and further DE, 155; also *MonHL*, 572, 618; *Cran.*, lix; *ZGE*, IX, 541-42; *MelaVers.*, 18, sq, 79.

<sup>4)</sup> *HTL*, III, 154-178; Campensis' biography by Allen, v, 1257, 16, is very scanty up to 1532, and for certain not very correct.

<sup>5)</sup> *HTL*, II, 613-14; Allen, VII, 1806a, 41-42.

<sup>6)</sup> *HTL*, III, 40, sq, 80; — *Busl.*, 21; *MonHL*, 416; *Auw.*, 441.

<sup>7)</sup> *Cran.*, 281, b; *MonHL*, 533.

<sup>8)</sup> *Cran.*, 287, a; *MonHL*, 420-21; cp. VAnd, 284, 401; Mol., 602; Vern., 146, 313; *BibBelg.*, 475; SchelAL, XI, 74-77; Paquot, XI, 225-34; Opmeer, I, 461, a; FG, 209, 317; NèveMém., 235; MLipsE, 727, 783, 787; *LatCont.*, 382-83; *HTL*, I, 503-05, II, 67, 120-22, 233, 396-99, 418, 536-62, 613-14, III, 110, 136, 152, 208, 211, 244, 373, 539-40, 547, 562-64, 596, 604, IV, 449, &c; *Auw.*, 441, &c; *EraSpain.*, 448, sq, 535; Hurter, IV, 1311; &c.

<sup>9)</sup> DE, 112: Upm, 154, 47; it has a seal representing an anchor with the initials I. C.; it reached Dantiscus in Brussels on March 8; cp. *MonHL*, 420; *HTL*, III, 17.

is not to have met him, notwithstanding his own and Cornelius Schepperus' efforts. He now is sending the 'Astrolabum dono', with a book to teach its use; he should have liked to send the *Ecclesiastes* translated by him a few years ago, but the edict of the Emperor prohibited its publication. He soon will have the Psalms published, which, however, are most difficult on account of the literary figures which were popular at the time they were written.

On March 30, 1531, Alonso de Valdes writes from Ghent that the Emperor wishes to spend the Holy Time about Easter with the monks of Groenendaal <sup>1)</sup>, and return afterwards to Ghent. He judges it right that Dantiscus should make an agreement with people with whom he wishes to stay. He hears from the Naples *Locumtenens Summarius*, the decision of the question of 'Montis Serici' for the 'Sereniss. Regina', which is confirmed by Sigismund Lotfredus, or Lottredus, whose declaration is enclosed ready to be dispatched.

John Campensis, writing from Louvain on March 31, 1531 <sup>2)</sup>, thanks Dantiscus for the 'pictura'; he had wanted it in lead, and it has come 'in sericum'; he does not deserve so many presents. He asked for his evil the advice of the professors of Medicine, but they probably will not write anything; the Dean already said to the Dominus Lubeckensis, that it is not the custom of this, nor of any *academia* <sup>3)</sup>. He sends the Royal Concionator — Salomon — which Dantiscus requests, as well as some Psalms, of which some more will come shortly. He wants him and de Schepper to enrich his book with some pasquil, or verses as commentary: 'assidue enim inter splendoras nugas versaris'. He greets de Schepper and Valdes,

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<sup>1)</sup> DE, 130 : Upm, 154, 48 : it reached Dantiscus at Antwerp on the 31 : — in the Codex H 154, the month-date is 30 May, which is evidently a mistake for March 30, as the Holy time in 1531, was centring about April 9, Easter : the Court was at Ghent from March 24 to April 3, when it moved to Termonde and Brussels, reaching Groenendaal on April 5, leaving it for Louvain on April 12, from where it returned to Ghent, where it stayed from April 20 to June 14 : Gachard, 49-50.

<sup>2)</sup> DE, 114 : Fbm, 3, 41 ; it reached Dantiscus at Ghent on April 22 ; it is reprinted in Hipler, 474-75.

<sup>3)</sup> Cp. pp 74 and 78.

and sends letters to the Archbishop of Lund left by Henemannus Rhodius.

From Nuremberg Eobanus Hessus wrote, on April 4, 1531, to Dantiscus <sup>1)</sup>, thanking him for his letter, and for the poems sent, especially the one 'de duabus Lucretiis' which he praises. He is sending the 'epicedion' on Gattinara, which Dantiscus asked for in August, and he requests him to be allowed to dedicate to him one of his books : he is now translating Homer, and writing *Septem Silvæ*, besides Christian *Heroidæ* <sup>2)</sup>. He sends to Dantiscus the greetings from Udalricus Pindarus, a Nuremberg jurist, and he himself salutes Cornelius de Schepper, George Logau and Caspar Ursinum. He particularly thanks Dantiscus for the fine chain he sent to his wife, who *does* show it to the Nuremberg women ! Still the most important part in this letter is that which replies to Dantiscus' warning : I am coming, he writes, to that part of your letter in which you, Dantiscus, write that it is not very salutary for me to remain in this [Lutheran] tragedy. 'O mi Dantisce, sentio et intelligo satis, quam dicas tragœdiam ; sed quis me liberabit ex hac tragœdia ?... Obsequendum est hisce et temporibus et moribus, in quæ quoniam et ego incidi, necesse est et me velut Ixionis rotæ alligatum verti, circumverti, rapique ac volutari, quocunque fert impetus hæc omnia moderantis pati. Verum hæc ad te quidem : nam super huiusmodi rebus, voces hic nequaquam sunt liberæ'.

On April 13, 1531, Cornelius de Schepper wrote from Bruges to Dantiscus in Ghent <sup>3)</sup>, requesting him to come to Bruges with Valdes in the case that the Emperor does not join them at Ghent : 'we shall take both of you 'ad Scelus ad littora Oceani : it will show you Flanders : there will be 'viri docti' to meet. I also wrote to Valdes, though I ignored whether you had arrived at Ghent. I am sending my *familiaris* to get news, and to hear whether you come. If Cæsar should arrive to-morrow, I shall come 'perendie' : so let me know.

<sup>1)</sup> DE, 115 : Fbm, 3, 42 ; cp. *DantKop.*, xxxviii ; Hipler, 475-79.

<sup>2)</sup> *Heroidum Libri* III : 1532 ; *Sylvarum Libri* VI : 1535 : Hessus, II, 275.

<sup>3)</sup> DE, 206 : Ccm, 240, 173 ; it reached Dantiscus on the same day.

I thought you were still at Antwerp, and I was cross with your amanuensis, who recently was in Ghent without calling, which is not his custom. John, Count of Montfort, said he was leaving for Brixen. ‘Uxor mea et soror sese humiliter R<sup>mæ</sup> D. V. commendant; et ego vicissim. Eris vero desyderatissimus si huc venire digneris : Brugis, xiiij aprilis. Iter est breve : est enim horarum tantummodo sex, et expedito equiti quinque.

On April 15, 1531, de Schepper wrote from Bruges to Dantiscus <sup>1)</sup> that he did not know he had come to Ghent, as the Marchio, their friend, had told that he was staying at Antwerp. He therefore requests him to come to Bruges, were it only for six hours. He promises to show him the largest and best made *sphera*, besides many other things, worth seeing. He joins to his *preces*, those of his wife and of her sister, and of his friends ; he will return with him, or go with him to Zeeland if he desires.

John Campensis wrote from Louvain on April 16, 1531 <sup>2)</sup>, that he hoped that Dantiscus had received the *Ecclesiastes*, and ‘aliquot Psalmos’, — for he gave them to a good friend already a while ago, asking him not to hand the missive to any one else : ‘not propter ineptias, sed quod duas literas incluseram ad Dominum meum Archiepiscopum Lundensem fidei meæ commissas ab Henemanno Rhodio <sup>3)</sup>. — Vidi opus illud Psalmorum nescio cuius Felini, sed offendit me idem quod te dictionis ipsius scabies, quamquam sæpissime non assequitur autoris sententiam, maxime autem omnium quod putem esse opus Martini Bucerii <sup>4)</sup>, hominis impie scelerati, quamvis de Christianismo suo neminem dubitare velit. Ob has causas, lecto uno atque altero psalmo, totum opus abieci ; neque tamen dissuadeo quin legas. Non enim dubito, qualiscunque sit autor ipse, quin multa habeat quæ apud alios inuenturus non sis. Admonitio tua adeo molesta non est, ut

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<sup>1)</sup> DE, 116 : Fbm, 3, 44 : the letter was delivered at Ghent on the same day.

<sup>2)</sup> DE, 117 : Fbm, 6, 142 : the letter reached Dantiscus at Ghent on April 18. Cp. Hipler, 479.

<sup>3)</sup> Cp. DE, 114 : p 70.

<sup>4)</sup> Cp. Gough, 136, a.

cupiam sæpissime, etiam acrius moneri a te, quem non secus atque patrem et amo et amaturus sum quoad vixero. — Mittam spero brevi ad te quos tantopere cupis Psalmos reliquos : absolvi enim fere centum : absoluturus alios, studiis meis reliquis tua causa intermissis. Goclenius noster non solum paratus est imaginem quam habet Erasmi, tuo rogatu ad pictorem Mechliniam mittere, sed et dono tibi dare, si gratum fore putarit. Vale.

P. S. Non te offendant lituræ frequentes : scribam brevi prolixius. Gaudeo Stratagema <sup>1)</sup> tam tibi esse carum, ut eadem charta cum eo uti non dedigneris ; amo adolescentem ob integritatem et ingenuas artes, quas sic testatur ut ad eas mihi natus esse videatur. Iterum vale, pater mi.

## GEMMA AND GOCLENIUS

*Stratagema*, a wordplay on the name of the man, who, judging from Campensis' letter, DE, 117 <sup>2)</sup>, had soon become a favourite friend of Dantiscus, was GEMMA, the son of Reynier, REYNERI, from Dokkum, in Friesland, PHRYSIUS, FRISIUS, who got his surname at that time amongst his friends. He was born about December 8, 1508, as a weak boy, who, for years, walked with scipiones. No doubt on that account, and considering his lack of bodily strength, he was sent to Louvain, where he matriculated on February 26, 1526 <sup>3)</sup>, and although placed 31<sup>st</sup> at his promotion to M. A., March 19, 1528 <sup>4)</sup>, was considered to possess an extraordinary power of intelligence. He studied at the *Trilingue*, and became a great favourite with Goclenius and Campensis. He had learned so large an amount of mathematics from John Dridoens <sup>5)</sup>, that he could correct and complete already by 1529 the *Cosmographicus Liber Petri Apiani*, for which he was praised by Janus Secundus <sup>6)</sup>. It led him to write about astronomy and cosmography, in so far that, through him, Louvain soon became a centre for the constructing of geographical and cosmographical globes <sup>7)</sup>. In his *De Vsu Globi*, 1530, he reveals the way to find the longitude of a place by means of a watch, which, — evidently with improved instruments, — is still employed at present. He greatly pleased Dantiscus who intended inviting him to Poland so as to introduce him to

<sup>1)</sup> Gemma Frisius : cp. next letter.

<sup>2)</sup> HTL, II, 542, sq, 548.

<sup>3)</sup> LibIntIII, 329, v : ' Geña Reyneri d'grueningha, traiecten. dioc'.

<sup>4)</sup> ULPromRs, 77.

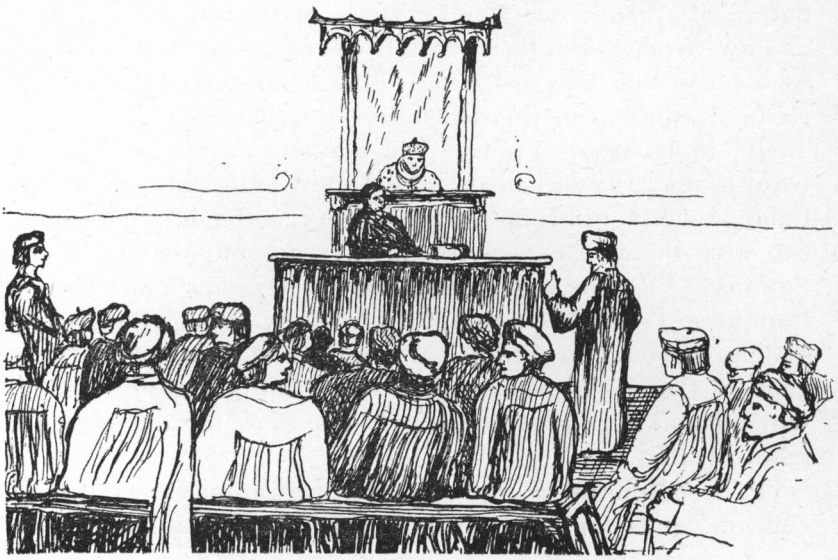
<sup>5)</sup> Cp. MonHL, 344-45.

<sup>6)</sup> JSecO, 138 : Ad Gemmam Phrisium Mathematicum ; BB, A, 220-27.

<sup>7)</sup> Cp. OlaE, 554-5 (May 31, 1535).



Copernicus in order to encourage his activity : even a place was offered to him (*HTL*, II, 549-50). On account of his poor health, Phrysius durst not follow him and his friend Campensis. Besides, he was just then ripening his plan of providing an exact scientific representation of the country by making actual use of the spaces, and of the exact places of towns and villages, with rivers and ways, in connection with the meridian, measuring the distances by means of triangles between points which could be seen, and by a common basis that could be measured : he thus invented the 'geo-metrical' geography of modern 'maps'. He left the execution of that plan to his condisciple Gerard Mercator, since his own constitution could not stand the fatigue of the



Double Professorial Desk in old Louvain Lecture-Halls

continuous displacements ; moreover he meanwhile tried to gain the aptitude to earn, not only his living, but that of the family which he founded in June 1534. He became Bachelor of Medicine before 1536, and Doctor, on August 30, 1541 ; he soon became famous, so that he was requested to attend to Louis de Praet in Brussels in 1543 <sup>1)</sup> and, in 1545, even to the Emperor Charles <sup>2)</sup>. He was also appointed professor of Medicine though the absence of documents prevents fixing an exact date <sup>3)</sup> ; still Vernulæus affirms that he 'publice Medicinam... interpre-

<sup>1)</sup> Cp. before, p 38.

<sup>2)</sup> Quetelet, 87 : on one of those visits, the Emperor pointed out some inaccuracy in one of Gemma's Maps — unless it is a mere legend.

<sup>3)</sup> The account of the wages of the professors paid by Louvain town, is missing in the Archives after 1536 : *Analectes*, xxxix, 304.

tabatur' <sup>1)</sup>); and Valerius Andreas, declares that, after 1542, 'de superiori loco, — referring, no doubt, to the very high professorial desks used in that time <sup>2)</sup>, — Medicinam profiteri cœpit' <sup>3)</sup>. He continued enriching, not only astronomy and cosmography, but even arithmetic and mathematics with many beneficent finds, besides forming most able disciples and specialists, like John Stadius <sup>4)</sup>, Pierre Beausard, and Adrian Romain <sup>5)</sup>, to continue his grand work. After some years of struggle with the *calculus*, he died on May 25, 1555 <sup>6)</sup>.

On April 18, 1531, John Campensis wrote from Louvain <sup>7)</sup> that he hoped the *Ecclesiastes* and the *Psalms* reached his patron at Ghent; one Egidius Rens, of Mechlin, took them; he now requests Dantiscus to write through John Maquet, — who takes this letter — whether he has received them: the rest will come printed either here, or, what he thinks more likely, in Paris. — 'Indeed, since a long time', he says, 'I want to play Ulysses on account of a few explanations, which I may find either in Rome or in Venice: as the only man who can give them, Elias Levita, always accompanies Cardinal Egidius of Viterbo: so you may never receive any more letters from here. I shall always think gratefully of you, Dantiscus, and praise you. I have talked at length with Dominus Mariangelus of Doctor Wenselaus, and why I think that our medici will not answer to my writing. I hope that Mariangelus will relate all that.

'P. S. Maquetus est malleus maleficorum maxime Lutheranorum, quos tanto odio prosequitur, ut aliquando ab ipso

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<sup>1)</sup> Vern., 300.

<sup>2)</sup> The professor's desk was over a second, reserved to the one who defended some thesis under his lead: it was a good way over the place occupied by the students.

<sup>3)</sup> *BibBelg.*, 258.

<sup>4)</sup> Cp. *HTL*, II, 558, 561, 564, III, 504; *Auw.*, 365, 433; *GemFrisius*, 341-43, &c; *PighE*, 67, 160.

<sup>5)</sup> *Auw.*, 433.

<sup>6)</sup> Cp. *Mol.*, 567, 806-7; *Opmeer*, I, 481, *a*, *b*; *Vern.*, 142, 300; *VAnd.*, 233, 236, 249; *BibBelg.*, 258; *SaxOnom.*, 227, 447, 653; *CatCzart.*, I, 38, II, 182; *Prowe*, I, II, 270-73, 283-84, 554; *GemFrisius*, 4-52 (mentioning a letter from J. Peletier, 1557, 44), 338-43; *MonHL*, 421, 423; *HTL*, II, 537-65, III, 327, 345, IV, XII, 129-31; *Auw.*, 405-6, 433-35, 472, 503, 525; *PighE*, 67, 118, 301.

<sup>7)</sup> *DE*, 118; *Fbm*, 3, 45; it reached Dantiscus at Ghent on April 21, 1531; — *Hipler*, 480.

Christo sibi vix temperet : coniecit olim in ignem publice novum testamentum, una cum alijs Lutheri libris'. You, Dantiscus, should invite him once to your table, if you have not too many guests, and you will find him a 'non infestivum congerronem, maxime si semel atque iterum salutaveris illum poculo tuo. Stratagema <sup>1)</sup> nostrum tibi commendo.

John Macket, Maket, Maquet, of Binche, who became M. A., was from 1507 to 1518 promotor of the University, and from then 'syndicus': he attended as such the meetings of the professors, where he proposed some useful changes, such as that, in 1532, of the use of seats for all students in all auditories. Since 1525 he also served as notary to the inquisitors, which occasioned the reference in this P. S. Cp. *Cran.*, 111, c, 141, h; *MonHL*, 474, 484; *HTL*, 1, 251, 450, sq, 11, 420, 111, 164, 14, 72; *VAnd.*, 52, 54, 406; *ULDoc.*, 1, 325, 347-50; de Jongh, \*27, \*29, \*56, \*66.

On April 27, 1531 John Campensis wrote from Louvain to Dantiscus <sup>2)</sup> : 'I had written to you, Dantisce, vt a mittendis muneribus abstineres, but I hear that the letter had not reached you yet when Gemma left *isthic*. Still I hope that it is safe : there is here somebody who stood by, when in Mechlin, on April 13, M. Ægidius, — about whom I wrote, — gave my *fasciculum* to a merchant of Münster, nomine Goswinus Lunijnckhuse, who from Mechlin went to Antwerp, where he stayed perhaps a few days. So you are requested not to call that *bonus vir* an Æthiops, but to throw the fault rather on myself, who had ordered him not to give the letters except to one who was well known, on account of the two missives to the Archbishop of Lund, which I had received on my faith from Henemannus Rhodius <sup>3)</sup>; I therefore request you to write through Maquet, or another, about whether you have received those letters. If I should be absent, please send them to Goclenius, who will see them delivered.

I am ashamed of your great liberality : and I am not worth as much as what you give. From your letter, I esteem the *munus* the more, since you offer the *numismata* of the most powerful princes of these times. Indeed I first thought of

<sup>1)</sup> Cp. before, p 72.

<sup>2)</sup> DE, 120 : Ccm, 247, 97 : it reached Ghent on April 29.

<sup>3)</sup> Cp. before DE, 114 : pp 70, 71.

sending back the money <sup>1)</sup>, but the messenger durst not take it, and then I read the letter through, and saw 'rem eleganter distributam'; so that I started to like, not so much the gold as the pictures. I will keep it, on condition that you should not send any more presents, except 'forte plumbeam tui imagunculam; if not, 'hæc numismata vna cum nouo munere remittam. Nunquam didici accipere, nec discere cupio! I want to attest my love for your great virtues, which I first learned from fame; afterwards, 'præsentia adeo famam non minuit, sed et auxerit propemodum in immensum. Vale, 27 Apr. 1531'.

'*Ecclesiasten* ad archetypum priusquam edidero recognoscā; reliquos *psalmos* breui absoluam, et, si tibi videatur, ex paucis quos habes typographis committere audebo. Iterum vale. Joanni Dantisco Ep. Culmensi, poetæ merito laureato, Gandaui.

Conrad WACKERS von Gockelen, GOCLENIUS, was born in December 1489 at Mengerlinghausen, near Arolstein, in Waldeck <sup>2)</sup>. He started University studies in Cologne in November 1510 <sup>3)</sup>, but came to Louvain in the following winter, matriculating as a poor student of the Porc on February 28, 1512, and becoming Master of Arts in 1515 <sup>4)</sup>. He studied Latin and Greek, availing himself abundantly of the teaching of the *Trilingue*, in so far that he became known by his excellence to Erasmus. The latter consequently recommended him to Florent of Egmont, Lord of Ysselsteyn, Stadhouder of Friesland, as tutor for his son Maximilian, who became the valiant army-leader already mentioned before <sup>5)</sup>. At the resigning of Burlandus, Goclenius was appointed *Trilingue* professor of Latin on December 1, 1519 <sup>6)</sup>, and he led the Institute to a never hoped for degree of prosperity and efficiency, as is fully related in the *History of the Trilingue* <sup>7)</sup>. Unfortunately his restless work proved too heavy for his constitution, and he died on January 25, 1539, even before he had the time to see to the fulfilment of the last

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<sup>1)</sup> In fact it seems as if Campensis, who had decided leaving the *Trilingue* and his teaching, as he mentions on April 18, 1531 (DE, 118, p 74) is ready to start on the journey.

<sup>2)</sup> *LibNomI*, 184, v.

<sup>3)</sup> Keussen, 488, 75 : Corn. Waldeck, Pad. d., art. : November 10, 1510.

<sup>4)</sup> *LibIntIII*, 172, v.

<sup>5)</sup> Cp. p 43; *HTL*, I, 485-86.

<sup>6)</sup> *HTL*, I, 484, sq.

<sup>7)</sup> *HTL*, II and III passim, IV, 19, 25, 92, 259-60, 443, sq, 447, 449-51, 462; *Auw.*, 4-5, 84-86, &c.

desires of his great friend Erasmus <sup>1)</sup>. Bene impensum est quidquid studiosis impenditur! <sup>2)</sup>.

On April 27, 1531 Conrad Goclenius wrote from the *Collegium Trilingue* <sup>3)</sup> to tell that he considers it his happiness to have been able 'propius intueri ac cognoscere Dantiscum', who leaves all men of Court and country far behind him, and to have been treated as an old friend by him. He therefore wants to show his gratitude, and sends 'in huius rei symbolum D. Erasmi Roterodami effigiem ab Johanne Holpeyno, — artifice in eo genere ut periti censent præstantissimo, — graphice et ad vivum expressam. Hoc enim malui, quam pictori Mechliniensi committere, partim qualicumque occasiunculæ declarandi animi in Te mei, partim quod vererer ne ab ipso pictore effingeretur in pejus, quemadmodum fere evenit quoties ex imagine imago fingitur. Nam cum nulla imago absolute ad Archetypum respondeat, necesse est semper longius aberrare imaginis imaginem. Addidi gypseam Imperatoris εἰκόνα : quæ si videtur satis expressa, dabimus operam ut e solidiore materia ad te veniat'. Meanwhile he thanks him for being favoured with his friendship.

By a note from Bruges at the end of April, or the beginning of May 1531 <sup>4)</sup>, when the Court was at Ghent, de Schepper wrote to Dantiscus : 'S. R<sup>mus</sup> D<sup>nus</sup> Lundensis <sup>5)</sup> et ego sumus domi nostræ : vtrique occlusa est alvus, et silit cerevisiam tuam Gedanensem. Vxor petit sibi ignosci quod insalutato abierit, tametsi non ipsius culpa id accidit : sed quia tu domi non eras quo ipsa venit ; de alijs rebus nihildum actum est. Bene vale, cum mille bezationibus manuum et pedum. Humilis inservitor Corn. Dup. Scepperus.

<sup>1)</sup> *Busl.*, 18, 20-21 ; *Gran.*, 95, a-j, &c ; *MonHL*, 420-21, and passim : *ActaMori*, 23-25, 33, sq, 52, 57, 78, 100-02, 115, sq, 120, 164, 197.

<sup>2)</sup> Cp. *BibBelg.*, 141 ; *SaxOnom.*, 39, 584 ; *Sandys*, II, 215 ; *Allen*, IV, 1209, pr ; *PighE*, 9, 12, 127, 303 ; *OlaE*, 200, sq, 328-30, 438, 444, 486-88, 510, 523, 593-600, 604, 615, sq ; and further this DE, 121.

<sup>3)</sup> DE, 121 : Fbm, 3, 47 ; Ccm, 284, 160 ; it reached Dantiscus at Ghent on April 29 ; *Hipler*, 481-82.

<sup>4)</sup> DE, 122 : Fbm, 6, 61.

<sup>5)</sup> John de Weze.

On May 3, 1531, 'Wenceslaus Lubicensis, Lubicz, medicus' <sup>1)</sup>, announces that he has returned to Leipzig, and the finest thing he brought from his journey is the *Sylva* <sup>2)</sup>. He regrets that he has not a few copies for his friends. 'Epistola autem Campensis vel loco testimonij est habitæ disputationis Louanij. Tametsi illic medicis est rerum gestarum nomine facultatis testimonium dare, ut plurimum prodesset, prodibit in lucem hoc semestrij libellus Morbum [humeralem] complectens, in quo disputationis et judicii magnorum virorum mencio opportuna fiet. Mihi vero satisfecit vnus Campensis judicium, quem optaram disputationj interfuisse. Nihil reliquum fecisse me opinor binis meis disputationibus quam me videndum exhibuisse scholis medicorum, qui ego Barbarus peregrinus & indoctus ausus fuerim cum doctissimis viris in celebratissimis studijs disserere : duxi tamen illud meum institutum honestius quam Bruxellis balneare. Further news is added about rumours of war, which he heard from the doctors of the King of Poland and of the Duke of Prussia.

Nicolas BEKEN Cleynaerts, CLENARDUS, born at Diest, studied from 1512 at the Porc in Louvain, and was the third of his promotion in 1515 <sup>3)</sup>. He taught in his Pedagogy, where he came under the influence of James Latomus, the great adversary of Erasmus and of all linguistic studies. It explains his lifelong ill-feeling towards the great Humanist, with whom he spent years in one small University town, using the selfsame streets and market-places, yet never as much as 'met'. Even at the Old Erudite's decease, he had nothing for him but bitter, indecent sarcasm <sup>4)</sup>. Still, after Erasmus left Louvain, Beken soon noticed that, willy-nilly, he had to study languages. He consequently became a zealous *Trilinguist*, when President of Houterle College for ten years, and a great friend of Rescius, whose books and texts he used to his

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<sup>1)</sup> DE, 123 : Upm, 154, 49 : it reached Dantiscus at Ghent on May 19. — This Wenceslas, or Wenselaus, Lubicz, a countryman of Dantiscus, had accompanied him and the Court on their way to the Netherlands ; he probably had profited of the occasion to visit Louvain University, and pass some act, — which interested him more than a sojourn in merry Brussels. Cp. p 74.

<sup>2)</sup> No doubt, Dantiscus' *De Nostrorum Temporum Calamitatibus Sylva* composed at Bologna in 1529, and printed there, January 1530 ; Lubicz may not have been able to acquire a copy of the Antwerp reprint : as he would have secured more than one ; cp. before pp 51, sq.

<sup>3)</sup> *LibIntIII*, 185, r ; *ULPromRs*, 70.

<sup>4)</sup> *ClenHum.*, 5-6 ; *ClenCorr.*, 1, 79, 91, 99, 101, 103-4, 106-7, 132.

lessons, and who printed his own *Meditationes* and his *Compendium*. He proved to be a thankless competitor for Campensis : after having enjoyed thoroughly his lessons, he started teaching Hebrew in his turn, and made life as good as impossible in Louvain for that man with his high ideals and his infantile disease ; he, no doubt, schemed replacing him quite soon. Fortunately, upright friends of the *Trilingue* and of the erudite Hebraist, saw to it that Campensis' design of leaving, and even his actual departure, was kept a two or three men's secret, and, as meanwhile Beken lost one livelihood after another, he accepted the proposal of Fernando Colombo, and followed him to Spain in the autumn of 1531, along with John Vasæus. He earned money for a time from what for a large part he had received from Rescius and from the very Campensis whom he had wanted to remove. Yet after all, Campensis had not been treated any worse than Erasmus, nor even than Vives, whose kindness Clénard only paid by sneers and derision. He himself wished to learn Arabic before returning to the Netherlands, with which he had kept in connection by a correspondence, which is far more remarkable for its undue humour and heartlessness than for erudition or even sound common sense. He had presumed adding a fourth clover leaf to the *Trilingue*, but he died at Granada long before his time, on November 6, 1542, although he had always given the impression of strength by his out-of-the-way heavy, healthy and burly stature. Cp. *Clénard* ; *Clenardo* ; *ClenCorr.*, II, 22-24, 44, 86 ; *ClenHum.* ; *Mol.*, 603 ; *Opmeer*, I, 482, a ; *Vern.*, 313 ; *VAnd.*, 107, 232, 357, sq, 401 ; *BibBelg.*, 682 ; *Paquot*, XVIII, 265 ; *Cran.*, lvii, 46, c ; *MonHL*, 411-23 ; *SaxOnom.*, 121, 600 ; *HTL*, II, 220-24, 507, sq, 580, &c, III, 159, 164-70, 174-5, 185-90, 253, 401, &c ; *Auœ.*, 441, 461 ; *PighE*, 46, 303 ; *Carvalho*, 9-15 ; *ErasPort.*, 6, 32, 35-36 ; *ULAnn.*, 1854, 246-85 ; *Mameran.*, 20 ; *Lomeyer*, 235.

On May 11, 1531, Nicolas Clénardus wrote from Louvain to Dantiscus <sup>1)</sup> : 'Sedulitatem tuam agnoui ex literis, quas mihi legendas præbuit noster Conradus [Goclenius], communis amicus. Si quid de te meritis essem, vererer te pluribus adhortari, vt testatum istum amorem conseruares. Nunc cum tantum immerenti tribuisti, non timeo ne gratiam referre te velim, si vel obnixissime contendam, vt e misera hac lite tandem expediar <sup>2)</sup> : id quod non dubito si per aliquem quin per te futurum sit. Non tamen mihi erit integrum longius a Louanio discedere, vel hac quoque spe, siquidem conditionem hic nouam sum nuper adeptus <sup>3)</sup>, quæ et mihi et studiosis

<sup>1)</sup> DE, 125 : Fbm, 4, 116 ; *MonHL*, 422-3 ; *ClenCorr.*, I, 14, II, 22-24.

<sup>2)</sup> Clénardus had wished to be appointed as *curatus* of the *Béguinage* of his native town Diest : *MonHL*, 416 ; *Diest*, 483.

<sup>3)</sup> Probably the tutoring of students, such as Paul Leopard : *MonHL*, 422.

multis vt puto non erit inutilis. Suspicio Gemmam et hoc non tacuisse, et de fugituo quoque Philippæo <sup>1)</sup> rem omnem denarasse, qui profecto multo fuit melior, quam quam vanitatis autor emunxerat. Bene vale, vir humanissime, et me inter illos habe, qui gratissimi cupiunt esse, nec possunt. Louanii, ex Collegio Scholastici <sup>2)</sup>, xi Maii. Tuus ex animo Nicolaus Clenardus.

On May 12, 1531, John Campensis, writing from Louvain to Dantiscus at Ghent <sup>3)</sup>, returns thanks for his ' *imaginem ad vivum elegantissime expressam* ' and highly praises it; he also thanks him for what he says about his writings: he will continue working on the Psalms, and hopes soon to send all of them. Something has come which prevents the *profectio* contemplated for the next month, which will not be possible before September <sup>4)</sup>: this is the less painful, as it will give the occasion to visit and even receive Dantiscus, since he has promised Goclenius to come back to Louvain.

On the same day, iv Id. Maij, May 12, 1531 <sup>5)</sup>, Goclenius replies from Louvain to Dantiscus, and expresses his pleasure that his *munusculum* <sup>6)</sup> gave joy to his new friend: as all barriers have been broken down, he could not keep back Erasmus' *simulacrum*, through which he enters the ' *intima penetralia* ' of his grand new patron. He will answer his invitation, and promises to chatter about anything, rather than allow him to be forgotten. He regrets that he could not

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<sup>1)</sup> Most probably a scapegrace inmate of Houterle College who had run away.

<sup>2)</sup> Viz, the College, founded by Henry de Houterle, Scholaster of St. Peter's, by 1511: *ULDoc.*, III, 168, sq.

<sup>3)</sup> DE, 126: Fbm, 3, 55; the letter reached Dantiscus at Ghent on May 14; Hipler, 483.

<sup>4)</sup> Campensis intended leaving for Germany and Italy so as to have an occasion to publish his studies on the Psalms and meet Elias Levita.

<sup>5)</sup> DE, 127: Fbm 3, 46, Ccm, 284, 167: (in both copies) the date is given as '12. Id. Maii', which must be a mistake for 'iv', as is suggested by the evident error on the one hand, and a similar dating of Campensis' letter on the other: it was also answered on May 14; Hipler, 483.

<sup>6)</sup> The portrait of Erasmus offered on April 27: cp. p 77.



say at which age Erasmus' portrait was made, but he will inquire, and soon tell. — As to the Emperor's medals, they will be done promptly and carefully. There have been attempts at having them in silver, and some artificers are even able to get silver as malleable and as fusible as lead : he is afraid 'ne dent verba'; however, nothing is easier than 'fingere e gypso'. — Campensis, too, is pleased with Dantiscus' leaden 'simulachrum', which he has examined carefully and, to his great pleasure, found completely exact. If he, Dantiscus, has some more of such works of art in his house, as Campensis says, Goclenius would like to have a similar *munusculum*. He now closes his letter by announcing the reply of Nicolas Clenard <sup>1)</sup> : 'Cleonardo renuntiatum quæ voluisti, quemadmodum licebit intelligere ex ejus epistola, quam cum mea accepisti. Bene vale. Lovanij, iv Idus Maij, 1531'.

Henry Cornelius AGRIPPA, of Nettesheym, was born in 1486 in Cologne, of a family that had been in the service of the Austrian Emperors for several generations. He studied in Cologne, matriculating on July 22, 1499, and in Paris; for a time he served Maximilian I, visited England and Colet, and lectured in various towns of France and Italy, where his animosity against all contradictors caused him no end of trouble, such as that with James Lefèvre. He knew Luther, but did not follow him; he had been introduced to Erasmus by Cantiuncula, and he highly esteemed him. By 1528, he entered the service of Margaret of Austria, whom he praised in *De Nobilitate et Præcellentia Fæminæi Sexus*, 1531; at her death he pronounced her funeral oration. He wished to enter Charles V's service, and wrote the letter of which the beginning mentions Dantiscus. Still the Emperor was highly displeased with him for attacking the authority of sovereigns in his *De Vanitate Scientiarum*, 1531, and for some assertions of his, such as the one, that the more he gets to know monks and priests, the more he likes the whelps of his dog. He fled to France, where Francis I put him into prison for reviling Queen Louise. He died soon after his release, at Grenoble in 1535. There are biographies of him by H. Morley, London, 1856, and by M. A. Prost, Paris, 1881; cp. Keussen, 443, 15; AgripE, 345-353; Colet, 199; Opmeer, I, 486, a; Foppens, 439-40; Knod, 699; FG, 291; SaxOnom., 138, 603; Bianco, I, 613-24; SchelAL, II, 513-96; Krafft, 140, sq, 175, 207; Reuchlin, 198, sq, 364, sq; PaulDom., 129-34; Notestein, 62; Cran., 18, pr, &c; MonHL, 39; HTL, III, 140-44; Allen, IX, 2544, pr; HarvMarg., 119, 126, 156, 208, 214, sq.

<sup>1)</sup> Cp. before, DE, 125 and the sketch of his life-work : pp 78-80.

On May 12, 1531, Henry Cornelius Agrippa wrote from Ghent to Cardinal Erard de la Marck, Bishop of Liège <sup>1)</sup> : 'Quod iam multis antea diebus ex Reuerendissimo Domino Apostolicæ Sedis Legato, Laurentio Campegio Cardinale, eiusque secretario D. Luca, & D. Bernardo œconomo, tum etiam ex serenissimi Poloniae Regis oratore Ioanne Dantisco episcopo Culmensi accepi, Pater ac Princeps Reuerendissime illustrissimeque, id hodie apud Celsitudinem tuam coram audiui & perspexi, quod videlicet magnitudine beneficentiæ tuæ meum negotium apud Cæs. Maiestatem promouendū suscepisti, in quo certe ego fortunæ meæ haud parum congratulor, quæ cum me multis hic obligatum esse voluit, etiam tuæ Celsitudini potissimum obligauit, qui non solum quod potes, idque velis, auxilium ferre, sed etiam quid in me dignum auxilio sit, facile cognoscere atque diiudicare queas'. &c.

By his letter of May 30, 1531, the dean of Bruges, Mark Laurin, applied to Dantiscus <sup>2)</sup> with the request to lend him the description of the newly discovered islands which he possesses, so that they might be represented by Livinus Panagathus <sup>3)</sup> on an immense 'sphaera' at which he is working : 'sphaera tam ingens vt vix quisquam crederet nisi viso ea magnitudine fabricari posse, sua mole in omnem partem volubilj, vt statim se ea pars mundi oculis obiciatur quam quisque cupiat ac velit'. Without the conformation of those isles, the whole thing which is now well begun, would be halting, 'claudicans : utpote non suis constans membris'. Dantiscus is requested to entrust the *charta* to the bearer of this letter, Livinus Panagathus, for the finish of the globe ; it will be kept 'illæsa, et bona fide restituetur'. Similar service is offered whenever possible.

On June 2, 1531, John van Campen <sup>4)</sup> announces from Louvain that he should like to send the Psalms, which Dantiscus and de Schepper want so much : only the nuntius

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<sup>1)</sup> AgripE, 295.

<sup>2)</sup> DE, 129 : Fbm, 3, 48 ; it reached Dantiscus at Ghent on May 31.

<sup>3)</sup> Cp. before, pp 71 and 53-54.

<sup>4)</sup> DE, 131 : Upm 154, 54 : it reached Dantiscus at Ghent on June 3.

has so little time ; he hopes, however, to have them all soon ready to be printed ; he would also give the Proverbs if he was not just now copying and correcting the Psalms. — As postscript Campensis mentions that in the letter which John Maquet <sup>1)</sup> brought, he joked ; Maquet appears to have understood from your words, that I had spoken ‘ de persecutione mei ’. If you, Dantiscus, see the man, who must still be at Ghent, ‘ placae eum : nemo unquam persecutus est me, quod quidem sciam : minime autem omnino Maquetus. Scriberem et Stratagemati <sup>2)</sup> si tempus haberem.

On the same day, June 2, 1531, Goclenius <sup>3)</sup> assures that he does not expect that Dantiscus should answer all his letters, since he considers it pleasure enough to be allowed to write to him. He is very happy to hear that de Schepper is growing in importance : one gets high up only through work. De Schepper, to be sure, is fortunate to have found a Mentor in Dantiscus ; he was ‘ evectus favore Mercurini [de Gattinara] ’, but he owed that in great part to Dantiscus, who considers the quality, not the person. He himself has ‘ complexus Scep-perum fraterno animo plurimis annis ’ ; he therefore, too, feels grateful, and hopes that the present embassy will be favourable to him <sup>4)</sup>. ‘ Imaginem Erasmi, quam destinastj remittere, haud scio in quam partem sit accipiendam. Illud tamen scito mihi posthac fore iniucundissimam. Nam quoties intuebor, hæc cogitatio subibit animum, illam a Dantisco fuisse repudiatam. Quod ad meam oblectationem pertinet, ea mihi est necessitudo cum Hoelpeyno <sup>5)</sup>, ut quiduis ab eo possim impetrare. Quin spero me breuj tibi exhibiturum hoc anno effectam, quæ si tibi magis arridebit, tum tua sit optio vtram malis tibi seruare. Simulacrum tuj plumbeum avidissime expecto. Puderet me huius petacitatis, si aliunde liceret comparare. Quod cum sit negatum, ab impudentia, quam tamen amor tuj expressit, præsidium cogimur mutuare ’.

<sup>1)</sup> Cp. before, p 75.

<sup>2)</sup> Cp. before, p 72.

<sup>3)</sup> DE, 132 : Upm, 154, 52 : it reached Dantiscus at Ghent on June 3.

<sup>4)</sup> Cp. HTL, II, 167-68, 609-10.

<sup>5)</sup> Evidently Hans Holbein the Younger (1497-1543), the famous painter.

No doubt Dantiscus will have missed in our provinces the presence of his great friend de Schepper, who, as accustomed, was then sent on mission. Even Erasmus had remarked on it, when, along with that other literator used as ambassador, Cantiuncula, he described him in his *Ciceronianus* <sup>1)</sup> : *Be. Nosti Claudium Cantiunculam Metensem, & Cornelium Scepperum. No. Uterque mihi & e convictu notus est. Cantiuncula, ut est ingenio festivo, in quovis argumento tractando suavissime canit, præsertim oratione prosa; quantum valeat carmine, nescio, nec infeliciter properat ad exemplar Ciceronis. Fluxum, perspicuitatem, copiam ac jucunditatem M. Tullii propemodum assequutus est; sed jampridem in Principum legationibus fabulam agit motoriam, quum hoc negocium altissimam quietem desideret, & tamen ita quotidie seipsum vincit, quasi per terras mariaque volitans, Musas omnes secum ducat comites. Habet hoc eximium quod Jurisprudentiam, ac Philosophiæ cognitionem eloquentiæ conciliavit. Scepperus, præterquam quod in omni disciplinarum genere versatus est, pari facilitate & solutam orationem textit & carmen, quanquam & hic jam diu fabulam agit motoriam.*

On June 3, 1531, that clever Cornelius de Schepper sends a short letter from Spires <sup>2)</sup>, relating his journey; he did not see the Palatine Count at Heidelberg, as he was in Bohemia; he also had to look after some Brabant people. He mentions the false rumours about the Turk; he recommends his wife during this embassy, which he hopes will be honourable for him. — On June 9 following, the same Cornelius <sup>3)</sup> writes from 'Werde' that he is going to Ratisbon, and 'Sleska', where King Ferdinand is; he has to buy horses at Ratisbon. He thanks for the *Ecclesiastes*, a present which consoles him; he returns thanks and recommends his wife to be consoled. — On June 11, 1531, following, de Schepper reached Ratisbon <sup>4)</sup>, where he heard from the Captain Christopher Plarrer, that King Ferdinand was at Prague, where a meeting is prepared with Jerome a Lasco, Ludovic Gritti, the Oratores of Poland, with the Vaivode and the Lord of Roghendorff, in view of an armistice. He is going to Prague: he greets Valdes and his friends, and sends 'besationes' to the Prince 'Marchio' <sup>5)</sup>. — On June 15, 1531, John de Weze, archbishop-elect

<sup>1)</sup> *Dialogus Ciceronianus* (1528): EOO, I, 1012, A, B.

<sup>2)</sup> DE, 133: Upm, 154, 55: it reached Dantiscus at Ghent on August 17.

<sup>3)</sup> DE, 134: Upm, 154, 56: it reached Dantiscus at Ghent on June 30.

<sup>4)</sup> DE, 136: Upm, 154, 57.

<sup>5)</sup> Prob. John Albert of Brandenburg.

of Lund and Bishop of Roskild <sup>1)</sup>, sends from Mechlin de Schepper's letters from Spires to Dantiscus, and others from him to his wife, which he is requested to send on to their destination.

## BRUGES FRIENDS

Mark LAURIN was born at Bruges on May 17, 1488 as the second son of Jerome, Lord of Watervliet, the treasurer of Philip the Fair. With two of his brothers, Matthias and Peter <sup>2)</sup>, he was sent to Louvain, where they matriculated on August 31, 1502, as inmates of the Lily <sup>3)</sup>; in 1507, they went to Bologna <sup>4)</sup>. There Mark once more met Erasmus, whose acquaintance he had made in Louvain. In 1512, he was appointed 'graduate noble' canon of St. Donatian's in Bruges, as well as 'coadjutor decani' <sup>5)</sup>, and, on September 24, 1519, he was appointed dean. He was there in close connection with the great erudite John Louis Vives, as well as with the most learned canons John de Fevyn and Antony van Schoonhoven, of his own Chapter, and he cultivated the friendship of Erasmus, who spent some time as his guest at the political meetings in Bruges in 1519 and 1521. On February 1, 1523, as dedicatory introduction to his *Catalogus Lucubrationum*, Erasmus wrote to him a letter extending over 1023 lines in Allen's edition: no doubt as it was meant both as a sign of hearty friendship, and as a means of justification of his attitude towards Luther <sup>6)</sup>.

Still the ten letters from Erasmus and the two directed to him, though most important, do not exhaust the significance of the very interesting Dean of Bruges. Through his brother-in-law Cornelius de Schepper, since 1528 the second husband of the widow of his brother Peter, Mark had made a hearty friendship with the Polish ambassador, and in one of the few letters that are extant of their correspondence, most strange revelations were made. It follows from Mark Laurin's letter of December 17, 1531, DE, 184, that, as he had communicated to Dantiscus, he had been solicited since twenty-four years by the French central authorities to cause, or, at least, to contribute to, the scission of Flanders from the possessions of the young Prince Charles, and joining that precious extent of country to France: — it had been tried by brutal force at the untimely decease of Charles the Bold and at the practical forlornness of Mary of Burgundy; it was once more attempted, later on, when the revolt of Ghent got as far as making Mary of Hungary powerless. That request of thus secretly working for France,

<sup>1)</sup> DE, 138: Upm, 151, 60.

<sup>2)</sup> A fourth brother, Charles, was born in 1506 after Jerome had remarried: HTL, II, 67-68.

<sup>3)</sup> *LibIntIII*, 98, r.

<sup>4)</sup> Knod, 295.

<sup>5)</sup> *GallChrist.*, v, 258.

<sup>6)</sup> Allen, v, 1342.

must have started by 1507, when brilliant promises were made. Mark, however, had stood firm on his Prince's side, although one endeavour was made after another to gain his collaboration, in so far as to make him suffer from those attempts, and the seductive offers, resisting 'aduersus Platom vim' <sup>1)</sup>, — since they, most probably, made some intermediaries whom he knew, actually miserable. For the cruelty and perfidy of the enemy was not only continually afflicting the Dean, but especially those of his friends and acquaintances, who were unable to prevail over his refusal. Most probably, he had come home just then from a visit, or a meeting connected with that plan, which he must have succeeded in making decisive somehow or other : — still, the least indiscretion on his side, would have precipitated counter-measures on mediatory persons in that world of political intrigues. He thus rejoiced in having practically put an end to the always renascent temptation, as is implied by this most important disclosure.

Laurin devoted himself to his work, although suffering at times from some infirmity, such as, in the spring of 1534, when he was, for a time, in the Antwerp hospital : *OlaE*, 497. Although he himself produced little, he must have been wonderful in his encouragement of erudite workers, not only in his own family, in which his nephews Mark and Guy, sons of his brother Matthias, distinguished themselves afterwards as antiquarians <sup>2)</sup>. Several great humanists of his days were connected with him : Vives and Erasmus, Cranevelt and Peter Gilles, Chilius and Casembroot, so that at his decease, on November 4, 1540, his memory was celebrated, amongst others, by Cassander and Stephen de Grave Comes, Gaspar Schets and Antony de Schoonhoven <sup>3)</sup>.

On June 12, 1531, Mark Laurin replies from Bruges <sup>4)</sup> to the message and the letter that was brought to him by Livinus Panagathus <sup>5)</sup>. He thanks for the too great praise which he receives, and, as requested, he has greeted de Schepper's wife, as well as Jane, her sister <sup>6)</sup> : they offer thanks for the 'fasciculum florum fragrantium', and recommend themselves

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<sup>1)</sup> No doubt 'plata' in the sense of 'silver', as it has in Spanish, a term that must have then been most familiar at the time of the discovery of *La Plata*.

<sup>2)</sup> *PighE*, 31-3, 39-43, 48, *sq*, 54-56, 63-66, 98, *sq*, 103-04, 230-33, &c.

<sup>3)</sup> *DelPoBel.*, I, 970, 984, *sq*, IV, 47, 87. Cp. *Guicc.*, 240 ; *Cran.*, 6, a, &c ; *MonHL*, 154, 184, 190 ; *MasE*, 13, *sq* ; *OlaE*, 510, &c ; *Allen*, I, 201, 2 ; *Foppens*, II, 839 ; *FlandIll.*, II, 170 ; *BrugInscr.*, I, 159 ; *BrugErVir.*, 34, 58 ; *FG*, 380 ; *Schrevel*, I, 72, 223 ; *HTL*, I, 210, 516, II, 68, 179, 181, 251, 491, 615, III, 133, 262, 436, 550, IV, 185 ; *BrugSDon.*, 85, 166 ; *Seck.*, I, 262, A.

<sup>4)</sup> *DE*, 137 : *Upm*, 154, 58 ; it reached Dantiscus at Ghent on June 14.

<sup>5)</sup> Cp. p 53.

<sup>6)</sup> Cp. further, *DE*, 374.

to Dantiscus' favour. Livinus Panagathus has Dantiscus' 'charta', which he would have given at his visit in Emperor Charles' retinue; since His Majesty did not come, he wanted to bring it to Ghent, but was prevented by illness. — As Mark is finishing, the sister sends him Dantiscus' letter, and requests him to thank him in her place, and to invite him to Bruges, which would procure happiness to all parties: he should then lodge at his sister's house of the Borrers (*possibly* Borre's).

On June 26, 1531, John van Campen writes to Dantiscus, in Brussels, from Louvain <sup>1)</sup>, although he ignores whether he has returned; he announces that he has finished copying and correcting the Psalms, and he expresses the doubt whether it is worth while publishing. At any rate he sends two parts of the Psalms to see whether the characters and the size would please; for he hears that Dantiscus likes small volumes, easy to be carried about.

Other letters of those days hardly concern Dantiscus more than the help he can provide: one from Gonzalez Perez, wishing on July 1, to borrow a horse from Dantiscus, which his master Valdes must not know; others from a Lithuanian youth, James Zabrezensky, who has been pursued along with a companion who had stolen values: the latter escaped, but he, taking refuge in a church at Mons, was deprived of what he possessed by the 'plebanus': he applied to Dantiscus on July 17 and 21, to be set free, with his money returned <sup>2)</sup>.

John de FEYEN, born at Furnes on May 10, 1490, soon became an orphan; his uncle John Hedenbault, *præfectus aulicus* of Bruges, took care of him. He came to Louvain, matriculating on August 31, 1506, and was dean of the Bachelors of Laws by 1511; he became doctor of laws in Bologna, where he met Dantiscus. He had been appointed canon of St. Donatian's, Bruges, by 1510, and he was Scholaster there from 1523. He was a great friend of Vives and Cranevelt, of Adrian and Hubert Barlandus, and was himself an erudite. He died on October 23, 1555. Cp. *Cran.*, xci-xcix; Allen, iv, 1012, *pr*; Schrevel, i, 247; *BrugSDon.*, 178; *BB*, t, 106, G, 185, B, 287, 2, 3, 290, 31; *BrugErVir.*, 50; *FlandOHR*, III, 202.

<sup>1)</sup> DE, 139: Upm, 154, 61.

<sup>2)</sup> DE, 141: Upm, 154, 62 and DE, 145, 146: Upm, 154, 63 and 65.

Judging by a letter of thanks from a Ghent under-bailiff Arend Sturm, at whose house he had resided and whose wife and daughter he had given presents, Dantiscus had left Ghent some time before July 7 <sup>1)</sup>, for Brussels. He there received a letter of July 14, 1531, from John de Fevyn <sup>2)</sup>, whom he had known at Bologna where he studied, and whom he had met some days before at his visit to Mark Laurin <sup>3)</sup>. ‘Nescio quonam pacto, Clariss. Vir & multis nominibus Ornatissime’, de Fevyn wrote, ‘mihi temperare vix potuerim, quin aliquando vnas ad te darem literas ; admonitus enim superioribus diebus ab Decano Marco Laurino, vt hoc ipsum facerem, profecto semper refugi. Nunc, cum jnterea sæpe mecum jlle & amantissime & honorificentissime loqueretur, neque non isthuc proficisceretur, jterum denuo hortatus est, ut ad te scriberem : te eum esse, aiebat, qui non solum amicos pauculis diebus & perbreui congressu cognitos coleres ; verum etiam (quæ tua est jnnata humanitas) sponte tua soleres alios ad te amandum prouocare ; quare, Clariss. Vir, vt nihil aliud esset quod mihi scribendum suscepissem, quam vel hoc ipsum me dare amico prope violenter (ne quid dicam durius) extorquenti.

Certe (quod ad me attinet) in me nihil tale recidit, quale fortassis ille tibi de me predicauit : fateor me quorundam iudicio aliquousque progressum ; obseruo & colo amicos fidelissime. In te porro cum omnia summa ac diuina sint, fateor me iamdiu flagrasse te visendi desyderio ; id uero cum benignitate tua assequutus sum. Non potui mea etiam sponte preterire, quin per literas hoc testarer tibi, me esse tui obseruantissimum, & laudum tuarum pro virili nostra strenuum buccinatorem, parum quidem eruditum, literatorum tamen & insignium virorum candidum admiratorem & prædicatorem integrum. A discessu enim hinc tuo (propterea quod vna tecum abierit Marcus), non credas quam multi percontati sint de te ; ego uero, id quod res ; etenim (& si iamdiu cum adhuc Bononiæ ageres) Schepperus quædam multo maxima, de eruditione tua, & eximijs dotibus disseminarat : ego uero, inquam, illa omnia & amice & candide

<sup>1)</sup> DE, 142 : Ccm, 1595, 307.

<sup>2)</sup> DE, 144 : Upm, 154, 69 ; cp. *Gran.*, xcvi, sq.

<sup>3)</sup> Cp. before pp 85-87 ; BerchPiorCar., 42, r, v.



deliniaui nostris esse longe præclariora. Proinde, Clariss. Vir, si tu vicissim Fevynum tuum, qui in tuorum amiculorum albo adscribi cupit, amplecti potes, quæso te ne in amicorum gregem recipere graueris. Mihi satis fuerit, amico nouo, in postremis consistere, quandoquidem alij primas occuparint parteis. Habes epistolam vtcumque verbosam, re inanem ; sed id amico Laurino imputabis, cuius precibus aliquid dandum erat ; aut si malis, tenui orationis filo. Nam vt amori erga te summo ignoscas, haud postulo. Bene vale, Reverende domine, & nos amare perge, qui numquam animo nostro excidis. Brugis pridie jdus Julij. Tui observantissimus Joannes Fevynus, Jurecoss., Canonicus apud diuum Donatianum, Brugis.

On July 25, 1531, John Campensis writes from Louvain to Dantiscus that he would have come three days before, if he had had anything to offer <sup>1)</sup>. Rutger Rescius, he announces, started printing the *Ecclesiastes*, but is afraid to go on ; he fears that after Dantiscus' departure, he will be molested by those who take care of the fiscal dues, and that he should have to pay '400 carolos'. — He is coming to Brussels to obtain a general privilege through somebody of the *familia* of the Apostolic Legate ; therefore he should like to receive from Dantiscus the Psalms he has, so as to show them to the Legate : he consequently requests his great Protector, Dantiscus, to let him have them ; they will soon be returned. He himself, Campensis, is frequently requested to come to France to solve the question, but he would greatly prefer to go to the *Comitia* that are going to be held in Germany. He intends coming next Saturday, and will then talk much longer with Dantiscus : for he also would like to be told which 'orationes' he wants translating from the Hebrew, and he just mentions that the *Oratio Manasse Regis* is not found in Hebrew. As postscript he announces more Psalms, which he was as imprudent as to leave here in Louvain. He moreover wishes to be told how long Dantiscus intends staying in Brussels.

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<sup>1)</sup> DE, 147 : Upm, 154, 67.

On the first of August 1531, a letter was written to Dantiscus from Mexico 'in nova reperta India', which was full of news and greetings; unfortunately the name is badly written and might be read 'sominus' (somin9s). It reached Bp. Dantiscus at 'Ratisbon, April 6', and may have been from a friend who possibly provided to de Schepper, later on, some intelligence about Hernán Cortés <sup>1)</sup>.

Another letter, which Campensis wrote to Dantiscus, has neither date, nor place: it evidently was written in the first days of August in Louvain <sup>2)</sup>. It starts with the question: When will Carondelet, Archiepiscopus Panormitanus, have the time to read my Psalms? He indeed fears less his censure than that of the theologians. Therefore he wishes that the text should be printed here, so as to have it finished the sooner. He requests Dantiscus to send by somebody the fifty first Psalms, to have them submitted to the Panormitanus; if having read those, he wishes to see the others, he can have them. Unfortunately the one who copied the first fifty, left for France with the *cubicularius* of the nuncio, so that he could not give the rest at once. 'Offert mihi Episcopus quidam Gallus se curaturum, si mittere voluero exemplar, ut edantur cum Privilegio Regio, aut Parisiis, aut Lugduni. Spero huius comoediæ lætum exitum aliquem, quæ initium habet tam triste!' It is as if the Lord made him *live* all the Psalms, he says. He is now forty: 'complevi annum quadragesimum <sup>3)</sup>', sed nullo, quod sciam, quam hoc vixi insuavius! Proficisci in Galliam propemodum certum est. Si tamen putarem Spiram venturum Philippum <sup>4)</sup>, profectionem differrem; valde cuperem posse cum illo colloqui biduo aut triduo: sperarem nos duos plus boni facturos in sedandis iis tumultibus quam factum est tot mensibus furiosis quorundam clamoribus Augustæ. Nec dubito quin Philippus ipse tam cuperet convenire me, quam ipsum *ego*: sum enim nomine illi non minus

<sup>1)</sup> DE, 149: Ccm, 1596, 301; cp. DE, 296 and 317; — also Altamira, III, 44-56; &c.

<sup>2)</sup> DE, 150: Fbm, 6, 125; — cp. Hipler, 484.

<sup>3)</sup> Cp. before p 66; Campensis was born by the end of July or the beginning of August 1491.

<sup>4)</sup> Viz., Melanchthon, attending the meeting first designed at Spire.

notus quam ipse mihi. Vale Domine. Nuper Gemma hic serio ægrotat : ubi pristinam valetudinem receperit, scribam latius, aut ipse ego veniam ! Ignosce lituris, neque me iudices ex moribus præsentibus. Clar<sup>mo</sup> J. Dantisco Episcopo Culmensi . Poloniæ Regis Oratori Bruxellis '.

On August 7, 1531, Gemma Phrysius wrote from Louvain to Dantiscus <sup>1)</sup> : 'Salutem et seruitutis meæ commendationem. Fortassis malo meam diuturnam absentiam a D<sup>ne</sup> V. R<sup>a</sup> accipi metuebam, atque ob id has turbulentas, manu trepidante, cerebro disperso, congesti, petens me quam optime purgatum haberi apud D<sup>m</sup> V. Neque enim meæ neggligentiae imputari iuste potest, quod vel ipse Campensis (cui Dominatio Vestra plurimum confidit) atque alij non parui ponderis testabuntur. Sed, ut demum breuissimis causam absolvam : venissem die Sabbati proxime [Aug. 5] transacta, nam tum expeditus quidem fui negocijs mihi commissis, sed impeditus morbo certe non leui, qui me corripuerat vix a limine mansionis D<sup>nts</sup> Vestræ digressum, atque huc usque vana spe detinuit. Nunc ostenso medicis lotio, dicunt illi me in ambiguo esse, siue in discrimine vitæ, nam [h]epar meum usque adeo incensum est, ut vix restingui possit, et si proficiscendum mihi sit uel paululum, maius imminere periculum. Mitto igitur ad D<sup>nem</sup> V. R<sup>mam</sup> cumulum librorum quos in catalogo nostro mihi præscripserat, adsignato precio : desunt tamen quattuor vel quinque, quos hic inuenire non potui, et, si placet D<sup>nt</sup> V<sup>ræ</sup> precium, potest eos servare. Ego vero cogor adhuc quattuor vel quinque diebus hic decumbere, donec videro, quid Deus mecum agere velit ; neque enim diu durare potest, quin me vel Deo vel vitæ reddet. Si vero D<sup>to</sup> V. mihi pro me, medicis et medicinis, vellet mittere unum vel duos philippeos, vel quantum ei placeret, bene mecum ageret, et si morior gratiam a Deo accipiet ; si vivam, non ero ingratus. Ex Louanio, 7<sup>a</sup> Augusti 1531. V<sup>ræ</sup> D<sup>nts</sup> R<sup>mæ</sup> humillimus servus Gemma Phrysius' <sup>2)</sup>.

<sup>1)</sup> DE, 152 : Upm, 151, 70 ; *GemFrisius*., 403-04.

<sup>2)</sup> The letter was to be handed to Dantiscus : 'Te Brussel tusken de binnenste poerte ende die butenste om een borreputte' (between the inner and outer gate, near a pit).

On August 16, 1531, Conrad Goclenius writes to Dantiscus <sup>1)</sup> : like servants who are in fault in plays, and try to get a 'deprecator', so he uses Cornelius de Schepper's intercession to excuse him for not answering a letter in due time. — I explained to him, he goes on, what *negocia* had kept me back from returning the kindness shown to me. If de Schepper convened you, right; if not, I, Goclenius, would try only in vain by a 'ruda epistola', where his 'facundia' had had no effect. Still I want to express my excuse, he says, for the delay and the seeming neglect, for there is 'nemo paulo humanior tota Europa qui nescit Dantisci virtutes et humanitatem'. I am grateful for being placed through him 'inter candidatos Cæsareæ gratiæ'. I will do like Timanthus, be silent and revere you, Dantiscus, as a father <sup>2)</sup>. I also thank the 'Theseum' <sup>3)</sup>, D. Alphonsus Valdesium, and am looking out for an occasion to show that gratitude. Louanij, decimo septimo calendas Septemb. Anno 1531.

The chief adversary in Louvain of Erasmus and of the *Trilingue*, as well as of the unique scientific method introduced there, deriving all knowledge from the very and only consideration of its object, was James Latomus. He was shrewd enough to hide his conviction, whereas he communicated it to others, and especially to two of his students who, — at least for a time, — acted exclusively on it. One of them was Nicolas Clenard, who even sneered at Erasmus when he had died <sup>4)</sup>. Still he had been, before, made to understand by professor Driedo the indispensableness of an acquaintance with Greek and Hebrew. The other was the Franciscan friar Francis Titelmans, who in his lectures and sermons from 1527, bitterly attacked Erasmus for his Bible studies, whereas he himself never touched exegesis, but made so much the more use of the moral and mystic explanations, according to mediaeval authors. A calm notification did not help, and led even to open hostilities, which were put a drastic end to by Erasmus' *Epistola ad quosdam impudentissimos Gracculos*, 1530. A few years later, Titelmans made as

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<sup>1)</sup> DE, 151 : Ccm, 247, 103; the letter was sent off only on August 18 and reached Dantiscus on August 19.

<sup>2)</sup> Possibly reference to Timanthes, who painted Iphigenia's father with his face hidden in his mantle at her sacrifice.

<sup>3)</sup> Probably, as he led Dantiscus to Goclenius.

<sup>4)</sup> It seems hardly possible to consider otherwise than as a heartless, impudent derision what Clenardus wrote on December 27, 1536 to Polites (*ClenCorr.*, I, 99-107, ll 44-336, 132, ll 497, sq), about Erasmus. Cp. before, p 78. Would he have written so about his own father?

a public disavowal of his Order, when he entered the far severer family of Matteo da Bascio's Capuchins. Cp. *HTL*, III, 144-53.

On August 19, 1531, John Campensis wrote from Louvain to Dantiscus <sup>1)</sup> : De Panormitano satis credebam illum hoc responsurum, sed de Feltrensi <sup>2)</sup> aliud expectabam. Cuperem valde scire quidnam offenderet eos, verbumne unum, an syllaba aliqua ! Ego imputo omnia Francisco Titelmanno, inueni imberbi, qui ante annos aliquot scripsit contra Erasmus, Jacobum Fabrum et Laurentium Vallensem, quos ipse conatus est docere græce, qui vixdum legere posset græce ! Idem hoc anno edidit commentarios in Psalmos, opus tam grande ut asino oneri esse possit, cum Privilegio Imperatoris, in quo opere et Hebraicam et Chaldaicam linguam se scire iactat, cum mihi ipse confessus sit se nunquam cepisse Hebraicæ, multo etiam minus Chaldaicæ, linguæ operam dare. Est et alius tibi notus <sup>3)</sup>, qui frigida suffundit, statura corporis Homericus Thersites, vultu invidiam Ovidianam, meus olim discipulus <sup>4)</sup>, sed nihil minus agresticus <sup>5)</sup>. Quaecunque sit, et quantumvis mihi molestum, non tamen hæc res tanti mihi erit unquam ut in gratiam Beginæ Panormitanæ, ego velim monachus fieri Franciscanus. Nihil mihi dolet magis quam quod tu mea causa tantum susceperis frustra laboris et invidiæ. Verum fieri poterit ut scena harum rerum semel vertatur, et alia appareat facies : quod nisi me fallat animi præsagium, fiet brevi.

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<sup>1)</sup> DE, 155 : Fbm, 6, 20 ; the letter reached Dantiscus in Brussels on August 19. Cp. Hipler, 486.

<sup>2)</sup> Viz., Lorenzo Campeggio (1472-1539) was appointed bishop of Feltri in 1512, and Cardinal in 1517 ; he was sent as legate to England in 1518 and 1528 : *DNB* ; Blunt, I, 55, 137-54.

<sup>3)</sup> No doubt Nicolas Clenard.

<sup>4)</sup> Cp. p 79.

<sup>5)</sup> On April 21, 1540 he wrote to Latomus : nec dubito me Fesæcharum et gratum futurum etsi maxime sim Campiniensis : *ClenCorr.*, I, 166, 32 : he gave several other proofs of it in his correspondence : to Vasæus, who announced him Erasmus' decease, he wrote on Nov. 6, 1535 : [quidam] ait ... mortuum esse amicum monachorum ... Nolo virum nominare, ne me dicas ista libenter obnunciare'. And on December 27, 1536, he mentions to Polites : ' occasione mortis Erasmi, totus [cum] essem in canoris nugis ... ' : *ClenCorr.*, I, 79, 95, 107, 334.

A few days later, on August 27, 1531, Campensis writes <sup>1)</sup> that he does not know whether to get cross with the Panormitanus and the Feltrensis, who advise him to repress the Psalms for a number of years : ‘ ut adhuc premam in annos plurimos hoc opus ! si enim Horatius poëma quodlibet in nouum premendum esse censet annum, in quo tum, quæso, hoc mihi premendum censes, in quo tot ingenia tot annis infeliciter propter linguæ Hebraicæ, vel contemptum vel imperitiam sudaverunt ! ’ — If Dantiscus is satisfied with those he has, he will ‘ servare reliquos soli [sibi] subinde recognoscendos ’. Campensis requests a reply : since a few days, he is suffering from a ‘ puerilis propemodum morbus ’, which, however, does not prevent him from eating.

## GHEENT ACQUAINTANCES

Charles van UUTENHOVE was a son of Nicolas, Lord of Marckeghem, President of Flanders Council (*FlandCon.*, 63, 103); he was sent to study in Louvain, where he attended the lectures of the *Trilingue*. By 1528, Erasmus accepted him in his household, and dedicated to him the *Opuscula Joannis Chrysostomi* (Basle, 1529) on February 1, 1529 (*EraBib.*, II, 35); still his character and activity are sketched unfavourably in comparison with those of the zealous Quirinus Talesius in the Colloquy ‘ Ἀσπράγματισμός. Charles left for Padua University in 1529, from which he returned at his mother’s decease in 1531; neither his zeal, nor even his disposition were praised by Erasmus or Bembo. When Dantiscus, in the summer of 1531, reached Ghent with the Court, Uutenhove managed to secure his company for some meetings with friends, like William de Waele, Lord of Axpoele and Hansbeke, Ghent alderman, Councillor for Flanders, (whose relative he eventually married : *FlandCon.*, 146; *HTL*, II, 469), and other personages either at Ghent, as his cousin Nicolas van Uutenhove, or in the neighbourhood, like the Carthusian Livinus Ammonius : DE, 187; *CorAmm.*, 5, 7, 14; Allen, VIII, 2197, 19, sq; *GandErVir.*, 17, 24, 50, 92; *BrugErVir.*, 60, 18. Charles and his companions evidently made no bones about spending some of their time with the *infacete facetus* James Robbius, of Audenarde, a servant (cp. DE, 180); or the wife and daughters of Dantiscus’ host, the Ghent bailiff, Jodoca and Linkin (cp. DE, 179, 310) and, of course, tried to make Dantiscus’ leisure as agreeable as possible according to their conception. — Charles became an alderman, which made him take part in the opposition of 1539 against Mary of Hungary, and suffer from its repression by Charles V : Hoyneck, III, II, 354, sq, 390; Henne, VI, 299, sq, VII, 34.

<sup>1)</sup> DE, 157 : Fbm, 3, 51; the letter was sent to Brussels : Hipler, 486.

# LETTERS TO AND FROM ERASMUS

quoted or mentioned in this study  
and not referred to in Allen's Edition

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»	»	Erasmus to Decius : beginning of 1533	179
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## CORRIGENDA

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On p 44	<i>l</i> 7 from below	instead of	1536	read	1526
86	<i>l</i> 14 from top	» »	and	»	an
96	note 2	» »	Cartusian	»	Carthusian
143	<i>l</i> 2	» »	<i>Marcellum</i>	»	<i>Marcellinum</i>
161	note 6	» »	D	»	DE
189	<i>l</i> 6 from top	» »	but which	»	but of which
189	<i>l</i> 7 from top	» »	to of which	»	to which
211	<i>l</i> 16 from top	» »	sympton	»	symptom
241	<i>l</i> 4 from top	» »	26	»	24
281	<i>l</i> 6 from below	» »	1535	»	1536
353	<i>l</i> 18 from top	» »	friends	»	friend
359	<i>l</i> 23	» »	Louvain.	»	Louvain,
363	<i>l</i> 24	» »	Emdem	»	Emden
416	<i>n</i> 3, <i>l</i> 2	» »	<i>xxxvii</i>	»	<i>xxxii</i>

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A few days later, on August 27, 1531, Campensis writes <sup>1)</sup> that he does not know whether to get cross with the Panormitanus and the Feltrensis, who advise him to repress the Psalms for a number of years : ‘ ut adhuc premam in annos plurimos hoc opus ! si enim Horatius poëma quodlibet in nouum premendum esse censet annum, in quo tum, quæso, hoc mihi premendum censes, in quo tot ingenia tot annis infeliciter propter linguæ Hebraicæ, vel contemptum vel imperitiam sudaverunt ! ’ — If Dantiscus is satisfied with those he has, he will ‘ servare reliquos soli [sibi] subinde recognoscendos ’. Campensis requests a reply : since a few days, he is suffering from a ‘ puerilis propemodum morbus ’, which, however, does not prevent him from eating.

## GHEENT ACQUAINTANCES

Charles van UUTENHOVE was a son of Nicolas, Lord of Marckeghem, President of Flanders Council (*FlandCon.*, 63, 103); he was sent to study in Louvain, where he attended the lectures of the *Trilingue*. By 1528, Erasmus accepted him in his household, and dedicated to him the *Opuscula Joannis Chrysostomi* (Basle, 1529) on February 1, 1529 (*EraBib.*, II, 35); still his character and activity are sketched unfavourably in comparison with those of the zealous Quirinus Talesius in the Colloquy ‘ Ἀστροχάλισμος ’. Charles left for Padua University in 1529, from which he returned at his mother’s decease in 1531; neither his zeal, nor even his disposition were praised by Erasmus or Bembo. When Dantiscus, in the summer of 1531, reached Ghent with the Court, Uutenhove managed to secure his company for some meetings with friends, like William de Waele, Lord of Axpoele and Hansbeke, Ghent alderman, Councillor for Flanders, (whose relative he eventually married : *FlandCon.*, 146; *HTL*, II, 469), and other personages either at Ghent, as his cousin Nicolas van Uutenhove, or in the neighbourhood, like the Carthusian Livinus Ammonius : DE, 187; *CorAmm.*, 5, 7, 14; Allen, VIII, 2197, 19, sq; *GandErVir.*, 17, 24, 50, 92; *BrugErVir.*, 60, 18. Charles and his companions evidently made no bones about spending some of their time with the *infacete facetus* James Robbius, of Audenarde, a servant (cp. DE, 180); or the wife and daughters of Dantiscus’ host, the Ghent bailiff, Jodoca and Linkin (cp. DE, 179, 310) and, of course, tried to make Dantiscus’ leisure as agreeable as possible according to their conception. — Charles became an alderman, which made him take part in the opposition of 1539 against Mary of Hungary, and suffer from its repression by Charles V : Hoyneck, III, II, 354, sq, 390; Henne, VI, 299, sq, VII, 34.

<sup>1)</sup> DE, 157 : Fbm, 3, 51; the letter was sent to Brussels : Hipler, 486.



He afterwards retired from public life, residing generally at Marckeghem with his family, which by 1546, counted six sons and one daughter, as he wrote to Dantiscus (DE, 475), mentioning some of his old acquaintances, as well as the recent explosion of the Mechlin Zandpoort. In after years he became wholly absorbed in religious questions and quarrels, and was, it seems, a miserable blind old man in September 1577. Cp. *Cran.*, 110, h, 291, c; *HTL*, I, 59, II, 152, 465-73, III, 22, 123, 297, 364, IV, 515; *ActaMori*, 62, 64, 65; *MonHL*, 619; *GandErVir.*, 30; *BibBelg.*, 129; Guicc., 235; Allen, VIII, 2093, *pr.*

On August 25, 1531, Charles van Uutenhove writes from Ghent <sup>1)</sup>, declaring that he is somewhat afraid of treating with Dantiscus by letter, whereas he feels so encouraged by his kindness when talking to him. Still he does not in the least want to lose the advantage of his friendship. Referring to Robbius <sup>2)</sup>, he mentions : we still amuse ourselves 'in comptatiunculis, in cantionibus, in lusibus, jocis : strenue Penelopis sponsos agimus. Subinde invisimus filias Pretoris Jodocam ac Linkin <sup>3)</sup>, quæ numquam non cessant tui mentionem facere : cuius parentes quoque tui sane amantissimi sunt'. They all send greetings. 'Cupiuerat etiam vehementer tibi commendari D. Gulielmus de Wale, Dominus Scriba, cognatus meus Nicolas Utenhouius, et noster infacete facetus Robbius ; aderat quoque mihi, tum forte cum hæc scriberem, soror mea, quæ me interpellauit, vt tibi quam possim officiosissime suis verbis salutem ascriberem' <sup>4)</sup>. He recommends himself to be sent to Turkey, if that is possible ; he sends greetings to de Schepper, and also wants to salute Gemma. The bearer is one of his big friends, to whom the writer recommends to give a *cyatulum*. Tuus si suus.

John Ammonius, the author of the next letter, was the son of James van den Zande, de Harena, Ammonius, who, at the death of his wife, became canon regular of St. Augustine and died in the convent of Courtrai in 1531. John, his son, had entered, by 1500, the Charterhouse of the Chapel, near Enghien, which had been richly endowed by his father, and he was followed by his brother Livinus, who made a name as humanist and as erudite <sup>5)</sup>. John had been formed by Josse Argillanus,

<sup>1)</sup> DE, 156 : Fbm, 3, 50.

<sup>2)</sup> James Robbius Aldenardus : cp. DE, 179, 180, 475.

<sup>3)</sup> Cp. before p 94.

<sup>4)</sup> Viz., Jodoca : cp. DE, 187 ; *HTL*, II, 465.

<sup>5)</sup> Cp. before, p 94.

van der Cleyen : he described the baptism of Charles of Austria, and wrote a biography of some of his confratres. Unfortunately he was impressed by the writings of Luther, in so far that he was forbidden by his prior to leave his cell ; his brother Livinus finished by breaking off in 1531 all connection with him. His superiors were compelled to imprison the stubborn monk, who thus died ; a townsman, de Wael, copied his history of the Carthusians, and of Charles of Austria. Cp. *GoetLect.*, II, 110, *sq* ; *CorAmm.*, 4, 20.

Of September 4, 1531, there is a letter written by John Ammonius, in the convent of the Carthusians, near Enghien : ‘ Joanni Dantisco <sup>1)</sup>, Oratori Polono, hospitato Bruxellis in ædibus quondam Philippi de Ravestein ’. He writes that Dantiscus’ minister Michael Amicus, came there not so long ago, to see his *cognatus* <sup>2)</sup>, praising Dantiscus’ virtues and his brilliant embassy ; he declared that Dantiscus was a friend of the Emperor, and of all the Princes, especially of all erudites ; that he was an orator and a poet ; that he recently edited some fine things, which he had not seen, and that others are going to be printed at Cologne <sup>3)</sup>. Ammonius admires him, and congratulates him : he loves the erudite as this letter suggests. Dantiscus is most humane : therefore Ammonius’ ‘ Musæ tenues et verecundæ ’ want to come and salute him. He is sending to Dantiscus an epitaph which he has composed for the tomb of Philip de Ravesteyn, a ‘ heros ’, who had been generous to him <sup>4)</sup>. Another poem, about the Peace of Cambrai, is coming : they are as the ‘ indices ’ of his studies ; if there is no erudition, there, for certain, is candour. If he could help Dantiscus in any way, it would be happiness for him to do whatever was in his power.

On September 11, 1531, Cornelius de Schepper writes from Walenstadt <sup>5)</sup> that he hopes to come soon to Court, having finished what he had to do. He now lives in forests, and on the ‘ ferina liberalitate ’ of the Margrave of Baden, which he would like to change against mutton or pork. The pestilence

<sup>1)</sup> DE, 158 : Fbm, 6, 123.

<sup>2)</sup> Francis Rufelaerdus, Cartusian.

<sup>3)</sup> At least that was then proposed.

<sup>4)</sup> It was said that Dantiscus was composing a collection of epitaphs of all great contemporaries.

<sup>5)</sup> DE, 159 : Fbm, 3, 52.

is causing ravages here, but only in towns, where birds drop down dead. He recommends to Dantiscus, to the Lord of Granvelle, and to the Bishop of Liège, a request with the Emperor. Greetings from his colleague, the Vice-comes : they are so rich that they use salt <to dry their letters>.

On September 16, 1531, John van Campen writes from Louvain <sup>1)</sup> that he wishes to please Dantiscus, but that he cannot see how it can be done in the few days that he is still to remain here. Nor can he have the book printed in his absence, in which ' *præclarissima quæque Græcorum et Latinorum ingenia sudaverunt, quam feliciter ipsi viderint. Quare non expediet, meo iudicio, emittere illud in publicum, nisi adhibita cura diligentissima. Quare si tibi videbitur, remittes illos quinquaginta una cum selectis illis quos Ecclesiastæ adscripsisti. Nam exemplaria illorum non invenio, ut eos recognitos prelo committam aut Coloniæ, aut Parisiis ; nam decretum est mihi sedes mutare, et hanc regionem ad tempus relinquere. Tu, pro tua prudentia, videbis, quid in hac re facere me velis ; ad te enim res pertinet non minus quam ad me. Tuum enim est quaecunque id est, et tuo nomine prodibit, si prodierit in publicum. Quare te oro obnixissime, ut rescribere mihi quam primum non dedigneris, aut Gemmam nostrum cum illis quos habes, adhuc semel, mea causa, remittere huc, ne forte, si alteri minus noto commiseris, codices qui remittendi sunt, intercidant. Dno J. Dantisco, Culm. Ep., Reg. Pol. Or., Bruxellæ.*

Cornelius de Schepper announces on September 17, 1531 <sup>2)</sup>, from Luxemburg, that he is kept in the *arx*, as the town suffers from a pestilence. He annoys himself, as he has not even a few books : to pass his time he makes verse. He inquires when Dantiscus intends leaving, and he requests to be excused by the ' *Castellenum Cracoviensem* ', if Dantiscus should write to him. ' *Valeat Dantiscus cum suo Gemmone [Phrysio] et suis* ' !

<sup>1)</sup> DE, 160 : Fbm, 6, 21 ; Hipler, 487.

<sup>2)</sup> DE, 161 : Upm, 154, 72 ; it reached Dantiscus in Brussels on Sept. 23.

On September 29, 1531, Cornelius de Schepper sends further news from the *arx* of Luxemburg <sup>1)</sup> about the pestilence. He also describes the town, and his efforts to remedy the evil. He mentions that there is a chapel of the Benedictines under the rock, in which there hangs a 'ferreum lupatum', which is in great veneration with the peasants : it is said to be that of the ass on which Our Lady rode to Egypt : it cures toothache. 'Misera Christiana fides si ad hoc est redacta !'

By the end of September, Valdes sent a letter to Dantiscus from Brussels <sup>2)</sup> : 'Litterarum exemplum ut jubes mitto ; litteræ ipsæ nondum sunt subscriptæ : eas tamen habebis hodie cum privilegiis absque taxa <sup>3)</sup>. Balanson tantum attulit, Regem Gallum ægritudinis matris causa ad conventum venire non posse, sed propterea non venit quod Cæsar sibi certas leges ei parum gratas præscripserat, et inter alias, ne ulla mentio de innovatione articulorum fœderis Cameracensis fieret <sup>3)</sup>. Cæsar omnino Spiram veniet : ajunt ante octo dies hinc discessurum, quod ego neque ante quindecim crederem, ni Regem Romanum nimium urgere viderem. Vale. Tuus Valdesius'.

On October 2, 1531, John van Campen sends from Louvain to Brussels <sup>4)</sup> the Psalms that Dantiscus may decide what is to be done. 'Dictaveram,' he writes, 'ante biennium, si bene memini, auditoribus meis primos quadraginta, ut ostenderem proprietatem et phrases Hebraicæ linguæ. Illi sic excepti fuerunt, et toties, ut amici dicunt, manu transcripti, ut fama nescio qualis in Gallias pervenerit. Illinc enim crebris literis hortor assidue, ut reliquos ad eundem modum absoluam'. Still he is afraid of so many men of this 'oculati sæculi, cogitans : non male vixit qui latuit bene !' He requests Dantiscus to be a Sarmatus, and to decide about the book.

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<sup>1)</sup> DE, 164 : Fbm, 67, 82.

<sup>2)</sup> DE, 166 : Fbm, 130, 19 ; Boehmer, 35.

<sup>3)</sup> Cp. letters of Charles V to King Ferdinand, Sept. 26 and 28 : *Lanz-Corr.*, I, 540, sq.

<sup>4)</sup> DE, 168 : Fbm, 3, 54 ; Hipler, 488.

## LETTERS TO AND FROM ERASMUS

quoted or mentioned in this study  
and not referred to in Allen's Edition

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Letter from Dantiscus to Erasmus : end of October 1531 *pp* 104-10

»	»	Erasmus to Decius : beginning of 1533	179
»	»	Dantiscus to Erasmus : August 1533	180
»	»	Erasmus to Cochläus : November 24, 1535	259
»	»	Erasmus to Decius : May 26, 1536	270
»	»	Erasmus to Cochläus : May 25, 1536	280

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## CORRIGENDA

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On p 44	<i>l</i> 7 from below	instead of	1536	read	1526
86	<i>l</i> 14 from top	» »	and	»	an
96	note 2	» »	Cartusian	»	Carthusian
143	<i>l</i> 2	» »	<i>Marcellum</i>	»	<i>Marcellinum</i>
161	note 6	» »	D	»	DE
189	<i>l</i> 6 from top	» »	but which	»	but of which
189	<i>l</i> 7 from top	» »	to of which	»	to which
211	<i>l</i> 16 from top	» »	sympton	»	symptom
241	<i>l</i> 4 from top	» »	26	»	24
281	<i>l</i> 6 from below	» »	1535	»	1536
353	<i>l</i> 18 from top	» »	friends	»	friend
359	<i>l</i> 23	» »	Louvain.	»	Louvain,
363	<i>l</i> 24	» »	Emdem	»	Emden
416	<i>n</i> 3, <i>l</i> 2	» »	<i>xxxvii</i>	»	<i>xxxii</i>

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## ERUDITES AT WORK IN BELGIUM

On October 4, 1531, Cornelius de Schepper announces to Dantiscus from the *arx* of Luxemburg <sup>1)</sup> that nothing is nicer in his exile than writing; he now is as the Governor of the Duchy, and has to examine all causes. Still he requests Dantiscus to suggest to Granvelle to call him back, as he wants to be present at the 'Conventus Gallicus', and he hates to be by himself. Is there any news about Jerome Lasky? 'Hic prodiit nuper libellus *de Cometis*, Germanice scriptus a quodam Zwingliano : adeo invertit Scripturas ut veritas <contradici apparet> : if it is there, send it to Luxemburg, as I may have to stay a long time yet : for nobody dare come to govern here for fear of the pest : many are attacked, and many die : 'est plurimum ademptum contagium flatu vulturni qui continuo hic spirat.' Please send enclosed letters to my wife. I send greetings from my colleague the Vicecomes.

Rutger Ressen, RESCIUS, a native of Maeseyck, studied in Paris, promoting Bachelor of Arts between September 1513 and March 1514, and was trained in Greek by Jerome Aleander; at the latter's leave, in December 1513, he gave some private lessons in that language, until he went from Paris to Alkmaar, where he taught for a time <sup>2)</sup>. On October 4, 1515, he was engaged by Thierry Martens for his printing-office in Louvain <sup>3)</sup>. No doubt he thus took care of J. Aleander's *Tabulae Græcarum Musarum*, issued in March 1516, and dedicated to the University Rhetor John Paludanus by Rescius' letter of March 8, 1516 <sup>4)</sup>. He became a great friend of the printer's daily visitor, Erasmus, and when, some months later, the *Trilingue* was started, and against the provisions of the Will, no great foreign authorities could be secured as professors at very high wages, because there had arisen the unforeseen necessity of building a new college, only humble and unpretentious erudites were available. So Rescius was appointed for the teaching of Greek; he started it on September 1, 1518.

All went well for nearly five trimesters, until Nesen caused trouble, and was prohibited lecturing at the end of November 1519, as he intended; Rescius, probably, had expressed his personal views on the question, which just then was rousing the University into ebullition;

<sup>1)</sup> DE, 169 : Ccm, 247, 111; it reached Brussels on October 8.

<sup>2)</sup> Cp. Gelder, 106-7, 88-89, 130, 158; *HTL*, I, 277-79.

<sup>3)</sup> *MotJuris*, 17, 26.

<sup>4)</sup> *NijKron.*, II, 2274, 2275; 1518 : Iseghem, 290, 294, 332; Gand, 125-26.

he was even suspected of having tried to intimidate the Rector by a nightly visit and was condemned to confinement <sup>1)</sup>. He no doubt could prove that he had taken no part in that frightening feat, and the patrons of the *Trilingue*, represented by Antony Sucket, councillor, had him liberated; from then on his lectures went regularly for several years, and he even gathered a *frequens auditorium* <sup>2)</sup>.

By 1525, he married Anna Moons, and, leaving the College, lived with her, keeping students as boarders <sup>3)</sup>. When, in 1529, his former employer Thierry Martens removed from Louvain to Alost, leaving as his successor Servatius van Zassen, Sassenus, of Diest, husband of his daughter Barbara <sup>4)</sup>, Rescius, to whom marriage turned out to be a ceaselessly growing impecuniosity, decided on starting a printing office for Greek texts, in partnership with his student and boarder John Sturm <sup>5)</sup>. In September 1529, their first edition, Xenophon's *Ἀπομνημονεύματα*, was issued <sup>6)</sup>, and, from then on, the attention of the professor of Greek was turned so much the more to that source of profit, as Sturm left after a year's collaboration; nor did Rescius limit very long his activity to Greek printing, as he had pretended at first. For some time he had as associate Bartholomew de Grave <sup>7)</sup>; still the influence of his office was certainly not beneficial to his lectures <sup>8)</sup>. At Goclenius' decease, January 25, 1539, he was entrusted with the direction of the *Trilingue* as the last survivor of the original staff. It gave him the occasion to examine the archives, which, at least as far as he

<sup>1)</sup> HTL, I, 279, 294, 316, 471-78.

<sup>2)</sup> HTL, II, 316, 621.

<sup>3)</sup> He had at the time as a student and as boarder, John Sleidan: cp. Sleidan, 46, sq; SleidE, 1-3; A. Krieg, *Zur Charakteristik Sleidans*: Zehlendorf, 1907: 3, 29.

<sup>4)</sup> Cp. further, p 103.

<sup>5)</sup> John Sturm, born on October 1, 1507 at Schleiden, studied at Liège in the School of the Hieronymites, and, from 1524 to 1529, in the Louvain *Trilingue*, where he boarded in Rescius' house; he started with him a printing concern in the summer of 1529, but left for Paris after a year. He there studied medicine and taught, until in the beginning of 1537, he started the famous *Schola Argentinensis*. Still the institution, which was expected to overtop the *Trilingue*, soon became spoiled by theological discussions and linguistic drudgery. It led after a series of difficulties to his dismissal in 1581, and to a miserable old age which ended on March 3, 1589: on the contrary the *Trilingue*, not only largely contributed to the revival of the old languages, but started and continued the beneficent research that spread over the whole extent of human knowledge. Cp. HTL, II, 579-90 (with full bibliography), III, 158, sq, 166, sq, IV, espec. 212, 293, 448; Cran., 150, f; MonHL, 618; Nij-Kron., I, p 858, II, pp 1003-04; PighE, 15, 177.

<sup>6)</sup> NijKron., II, 4098.

<sup>7)</sup> Cp. before, p 64.

<sup>8)</sup> Cp. NijKron, I, pp 856-58, II, pp 1002-1004.

pretended, told him that the Founder's intention had been to pay the professors much higher wages, since he wanted them to be excellent specialists, acquired from abroad. As just mentioned, the *Trilingue* could not be introduced into an existing building, and a college had to be constructed; to meet the expenses, the executors naturally decided on less expensive professors, and on much lower wages from the very beginning. Rescius was, by 1539, the only one remaining of those who had had anything to do with the beginning *Trilingue*: so he impudently pretended to ignore that change, and claimed an enormous indemnity for all the years that he had been paid less than what the Will prescribed. The *provisores* of those days, the professors Tapper and de Corte, who were mere strangers, dreading the complete ruin of the grand Institute, studied for months the documents that Rescius ignored, or had not had the time to destroy: they brought to light the proofs of the unfoundedness of the demand of the Greek professor, whose case was thus examined by the University Court, where he was utterly nonplussed <sup>1</sup>). Before the final judgment was given, Rescius had died on October 2, 1545 <sup>2</sup>). He was succeeded by Adrian Amerot as professor, and Bartholomew de Grave bought up his printing-office; his widow remarried, first a John Loncin, and, before 1549, the great professor of laws, John Wamesius, an old boarder in her house <sup>3</sup>).

On October 21, 1531, Rutger Rescius wrote to Dantiscus from Louvain <sup>4</sup>): S. P. Diu desideravi, Præsul eximie, occasionem mihi offerri, qua vel minimum animi mei erga Celsitudinem tuam grati indicium ostendere possem. Tanta enim humanitate C. T. me nullis omnino commendatum dotibus, non semel exceperit, vt plane rubore perfundar quoties illius mihi in mentem venit. Nudiustertius Seruatius Zassenus <sup>5</sup>)

<sup>1</sup>) *MotJuris*; *HTL*, iv, 24, sq, 62, sq, 70-87, 224-52, 485.

<sup>2</sup>) Cp. *HTL*, iv, 246, sq; *VAndEx.*, 66.

<sup>3</sup>) Mol., 604; Opmeer, i, 461, a; Vern., 145, 313; *VAnd.*, 282, 401; *BibBelg.*, 805; Miræus, ii, 29; *SweABelg.*, 670; *OpMBoek*, 114, 117; Hoynck, i, i, 67; MasE, 15, sq; OlaE, 167, 188, 199, sq, &c; Krafft, 63-65; *ADB*; *PF*, 508; BaxH, viii, 38; *RamCons.*, 46-50; *NèveMém.*, 202-207, 300, sq, 304; *ULDoc.*, iv, 515; FG, 410; Roersch, i, 37-55; Allen, ii, 546, pr; *Cran.*, 150, e-i, &c; *MonHL*, 411-23; *HTL*, ii, 220-24, &c, iii, 164-170, 185, sq, &c; *ClenHum.*; *Auw.*, 461, 514; PighE, 3, 173, 195.

<sup>4</sup>) DE, 162 : Ccm, 1595, 361 : the letter is dated : Louanii, xii Cal. Octob. 1531; still Dantiscus noted on it : 'D(atae) Lovanii 21 Oct., Red(ditæ) Bruxellis, 22 ejusdem' : no doubt Rescius made a mistake, writing *Cal. Octob.* for *Cal. Novemb.*; the letter that follows in that volume, p 363, has as date Antwerp, 18 Oct. 1531, and so has the pamphlet to be printed.

<sup>5</sup>) Cp. p 103.



C. T. libellum, ac literas D. Resendii <sup>1)</sup> mihi ostendit, quibus is nomine tuo petiit a Zasseno, si ipse libellum statim non possit imprimere, mihi illum committeret. Quod quum is fecisset, non parum profecto gavisus sum, vel tandem paruulam occasionem datam esse tibi gratificandi. Tradidi igitur illum ilico meis operis, postposito libro quem sub incude habebam, et nunc per latorem hujus epistolæ quingenta exemplaria ipsius C. T. mitto. Tot enim Servatius dixit C. T. cupere. Opto mihi maiorem opportunitatem offerri, vt declarare possem quam non ingratis benefecerit C. T. — Lator huius epistolæ iuuenis est probissimus, ac non imperitus vtriusque linguæ ; nouit optime pingere. Si C. T. nouerit aliquem qui opus habeat vel scriba, vel præceptore vtriusque linguæ, rogo vt pro sua facilitate et humanitate, qua erga omnes studiosos et doctos afficitur, hunc commendare non gravetur. Bene valeat C. T., quam Dominus Deus diu conservet incolumem. Raptim Lovanij. xij. Cal. [Novemb.] 1531. R. C. T. addictiss. clientulus Rutgerus Rescius.

The work to which Rescius refers in the preceding letter, is the *Victoria sereniss. Poloniæ regis contra Vayeuodam Muldauicæ, Turcæ tributarium & subditum*, .22. Augusti parta. — 1531. It takes up four quarto leaves and has at the end, f 4, r, ‘Louanij, ex officina Rutgeri Rescij. An. M. D. XXXI. XII. Cal. Nouēb’’. — The little pamphlet contains on f 1, v, a letter of Dantiscus ‘Reu. in Christo Patri Domino Stephano Gabrieli, Patriarchæ Indiarum, Archiep. Barrens., Episcopo Giennensi, Cæs. Ma. a Consilijs Secretis’... Bruxellis’. It refers to Francis Bobadilla, Chancellor of Salamanca University, Toledo Archdeacon. On f 2, r, begins the ‘Victoria...’ which extends to f 4, r, with the note : ‘Excerpta est hæc uictoriæ historia ex ipsis Sereniss. Poloniæ Regis literis, ... Datum Bruxellis, in curia Cæsa. Ma. 24 Septemb. An. Dni. M. D. XXXI. Per R. D. Ioannem Dantiscum. — It was translated almost at once in Flemish, and printed <sup>2)</sup> as *Die ... Victorie vandē alder doerluchtichsten coninc van Polen tegen Graue Hans Weida van Mulda[v]ien*, with the rendering of Dantiscus’ dedicatory letter to the Patriarch : Antwerp, Henry Peetersen van Middelburch, 1531 : NijKron., 1, 685.

<sup>1)</sup> Andrew Angelus de Resende, born at Evora, Portugal, in 1498, entered the Dominican Order, and came to Louvain, where he studied at the *Trilingue* : he made a fine glorification of Louvain in a Latin poem. On account of the trouble caused by his *confratres* there to Erasmus, he left them and resided at Brussels with the Portuguese ambassador Pero Mascarenhas : *HTL*, II, 395-403 ; cp. p 51.

<sup>2)</sup> NijKron., 1, 684.

Servatius van ZASSEN, SASSEUS, born at Diest, was one of the boys employed by Thierry Martens in his office, where Erasmus knew him. He married,—as time went forward,—Thierry's only daughter Barbara, who, however, did not live long, so that Thierry, who in 1529, left Louvain for Alost, had as only heir his granddaughter Barbara van Zassen when he died on May 28, 1534. Servatius meanwhile had bought some of his father-in-law's characters and presses, and had opened, not only a bookshop, but a printing-office in the house *Hemelrijk*, on the Market Place, the left hand corner shop to the Steen- (now Brussels-) street *sub intersigno Regni Cælorum*, — in front of which was as the usual meeting-place of professors and of students in those newspaper-lacking days. Zassen first worked with Gregory de Bonte, of Antwerp (1530 : *HTL*, II, 545), but was properly installed by 1531 (*HTL*, II, 113, III, 556, 559). He edited a large amount of books <sup>1)</sup>, and remarried; in 1549 his son Andrew, afterwards a University bedellus <sup>2)</sup>, had eaten some berries culled in the garden of their neighbour Gemma Frisius, which happened to be belladonna, and caused the hurried appeal to the intervention of Jeremy Thriverus Brachelius, then one of the chief professors of Medicine. — Servatius died in 1554, but his widow continued the trade, at least until 1570. Cp. *HTL*, II, 545, 562, 622-23, III, 48, 559, 597, IV, 20, 415; also *Auw.*, 379, and numerous references to editions; *Mol.*, 806; *LibIntIV*, 341, v; *VAnd.*, 46, 213, 222, 238; *ULProm-Lv.*, 31 : 1591; *LouvoBoon*, 321, *sq.*, 333, 431; *Nijkron.*, I, p 858, II, p 1004.

In October 1531, Valdes writes to Dantiscus <sup>3)</sup> : ‘S. Dñs Granvella libenter videret meum simulacrum, ut, si placeret ei, per eundem pictorem suum quoque depingi faceret; si extrema manus imposita est, fac obsecro ut habeamus. Ceterum historicum tuum Sycophantam perlectum ad te mitto. Tu vicissim Genesii libellum ad me mittito, ut eum litteris meis ad Erasmus adjungere possim. Vale. Tuus Valdesius.

John Gines, Genesius, de Sepulveda (1491-1572), a Spanish erudite, defended his friend Albertus Pius against Erasmus, who replied with a *Responsio Parænetica*, which was answered by an *Apologia* and a *Responsio* in 1531; it was once more replied to by an *Antapologia* of Gines, which was printed early in 1532. Maybe it is meant here; for it

<sup>1)</sup> Even Olah thought of having his *Athila* and *Hungaria* published by Servatius : *OlaE*, 616 (April 1, 1538).

<sup>2)</sup> Andrew's son, Servatius, Licentiate in Divinity, became president of Craendonck College, and, in 1597, Regent of the Porc, which position he resigned in 1603 : *VAnd.*, 46, 257, 315, 360; *Vern.*, 225; *ULDoc.*, III, 311, 312, IV, 94.

<sup>3)</sup> DE, 171 : *Fbm*, 130, 12; *Boehmer*, 36.

seems that he sent a *libellum* to John de Valdes on August 26, 1531, for his brother, who writes from Brussels in October, mentioning that he had received those *lucubrationes*, which he may have passed on to Dantiscus before sending them to Erasmus : cp. Allen, x, 2637, *pr*, 1, *sq* ; *MonHL*, 516-17.

Probably Dantiscus replied to that letter by one which expressed his restlessness about an unsatisfied request : therefore Valdes answered rather peevishly, probably in the latter end of October 1531 <sup>1)</sup> : Non rescripsi hodie quod essem occupatissimus, et nihil præterea quod rescriberem erat, nisi tuam istam impatientiam et suspiciones objurgarem. Quasi nescias quonam pacto negotia apud nos conficiantur, aut quasi non id ex me plus millies audieris : ita te crucias et parvam moram sustinere non potes. Vides Cæsarem negotia sua privata negligere, quod aversa valetudine gravatus his vacare non potest, et tu vis ut tuis tantum incumbat. Si videres aliquod aliud negotium confectum, et tuum negligi, posses tunc nobiscum tuo jure expostulare, sed cum plane videas nihil hic prorsus cum Cæsare absolvi posse, cur non patienter expectabis dum aut Cæsar ab eo morbo levatus, negotiis vacare possit, aut alio pacto ea confici jubeat. Ego certe, ut ingenue fatear, nunquam credidissem te adeo impatientem et a ratione alienum, ut hæc non perpenderes. Ignosce, quæso, quod libere adeo tecum agam : nosti quonam hæc animo fiant. Simulacrum <sup>2)</sup> placet, et aliud ad te mittam ut ad eum modum corrigi facias. Dñs Granvella rogat te plurimum <sup>3)</sup> ut pictorem ad eum mittas cras, mane hora quinta. Vale. Tuus Valdesius.

## ERASMUS OF ROTTERDAM

There is a letter, or rather a rough draft, — DE, 230 : Ccm, 1615, 13-15, — of a letter evidently addressed to Erasmus. It is signed 'J.', but no further name is mentioned. The various allusions to facts and things might suggest Valdes, if there were not the mention of the buying of a

<sup>1)</sup> DE, 173 : Boehmer, 37.

<sup>2)</sup> Viz., Dantiscus' picture referred to in DE, 171, *p* 103 ; most probably a defect had been excellently corrected.

<sup>3)</sup> He had asked for Dantiscus' picture, and was, no doubt, very pleased with it.

house at Freiburg, which Erasmus is said to have announced on 'xvi. Cal. Aug.', July 17, 1531, in a preceding letter <sup>1)</sup>, which cannot refer to Valdes, to whom Erasmus only wrote about it on August 29, 1531: 'emi domum', mentioning that he is 'semivivus ac pene septuagenarius' <sup>2)</sup>.



As author of this letter has been suggested also Cornelius de Schepper, who for certain actively attended the meeting of Ratisbon in 1532, — as is expressed in a note about this missive in the 111<sup>th</sup> volume of the *History of the Trilingue* (p 26, n 1). Still the fact that two of the eminent Spanish personages are mentioned here, to whom Dantiscus referred a short while before in the introductory letter of Septem. 24, 1531, to his *Victoria seren. Pol. Regis contra Vayevodam Moldaviæ Turcæ tributarium & subditum*, 1531, first printed by R. Rescius in Louvain on October 21, 1531 (cp. p 102), viz., the Patriarch of India, Stephen Gabriel, Archbishop of Bari, and Francis Bobadilla, Archdeacon of Toledo and Chancellor of Salamanca University, seems to be a sufficient proof that

<sup>1)</sup> On account of the difficulties about the house 'Zum Walfisch', March 25, 1531: FG, 345; Allen, ix, 2462, *pr*, Erasmus looked out for another, and found 'Zum Kind Iesu': Allen, ix, 2506, 1, 2507, 1: June 26, 28, which he bought, as he announced to Schets on July 17 (Allen, ix, 2512, 10): Emi hic domum et solui octingentis ferme florenis aureis'. According to this letter, he made an announcement of the fact to others; indeed he sent word about it to Ursinus Velius, on Aug. 7, to John Herwagen, on Aug. 9, to Valdes, on Aug. 29, to Schets, on Aug. 30 and to John Rinck, on Sept. 4: Allen, ix, 2517, 27, 2518, 26, 2528, 53, 2530, 1, 2534, 24.

<sup>2)</sup> Allen, ix, 2528, 53: emi domum hic quidem honesti rumoris, sed iniquæ indicaturæ.

the author of this mere draft of a missive, was Dantiscus. It is a fact that he had never met Erasmus, although the Great Erudite's indubitable announcement on July 17, 1531 of his acquisition of a new house at Freiburg, shows that they were quite on corresponding terms. Moreover, either of them wanted to complete that epistolary connection by an interview, which would have been most welcome if it could have taken place at Spires, distant only 160 miles from Freiburg by the Rhine. It makes it most probable that this letter was written soon after about October 15, when that place chosen for the coming *Comitia* was changed from Spires into Ratisbon, and the date put off to January 1532. It thus appears that this rough draft belongs to the latter half or to the end of October 1531.

The author of this missive, John Dantiscus, wrote, as a fact, by the end of October 1531 to Erasmus <sup>1)</sup> : 'Tametsi nullam unquam operam [fecerim maiori cum gaudio quam *ad te scribere*], I have abstained up to now, as I wanted to add here the letter from Cæsar, who shows his kindness in what he writes about you in French, his *idioma* : it is certain to please and to flatter you amidst the *tela* aimed at you, as if you were the 'causa Germaniæ dissidii' <sup>2)</sup>.

As to your letter of the 'xvi. Cal. Augusti' <sup>3)</sup>, announcing that you bought a house at Freiburg, adding that you wished both 'caminum Italicum extruere et nidum hibernum apparare', saying : 'Erasmus philosophus, prope septuagenarius emit domum, — et dolio contentus erat Diogenes' : I reply : 'existimo caminum tibi extruxisse, domum heredibus emisse ; sed quibus hæredibus ? ... Ego Erasmi heredes voco, non qui tibi sanguine juncti sunt, sed quos ipse Christo genuisti, quos virtutibus ornasti' <sup>4)</sup>.

You further mention the lack of all good prospects, and the abundance of bad omens for Germany : 'Quid minentur', you ask, 'duo cometæ ? quid jris in cœlo hora secunda post

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<sup>1)</sup> DE, 230 : Ccm, 1615, 13-15.

<sup>2)</sup> This missive, which seems unknown, must have been a letter of Charles V mentioning Erasmus.

<sup>3)</sup> Viz., July 17, 1531, the day on which the news was also announced to Schets : Allen, ix, 2512, 10.

<sup>4)</sup> Dantiscus evidently repeats Erasmus' announcement and comments upon it, — just as in subsequent letters the great Humanist points out the opposition between the *fair* name and the *unfair* price of the house. Cp. Durand, i, 618, sq.

solis occasum? et xliij post plenilunium? Audite voces lugubres in Vaticano! Tres soles Troiæ Apulæ civitate! Tres lunæ Leodij; sanguinis fontes; panis pluuiæ; gemelli qui simul ac nati sunt, alter dixisse fertur: Vbinam tantum tritici reponemus? alter, At ubi condemus tot cadavera? Tria diademata ignea supra Hierosolymam per totos novem dies visa?’

‘Academia Parisiensis scribit in Erasmus’: I often counselled you to leave those who write against you to their ‘morbo’; still with those ‘Rabinis Parisiensibus aliter agendum puto!’ Treat them as they deserve to be treated: fight them, and let the smaller fry alone: namely all Stunicas, Leos, Beddas, Quercus, Sutores, Egmondas, Carauajallos, et si quæ sunt alia huiusmodi animantium genera! <sup>1)</sup>

Are you at peace now since the quarrel ‘inter Helvetios?’ I had hoped that the ‘Comitia Cæsaris’ would have been at Spires, as it would have allowed you to come and attend. They are now going to be held at Ratisbon. If it were possible for you, come to Spires all the same, ‘ut quæ amicitia per literas inita est, mutuo colloquio, datisque dextris firmaretur! Yet I should prefer to come myself to Freiburg, and save you the journey, if I shall have the time. ‘Sunt præterea quam multi ex nostris videndi te percupidi. Patriarcha Indiarum, bonorum omnium fautor, summus præceptor equestris ordinis Calatræ, magnæ probitatis vir <sup>2)</sup>; — Archidiaconus Toletanus <sup>3)</sup>, juvenis tui studiosus, ingenij et eruditionis longe quam pro ætate majoris, in quem hinc fortuna, inde gratiæ omnes sua munera abundantissime contulerunt; expectamus præterea Archiepiscopum Toletanum <sup>4)</sup>, cuius in te animus tibi notior est quam meo testimonio sit opus; sunt et multj alij nobiles qui inuite e Germania, te insalutato, discederent! Tu si nos Spiræ conueneris, rem nobis gratam, et tibi non inutilem,

<sup>1)</sup> Cp. Delisle, 82-84; Durand, I, 578, *sq.*

<sup>2)</sup> Stephan Gabriel, Patriarch of the Indies: cp. pp 102, 105.

<sup>3)</sup> Francis Bobadilla: cp. pp 102, 105.

<sup>4)</sup> Alfonso of Fonseca, born about 1477 at Salamanca, was first Archbishop of Santiago, and was promoted to primate of Toledo in 1524; he died on Februari 5, 1534, having left many foundations: Allen, VI, 1748, *pr*; *Vio Vita*, 93, 130; *VivE*, 189, 193.

neque iniucundam feceris : quod ut (citra tamen valetudinis tuæ dispendium) facies, te etiam atque etiam rogo. Vale. J.

That letter of the great Pole to the clever Dutchman, was sent in due time, and was followed, no doubt, after a few weeks by some casts of medals with his portrait and that of the Emperor, which Janus Secundus had made for him by the end of the same year 1531 <sup>1)</sup>. Erasmus, who must have been already since years in friendly contact with Dantiscus through Valdes or de Schepper <sup>2)</sup>, possibly even through Diego de Alderete <sup>3)</sup>, expressed his hearty thanks in the preface to St. Basil's treatise *De Spiritu Sancto* <sup>4)</sup>, which was dedicated to Dantiscus : the book came out only in April 1532, but the preface, for as far as it is an expression of friendly feeling, seems to have been conceived and composed soon after the reception of a cordial letter like this one ; and, on that account, the parts that are personal in that dedication, have been joined here to the precious rough draft of the only letter of Dantiscus to Erasmus that seems to have escaped loss or destruction.

This is the text of the first and of the two final paragraphs of Erasmus' letter to Dantiscus <sup>5)</sup> : Reverendo in Christo P. ac D. D. Joanni Dantisco, Episcopo Culmensi, Sereniss. Poloniae Regis apud Cæsarem Oratori, Des. Erasmus Roterod. S. D. Næ tu mihi tui cupientissimo, te totum ἀφθότως exhibuisti, Præsul ornatissime. Nam mentis ingenique tui simulacrum, hoc est integritatem, candorem, pietatem, eruditionemque non vulgarem in carminibus epistolisque tuis haud secus atque in speculo contemplari licet ; oris autem habitum, et in hoc quoque magna ex parte relucentem animum, mire representat imago gypso singulari artificio expressa : quo certe sum æquior aulicis negotiis, et isti fabulæ reuera motoriae, quam tot iam annis agere cogeris, quæ hactenus obstitit, quo minus licuerit propius exoptatissima tua consuetudine frui, coramque viuas

audire et reddere voces <sup>6)</sup>.

Nondum quidem expletum est, sed tamen bona ex parte mitigatum est meum tui desiderium. Verum ne nulla

<sup>1)</sup> Cp. Erasmus' reply ; also Simonis, 54, sq, 71, *Pl* III & v.

<sup>2)</sup> Cp. Allen, vi, 1747, 120, vii, 1807, *pr*, and viii, 2163, 138, where he is specially mentioned.

<sup>3)</sup> Allen, vii, 1913, *pr* : December 1, 1527.

<sup>4)</sup> Basle, Froben, 1532 (cp. Allen, ix, 2611, *pr*).

<sup>5)</sup> Allen, x, 2643, 1-22, 143-170.

<sup>6)</sup> *Æneis*, i, 409 (413).

pensatione videantur παλινδρομοὶ αἱ χάριτες, quemadmodum tu mihi pectus aureum gypso expressum exhibuisti, ita tibi vicissim scriptorem mitto chartacea expressum materia, vere gemmeum, nisi si quid plastæ culpa factus videbitur deterior. Misisti τὸν πᾶνυ βασιλέα, inter huius ævi Monarchas sine controuersia primum; ego remitto τὸν ἀληθῶς μέγαν Βασίλειον, omnium suffragiis inter Græcos scriptores principem, meo quidem penicillo, non in gypso, sed in charta deformatum, quam feliciter, tuum erit iudicium, qui literaturam vtranque pulchre calles'.

[Against the errors of Arius, St. Basil develops the doctrine about the Holy Ghost; Erasmus examines most intently the matter, as well as the way in which the author proposes it, and reaches the conclusion that some parts were evidently not by St. Basil. He discusses their value and their authenticity, so as to realize that, if there are parts due to other Fathers of the Church, there are some which cannot lay a claim to such paternity].

'Itaque vt finiam : quicquid hic est nostræ opellæ, tibi dicatum esse volui, Præsul amplissime, non tantum ob id, vt tui nominis lenocinio studiosis reddatur commendatius, verum multo magis vt acri tuo iudicio, tuaque lima fiat emendatius : nam primam manum ad te mitto. Hic si quis mihi temeritatis dicam scribat, nihil aliud adferam ad eius criminis purgationem quam naturam, et hac valentiorē diutinam consuetudinem. Naturam refingere difficillimum est, sed multo difficilior dediscere quod diutinus vsus penitus infixit, vtranque alteri iunctam mutare prorsus ἀδύνατον arbitror homini. Θεοὶ δὲ τε πάντα δύνανται <sup>1)</sup>). At isthuc, inquires, est accusare teipsum, potius quam excusare. Quid facias ? Sæpenumero tamen apud clementem iudicem veniam promeruit ingenua culpæ confessio. Cuius tamen partem aliquam, si libeat tergiversatorem agere, in typographos reiicere liceret, qui mihi fere extorquent ouum antequam pepererim; et si quid conceptum est, non sinunt foetum maturescere, sed, inuita Lucina, cogunt per abortum eiicere. Non ignorabam quid te dignum esset, vir clarissime, sed imitatus Græculum

<sup>1)</sup> ErAdag., 1078, c : *Dii omnia possunt*, — referring to the quotation of *Odyss.*, iv, 237 : Ζεὺς ... δύνανται γὰρ ἅπαντα.



illum, e paupere pera depromo paucos oboles : οὐ κατὰ τὴν ἀξίαν σοῦ, ὦ Σεβαστέ, εἰ γὰρ πλέον εἶχον, πλέον ἐδίδουν <sup>1)</sup>).

Precor vt ista motoria fabula, quam tot iam annos <sup>2)</sup> agis, sortiatur catastrophem tum tibi priuatim, tum publice Regno Poloniæ foelicem, teque Sigismundus Rex, vt si quis alius omnibus ornamentis egregio Principe dignis cumulatus, dulci patriæ, gregique charissimo, cuius sollicitudo pietatem tuam per omnes negotiorum vndas comitatur, breui restituat. Datum apud Friburgum Brisgoæ, pridie calendas Maias, Anno domini MDXXXII.

## NICOLAS OLAH AND HIS FRIENDS

On March 14, 1531, when Queen Mary of Hungary was welcomed to the Netherlands in Louvain by Charles V <sup>3)</sup>, she was accompanied by Nicolas OLAH, OLAUS. Born on January 10, 1493, at Nagy Szeben, in Transsylvania, he entered very young the Royal Court of Hungary in Chancellor Szatmári's service, and he was provided with a Komorn canonry and its archdeaconry. On March 16, 1526, he became secretary of King Louis, and at the disaster of Mohács, he remained in the Queen's employ in Moravia, and followed her to the Netherlands. He meanwhile had then been provided with the treasurership of Alba Regalis. He remained with his Royal Mistress, mostly in Brussels, and was highly interested in the efforts which were made to secure to Queen Mary and to himself, the property and the revenues which they had lost in Hungary <sup>4)</sup> at the defeat, and at the subsequent changes : they were, amongst others, greatly assisted in that respect by de Schepper, Dantiscus' staunch friend. — Olah wrote poetry <sup>5)</sup>, as well as descriptions of *Hungaria* and *Athila* <sup>6)</sup>, and remained with Queen Mary until

<sup>1)</sup> Erasmi *Apophthegmata*, EOO, iv, 211, A, quoting Macrobius, *Saturnaliorum* Lib. II, iv : si plus haberem, plus darem,

<sup>2)</sup> In fact Dantiscus had started his career as ambassador in Spain in 1518, a few months after the nomination as Cardinals of the great Adrian of Utrecht and of Egidius Canisio of Viterbo, general and reformer of the Augustine Order : Pastor, iv, i, 140-41, ii, 694-96 ; *LaemKirch.*, 64-68 ; he remained beyond the Pyrenees even a good while after the *Sacco di Roma* : *LaemKirch.*, 12-14.

<sup>3)</sup> *MarHon.*, 35.

<sup>4)</sup> Cp. further de Schepper's letters to Olah.

<sup>5)</sup> E. g., to James Jespersen Danus of Aarhus (*OlaCar.*, 17-19, 21, 23-24) and to Francis de Cranevelt (*OlaCar.*, 5, 7, 12, 37) ; also epitaphs on Erasmus, printed as *Epitaphia* by R. Rescius : Louvain, March, 1537.

<sup>6)</sup> *Athila* was first printed at Basle, 1568 (*OlaO*, vi) and *Hungaria* only in 1735.

1539. Nannius dedicated to him *De Bello Turcis inferendo*, 1535, and *Demosthenes adversus Leptinem*, 1542 <sup>1)</sup>. By 1543 he became Faber's successor, as Ferdinand of Austria's Chancellor: he also was made Bishop of Agram and Erlau about that time, and primate of Esztergom in 1553. He died on January 14, 1568 <sup>2)</sup>.

In his correspondence there occur many allusions and references to his friend Dantiscus <sup>3)</sup>: already on October 2, 1531, he made use of his services to forward a letter to the Polish Vice-Chancellor, Christ. Szydlowiecki <sup>4)</sup>; and, by May 3, 1532, mention is made of an interest which they took in each other. About that time Erasmus wrote to Olah: 'Episcopus Culmensis — Dantiscus — nonnihil succenset Jacobo Dano ob sparsam apud omnes epistolam ad ipsum meam' <sup>5)</sup>: Olah answered on July 26, 1532: 'Non Episcopus solum Culmensis, sed ego quoque plurimum succensueram Dano meo propter epistolam tuam circumlatam; sed id fecit suo more: veniam itaque meretur. Ego utor eo in rudimentis solis Græcæ grammatices: ad cætera parcius' <sup>6)</sup>.

More significative of their mutual esteem and relation is a letter which, on October 27, 1531, Nicolas Olah wrote from Brussels, in reply to a friend's demand who had inquired about Dantiscus <sup>7)</sup>: 'Animi mei iudicium cupis a me intelligere, quid de moribus, ingenio, doctrina et eruditione Joannis Dantisci, oratoris Poloni, sentiam. Licet non sit mei instituti, naturæ et consuetudinis aliorum vel mores, vel ingenia, vel eruditionem diiudicare, et de hiis etiam apud eos, qui mihi intima sunt familiaritate iuncti, iudicium meum proferre; tamen ut tuæ cupiditati, quæ visa est ardentissima, propter mutuam, qua iuncti sumus amicitiam, si non in

<sup>1)</sup> Polet, 243, sq, 277, sq, 72 sq.

<sup>2)</sup> Cp. FG, 399-400; *Cran.*, 275, a, 276-86; *OlaCar.*, iii; *OlaO*, iii; Allen, viii, 2339, pr; *HTL*, iii, 36-44, &c, ii, 177, sq, 495-97, 551, sq, iv, 11-12, 120, &c; *Auw.*, 104.

<sup>3)</sup> E. g., *OlaE*, 156, 163, 212, 228; *HTL*, iii, 38.

<sup>4)</sup> *OlaE*, 156, 212.

<sup>5)</sup> *OlaE*, 212. — James Jespersen, of Aarhus, Danus, studied at the *Trilingue* from 1529, and was engaged by Olah as teacher of Greek and secretary. In his attempt to make friends with as many erudites as possible, he blabbed out news which Erasmus or Dantiscus imparted to his master, which occasioned disagreeable measures: *OlaE*, 212, 228, 231, 278, 352; Allen, x, 2644, 24, 2646, 12, 2693, 147. The lesson evidently profited: *OlaE*, 408, 448, 492, &c. His biography is related at large in *Cran.*, 281, a-c; cp. FG, 376; *MonHL*, 4; *HTL*, ii, 138, 169, &c, iii, 244-7, 413-4; Allen, ix, 2570, pr; *BB*, j, 25-36.

<sup>6)</sup> *OlaE*, 228; Allen, x, 2693, 146-49.

<sup>7)</sup> *OlaE*, 163-64.

omni, saltem in aliqua parte satisfacerem, non grauatus sum, quantum meum fert iudicium aliquid de illius viri scriptis ad te scribere. Doctus est, eruditus vir, et experientiæ plurimæ, qui iam a puero et deditus fuerit optimis artibus et versatus a multis annis in multarum arduarumque rerum Regis sui tractatione, nihilque videtur in eo posse desiderari, quod ad bonas literas, maxime vero ad ipsas musas amœniores pertineat; perpetuo tamen filo orationis, non undequaque est illis viris, qui eloquentia sua nonnihil frugis huic ætati nostræ attulerunt comparandus. Quem tamen si continuauerit, et tantum huic quoque tribuerit laboris et temporis, quantum ipsis musis, non paucos ea quoque dictione præstabit. Habes quod petiisti : fac id boni consulas. Vale.

On October 29, 1531, Cornelius de Schepper writes to Dantiscus from the still solitary *Arx Luxemburgensis* <sup>1)</sup>; he thanks for the letter which consoled him in the preceding days that he suffered from 'peste et febre callida'; he seems 'plane defunctus homo', but still is full of hope, thanks to Dantiscus' interest. He expresses to him his gratitude for recommending him to the 'Castellanus Cracoviensis' Szydlowiecki. He further introduces the bearer, a nobleman in the service of the Marquis of Baden, and he supplies his genealogy; he besides sends a letter by him to Count William of Roghendorff. — A few days later, on November 5, de Schepper once more writes from his *Arx Luxemburgensis* by a nobleman returning to Court <sup>2)</sup>. He complains that he does neither receive any orders, nor even an answer from the Emperor to his proposal: he is thus in a nettled situation, as the Duchy is exposed to many dubious neighbours, whereas the nobility seems overindulgent. So he and his colleague decreed that, if on St. Martin's, no order should have come, he should go himself and see the Emperor: he thus should be in Brussels on November 15. Livinus <sup>3)</sup> is with him; he should like to make him enter the *familia* of the Queen; and as Livinus thinks that Dantiscus' influence would help him considerably,

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<sup>1)</sup> DE, 172 : Fbm, 3, 30.

<sup>2)</sup> DE, 175 : Fbm, 3, 57.

<sup>3)</sup> Viz., Algoet, Panagathus : cp. p 53.

he requests de Schepper to recommend him to Dantiscus ; so he now does : for he, de Schepper, sincerely wishes Livinus to be 'bene prospectum' through Dantiscus, 'ex quo mihi', he says, 'datum non est de quoquam bene mereri posse'. So he begs Dantiscus 'ut hanc rem cordi habeat[t]'. He also requests him to send an accompanying letter for his wife through his Michael <sup>1)</sup>. — 'D<sup>o</sup> Episcopo Culm., tanquam Patri'.

Livinus Algoet's letter to Dantiscus of November 5, 1531 <sup>2)</sup>, is as follows : S. P. Quum ex amicorum literis intellexerim, R<sup>me</sup> D<sup>ne</sup>, Ser<sup>mam</sup> Reginam Mariam, partim de statu suo magna ex parte iam disposuisse, partim in dies disponere, et officarios suos etiam nunc deligere, decreuerimque non sequi Cæsarem in Hispanias, sed fortunulam aliquam in patria apud magnatem, principemve aliquem venari : quumque non videam mihi magis propitium nemus, in quo hæc petita præda in casses meos, fauente Delia, incidere possit ; neminem vero ex Magnatibus conspiciam apud quem hæc potius captanda sit quam apud Ser<sup>man</sup> Reginam ; tum etiam perspectum habeam Reueren. D. T. apud eandem plurimum posse ; ob has aliasque causas apud herum meum precibus insteti, vt me R. D. T. ex animo commendare vellet : id quod se facturum libentissime suscepit. Cuius commendationem licet certo sciam plurimum ponderis apud E. R. D. T. habituram, tamen his ipse me totum eidem commendare, tradereque volui, vt illius intercessione, meisque precibus mota, id R. D. T. præstet, quod de eadem nobis semper sumus polliciti : hoc est, erga suos se benignam, beneuolam, & in promovendo facilem exhibeat. Quare eandem ipse quoque per Musas Gratiassque oro atque obtestor, me dignetur Ser<sup>mæ</sup> Reginæ, non secus ac aliquem ex suis commendare. Qui etsi ex numero familiarium suorum non sum, totis tamen viribus connitar officijs obsequijsque ita R. D. T. demereri, vt me sentiat fateaturque vere et ex animo fuisse suum, & beneficium operamque non collocasse in hominem penitus ingratum. Itaque me Reginali Ma<sup>tt</sup> commendet, & tantum sua commendatione efficiat vt impetret quod petierit : hoc est, vel minimum officiolum pro me in ipsius Aula : siue id sit servitoris Cameræ ipsius, siue

<sup>1)</sup> Cp. DE, 317.

<sup>2)</sup> DE, 174 : Ccm, 243, 189 ; Roersch, II, 29-30.

janitoris cubiculi, siue huisserij, vt ita loquar, siue scribæ alicubi, siue aliud quoduis, modo id sit in seruitio ipsius Reginæ Ser<sup>mæ</sup>. Nam Pontificis titulum nihil moror, vt scilicet sim seruus seruorum. Quo munere fungendo talem me polliceor præstiturum operam, meque adeo industrium, diligentemque, vt R. D. T. nunquam pœniteat in me collati beneficij. Id eidem fuerit longe facillimum. Neque dubito quin sit impetratura quicquid petierit, modo me ex animo, & vt vnum aliquem ex sua familia, sibique charissimum commendet. Id quod te facturum confido, mihique prorsus persuadeo. Quod si Reginæ status per Cæsaream Ma<sup>tem</sup> ordinetur, instituturque, facilius fortasse erit illud R. D. T., vt quæ et apud illam et Magnates alios nihil non possit, sit modo memor mei. Per aliorum Magnatum commendationes non pauci intrudentur etiam minime idonei ad obeunda huiuscemodi munia. Vnus saltem commendatus a R. D. T. intrudatur, vel ad quamcumque provinciam suscipiendam maxime futurus idoneus. Equidem, pro mea virili, connitar Spartam quam nactus fuero, egregie adornare. Sed vtinam huius rei affulgeat spes aliqua priusquam præueniant alij. Quodsi iam præuenerint etiam, nihil tamen dubito quin aliquis locus futurus sit reliquus, R. D. T. pro amico intercedente, præsertim tam parua officia petente. In commendationibus et illud fortasse operæ precium fuerit addidisse, me ad septem propemodum annos Erasmi familiarem fuisse (quod nomen quam bene audiat apud Ser<sup>am</sup> Reginam multis argumentis compertum habeo), meque quotidie literas illius commendatitijs de eadem re ad Ser<sup>am</sup> Reginam expectare; sed non esse opus alterius commendationibus: animi mei dotes, si quæ sunt, modo me abunde commendaturas. Saltem digniorem esse me qui hmōi fungar munere, plerisque alijs qui in hmōi officia detruduntur minus fortasse idonei. Verum hæc omnia R. D. T. committo. Quam Chřus Opt. Max. nobis diu seruet incolumem ac florentem. Ex Arce Lucenburgeñ, die quinta mensis Nouembris A. D. M. D. XXXJ. E. R. D. T. Addictissimus clientulus Levinus Algoet <sup>1)</sup>).

On November 7, 1531, Rutger Rescius thanks Dantiscus for

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<sup>1)</sup> This letter is as a specimen of his fine writing.

the liberal way in which he rewarded his workmen <sup>1)</sup> for the pamphlet *Victoria Poloniæ Regis contra Vayeudam*, which had been issued on October 21 <sup>2)</sup> : S. P. Nimis liberaliter soluit R. T. P. operis nostris. Si tales multi ipsis contingerent emptores, breui sic ditarentur vt recusarent amplius operari. Habent ipsi vna mecum tibi gratias magnas pro liberalitate immensa, offerentes nos semper ad mandata tua paratissimos. Ego autem seorsum R. T. P. gratias ago pro tua benignissime oblata beneficentia ac benevolentia, si occasio ita fecerit, non meas pro me in[di]di. Ego vicissim me totum addico ac deuoueo iussis tuis, si quid sit in quo obfci ac gratificari queam. Bene valeat R. P. T. Louanij. 7 Idus Novemb. R. T. P. addictiss. Rutgerus Rescius.

On November 19, 1531, John Campensis wrote to Dantiscus <sup>3)</sup> to excuse himself for not calling on him on his return from 'Angia', Enghien, to Louvain, as he was sorely afflicted by a cold or catarrh on his eye, from which he still suffered. When he will be well again, he will satisfy Dantiscus. They say that Charles V is going to Tournai : — so he hopes to be allowed to take care of his health, whilst his protector follows the Emperor. He will do whatever Dantiscus wishes, even go with him to Sarmatia. I hear, he says, that Jerome Aleander has come to Brussels, and that he is an *Italus* before all : I should like to know what he thinks of my paraphrases. I therefore request you, Dantiscus, to tell him that I do not want to translate word by word, which is slow and tedious ; I should like to know whether, in Aleander's opinion, the sense of the Hebrew text is well understood and accurately rendered : I do not want to represent every word by an equivalent, as in a version ; but I wish to produce a paraphrase, which, though often longer than the original text, explains as concisely as possible some places which have not been understood either by the authors of the Latin text, or by those of the Greek translations through their complete ignorance of Hebrew. 'I regret that my eye does not allow me to add one line more'.

<sup>1)</sup> DE, 176 : Knm, 230, 393.

<sup>2)</sup> Cp. before DE, 162 : p 102.

<sup>3)</sup> DE, 177 : Fbm, 3, 58 ; it reached Dantiscus in Brussels on November 22. Cp. Hipler, 489.

JEROME ALEANDER, born on February 13, 1480, at Motta, Friuli, studied Greek and Latin in Venice, which allowed him to serve as secretary or to teach. He made Erasmus' acquaintance, living with him in one room, from December 1507 to April 1508, in Aldus Manutius' *academy* in Venice; their friendship was renewed later on, when Aleander taught Greek in Paris University from 1508 to 1513. He afterwards entered the service of Erard de la Marck, who sent him to Rome, where he was made Papal Librarian in July 1519. Although he was not in orders, and had not even been trained in theology, *he was sent as Papal Legate to Germany against Luther* in 1520; he mixed up Erasmus with heresy, making him the cause of all the trouble. In fact, long before Luther, Erasmus had started reproaching the Catholics for not living the life they professed, and when Protestantism began, he hoped to reduce Luther and his partisans, after what seemed a quarrel between two Orders, back to the unity of the Church <sup>1)</sup>. In fact he cannot have had any confidence in Aleander as Legate, as representative of the highest authority in the Church; for with his character and his intimate life he had become thoroughly acquainted, as he had invited him to share his room for several months in Venice: they, moreover, can be judged from the Greek or Hebrew notes, which Aleander entrusted to the intimacy of his *Journal* <sup>2)</sup>. At any rate, it was only by 1528 that he tried to live up as behoved the 'Archbishop of Brindisi' that he had become on August 8, 1524, whereas until then, he had bitterly disappointed many a clear-sighted contemporary; — it fully explains the strange absence of all reverence which he experienced, even on his second legateship in the Netherlands, such as that at the irksome feast offered by the Portuguese ambassador Mascarenhas in Brussels on December 21, 1531 <sup>3)</sup>. Unfortunately Aleander was one of those to whom was entrusted the mission of operating the inward reform of the Church and of her members, at the time when he himself most urgently wanted that reform, as was made clear to Campensis when circumstances caused him to share for a while his life, or at least his house <sup>4)</sup>. After all, however, Aleander was made a Cardinal. He died at Venice in the night from January 31 to February 1, 1542 <sup>5)</sup>.

On November 28, 1531, Charles Utenhovius wrote from Ghent <sup>6)</sup> to thank Dantiscus for his letter, and for the printed

<sup>1)</sup> *Busl.*, 360.

<sup>2)</sup> Unfortunately that *Journal*, with all his avowals, was not destroyed: cp. *AléaJour.*; *Busl.*, 220-22, 359-60.

<sup>3)</sup> Cp. *Busl.*, 167; *HTL*, II, 399; Laemmer, 92.

<sup>4)</sup> Cp. *DE*, 298, 271, 325 and 351.

<sup>5)</sup> Cp. *AléaJour.*; *AléaLiège*; *AléaE*; *Aléandre*; Allen, I, 256, *pr*; *Mon-HL*, 512-15; *HTL*, II, 294, 300, III, 28-36, 200-04; Pastor, IV, II, 286-302, &c; FG, 292-93.

<sup>6)</sup> *DE*, 179: Fbm, 3, 59; it was sent to Dantiscus at Tournai, where the Court was from November 28 to December 11: Gachard, 50.

copies of the *Victoria Polonice &c Regis* <sup>1)</sup>). He expresses his sympathy with the Poles and his disappointment at the 'desides et segnes principes', who only encourage the Turk. He sent one of the *libelli* to William de Waele; another to the 'D. Scriba', the third to the 'Summus Prætor', and kept the fourth <sup>2)</sup>): they all are most gratified, and send greetings: so do the 'nymphæ nostræ Jodoca et Liuina' <sup>3)</sup>, with his own sister; so does, too, Robbius the satire <sup>4)</sup>, who recommends himself. The letter is sent through a youth who knows two languages, and who is his friend; he hopes he will be Dantiscus' guest.

At the end of November 1531, or in the first days of December, James Robbius, Aldenardus <sup>5)</sup>, sends a letter to Dantiscus complaining jestingly of ill-treatment for not being given a 'pagella', a little note, as he sent to Uutenhove, but a ridiculous mention: 'Robbium cum egregio poculo saluta' <sup>6)</sup>). If Dantiscus would reply, that he sent pages to Uutenhove, not only for himself, but for Robbius as well, they were kept so zealously that he did not even see them: of course, Ghent people are 'rapaces'. As penance, Dantiscus is told soon to edit the commentaries on the *Psalmi Pœnitentiales*, of which he showed the text to him at 'prandio illo heroico', when lately Robbius was with Dantiscus; he moreover tries to get a letter by quoting texts, which show it would be his greatest happiness. 'Gandavi, ex ædibus Utovianis'.

On December 2, 1531, Conrad Goclenius wrote to Dantiscus in Brussels <sup>7)</sup>, thanking him for placing him and esteeming him as his equal: still Dantiscus is far above, not only over the humble teacher, but even over the highest nobleman. He especially is grateful for laying the foundation of his fortune with the help of Valdes <sup>8)</sup>. He further expresses his gratitude

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<sup>1)</sup> Cp. before, pp 101, 102.

<sup>2)</sup> Cp. before, pp 94, sq.

<sup>3)</sup> Cp. before, pp 94-95.

<sup>4)</sup> Cp. DE, 180.

<sup>5)</sup> DE, 180: Fbm, 6, 131.

<sup>6)</sup> Cp. p 95.

<sup>7)</sup> DE, 181: Fbm, 3, 60; the letter reached Dantiscus in Brussels on Dec. 2; Hipler, 490.

<sup>8)</sup> Viz., procuring him a benefice.



for the present sent by Jasper the 'aurifex', which, like Alexander's, sets the law : his generosity is more *bifera* than that of some fruittrees, as it 'quotidie in varios multiplici fœtu est fœcunda'. The present is splendid, and Dantiscus is requested not to judge Goclenius' gratitude by his letters, since he is afraid of annoying him by writing too often : he abstains through 'pudor', and also on account of being busy. He will advise Campensis to show himself grateful to such a Mæcnas ; for his colleague is not bad, nor without will ; still he would do far better if his body were stronger, so as to second his mind. 'Sed res videtur assidue (postquam collegium nostrum deseruit) in peius ruere, et retro sublapsa referri. Contra omnia amicorum consilia, initio malum contempsit, quodcumque sit : ipse scabiem puerilem vocat, sic jam adultam, ut possit vel virilis numerari, nisi credamus Campensem nostrum ante senectutem repuerascere'. Still, hope was never better : for he changed his doctor ; and the one he has now, promises cure. He says that his Psalter cannot be printed in Louvain on account of the Emperor's edict, and he dare not journey before he is well again : he, Goclenius, regrets that Campensis' excuse is so just, especially considering his kind Mæcnas : if he does not accept Dantiscus' generous offer as soon as ever he is well again, he will have to be returned to his 'agnatos et propinquos tanquam insanum' ! For certain Goclenius will tell him so, as soon as he has an occasion : he hopes that Campensis will then do all from his own impulse : all the same, he can advise him, but not force him ; neither can he promise that his colleague will give full satisfaction to their benefactor. As soon as anything can be said with certainty, Dantiscus will be informed at once.

On St. Nicolas' day, December 6, 1531, Cornelius de Schepper wrote to Dantiscus, announcing that he had just arrived in Paris <sup>1)</sup>. He says that he looked for books newly printed there, as those issued in Germany are more conveniently acquired 'isthic', viz., in Louvain or Brussels. 'Colloquium quoddam

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<sup>1)</sup> DE, 182 : Fbm, 3, 116 : it reached Dantiscus in Brussels, on December 22.

Erasmi <sup>1)</sup>, quod ille scripsit de sepultura Alberti, Principis Carporum <sup>2)</sup>, qualiter ille cuculla voluerit in Franciscana sepelirj, quod adiectum est veteribus illis, mire torquetur theologos, nihilque non parant aduersus illum. — In sacris literis hoc anno nihil est hic excusum noui quod ad vos non peruenit’.

A few days later, de Schepper writes from Chambery, on December 16, 1531 <sup>3)</sup>, that he had seen the Duke of Savoy, as well as the Duchess, who seems to have lost all her ‘Portugalism’. — He announces that things happened as he had foreseen : after a second defeat, the Tigurini, the inhabitants of Zürich, asked for peace ; so conditions were made between the cantons of Lucerne, Uri, Schwyz, Unterwalden and Zug, and that of Zürich. Those conditions were made with the canton of Bern, which meeting the legates of France,

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<sup>1)</sup> In September 1531, J. Froben and N. Episcopus issued a new collection of *Familiarium Colloquiorum Erasmi*, which offers, besides the texts edited by the same press in September 1529, five new Colloquies : pp 843-948, amongst which is the *Exequiæ Seraphicæ*. In the edition of Simon de Colines, Paris (1531), those Colloquies are added, but at the very end, and in a different order : their pagination, 1-46, shows they were inserted after the book was ready : BB, E, 479, 480, 2.

<sup>2)</sup> Alberto Pio, Prince of Carpi, Erasmus’ adversary, died in Paris on January 8, 1531, after having taken since three days the cowl of the Franciscans : Erasmus refers to it in his *Exequiæ Seraphicæ*, calling him Eusebius (εὐσεβής, pious) amongst Pelusios (the people connected with ‘mud’) : Lauchert, 281 ; Allen, VI, 1634, *pr* ; Pennington, 271, 320. Born about 1475, a son of Catherine, Pico della Mirandola’s sister, he was a dear friend of his tutor Aldus Manutius. He was sent by Louis XII as ambassador to Rome in 1510, and practised a policy that was not conducive to general peace. From 1513 he entered Maximilian’s service and remained with him until his death, when he joined Francis I, in so far that by 1525 the Imperialists confiscated his estates of Carpi. He was indemnified by goods in Normandy, and spent some years in France in his controversy with Erasmus. He still then played an active part in the policy, abusing of Clement VII’s tendency to further other interests than the welfare of the Church, proving the truth of Lopez Hurtado de Mendoza’s judgment that Carpi was a dæmon, who knew all, and mixed with all : the Emperor had either to gain him or to destroy him : Lauchert, 279-311 ; Pastor, IV, II, 186, *sq.*, &c.

<sup>3)</sup> DE, 183 : Fbm, 3, 61, *sq* ; it reached Brussels on December 30.

Savoy and Baden attended, as well as those of the Duchess of Longueville and of the three cantons that had not been mixed with the war, Glarus, Freiburg and Appenzell. Peace is signed, but does not seem likely to last. — De Schepper intends advancing as far as Milan, on which he will return to the Emperor. He sends to Dantiscus letters for his wife to Halle, and requests that all correspondence destined to himself, should be handed to the Orator of Savoy, Guthieres Lopolis de Padylla. He meanwhile sends hearty greetings.

On December 17, 1531, Mark Laurin, writing from Bruges <sup>1)</sup>, returns thanks for a first letter, accompanying some copies of *Victoria Poloniæ Regis contra Vayenodam Muldaviæ*; he distributed them to the friends whom Dantiscus has there, with his greetings. He afterwards received another letter with more *libelli* from Cornelius de Schepper's wife. He thanks for congratulating him for his home-coming, namely, as he wrote, 'quod sospes ex Gallia redierim, in qua ante annos 24 misere frustatim afflictus : ab eo tempore secutus partes Cæsaris, quod vt et ego faciam et hortaris et consulis. Desino nunc mirari, Presul dignissime, quod tibi sermo exciderit Gallicus, cum ab illorum oris annis 24 abstinueris ! Existimas quantum videre possum militasse me in illorum castris, stipemque meruisse ! Stetj profecto firmus hucusque a parte Cesaris, a qua descuii nunquam, — etsi Gallus, vt in suas partes me pertraheret, pluribus modis molitus sit : clam missis insidiatoribus, qui vi agerent, quod benigno Marte, frustra conati tentarunt'. I have battled : 'sinciput tantum contuderunt satis acute;' he was watching from the beginning, night and day : the enemy tried to attack : 'monomachia clauso cubili, ne forte adiutorium sibi accersisset : at succubuissem vero, nisi athletarum pugilumque more membra curassem iungi ceromate. Quo factum est vt aduersus *Platam* vim sim redditus validior et robustior' <sup>2)</sup> : the enemy, weakened, was compelled 'remeare ad suos : quod, quemadmodum intelligo per Christiani Galliæ Regis Oratorem, ornatiss. et humaniss. testem oculatum, liquere posset mani-

<sup>1)</sup> DE, 184 : Ccm, 243, 155 ; bef., pp 85-86.

<sup>2)</sup> Cp. p 86, for '*plata*'.

festissime. Vide hostis crudelitatem, jmo perfidiam, qui cum me afflixerit, etiam suis non pepercit': for he runs round, seeking whom he could devour! Then, gratefully: 'Justa causa gratularis mihi, sospitj redeuntj a pugna cum tam potente, perfido et crudelj aduersario; apud te sileo, qui expertus in illo, judicare potes optime'. Thanks for all your kindness and gifts: I will always be your servant: 'Jube. Impera. Manda! Vale, Patrone obseruandissime, quem salutarj a me petierunt D. Anthonius Schoonhovio <sup>1)</sup>, Franc. Cousinus <sup>2)</sup>, sanguineo vultu, nasoque *amborgensi* <sup>3)</sup> decoratus, confratres mei amantissimi, totumque Brugense sodalicium. Brugis, xvij. Dec. 1531. Tue R<sup>me</sup> Paternitati obsequent<sup>mus</sup> clientulus Marcus Laurinus, pbr.

Antony de SCHOONHOVEN, a native of Ghent, was the son of the Attorney-General Cornelius, a friend of Erasmus. Already by March 26, 1520, he was provided with the 20<sup>th</sup> prebend in St. Donatian's, Bruges, whilst still studying in Louvain, where he became M. A. in 1523. He was thoroughly trained in the *Trilingue*, especially by Goclenius, in so far that he published in 1546 a most erudite edition of Eutropius' *Historiæ Romanæ Libri X*, which is a work of great value. He also edited manuscripts of Eusebius' History, and other documents. He was a friend of Cassander, and also of Stephen de Grave, whose *Sylvula Carminum* he edited in 1544. He composed elegies on Mark Laurin and on Vives, and died on November 20, 1557; he was buried in the church of the Guillemites. Cp. *BrugSDon.*, 166; Sandys, II, 475; Manitius, I, 257, 262, sq; *AnEmBru.*, 1924, 139-72; *Cran.*, 6, a, 150, d; *HTL*, I, 516, II, 179-82, III, 297, 307, 310, 438, 540, IV, 443, 514; *Auw.*, 71.

Francis COSYN, COUSIN, was the 'Pastor Laicorum' of St. Donatian's, Bruges, since December 20, 1518; in 1525 he managed to exchange that office against a prebend in the same church. As he had a successor in that canonry in 1537, he seems to have died before that date: *BrugSDon.*, 140; *Cran.*, 107, b, 23.

John de CARONDELET was born in 1469, as the second son of the Chancellor of Burgundy John († 1501). He was Master of Requests of the Archduke Philip, and, in 1515, member of Charles of Austria's Council. In June 1518, at the death of John le Sauvage, he was appointed his successor as Chancellor of Castile. In 1519, he became Margaret of Austria's chief Councillor, and was successively created Dean of

<sup>1)</sup> Antony van Schoonhoven: cp. below.

<sup>2)</sup> Franciscus Cousinus, Cosyn: cp. below.

<sup>3)</sup> Possibly 'Hamborgensi'.

Besançon, Provost of St. Donatian's, Bruges, and Archbishop of Palermo. By 1531 he became President of the Private Council, which he remained until his decease, February 7, 1541. He was a great friend and favourer of Erasmus, and he saved from ruin the St. Donatian's College in Louvain. Cp. *Busl.*, 40, 221, 284; *Alexandre*, 24; *FG*, 401; *Allen*, III, 803, 12; *GallChrist.*, v, 247; *HTL*, I, 15, 289, 458, II, 285, sq, 340-47, &c, IV, 49; *Auw.*, 297; *BrugSDon.*, 77-78; *Walther*, 151, 213; *Bergh*, II, 43, 103, sq; *MarHon.*, 36, 86, 125; *ULDoc.*, III, 127-8.

On December 26, postridie Nativitatis', 1531, John de Carondelet, Archbishop of Palermo, President of the Privy Council, wrote a short note to Dantiscus <sup>1)</sup> to tell him that he had received his letter, but had not answered it on account of the feast. He will for certain propose the matter at the first meeting of the Council on the Innocents' Day, or even before.

John Everts, Everardi, JANUS SECUNDUS, was the youngest of the *Tres Fratres Belgæ*, sons of the President of Mechlin Great Council, Nicolas Everts, Everardi, of Middelburg : *SweMon.*, 381-82. Born at The Hague in 1511, he was trained at home with his brothers Nicolas Grudius and Hadrian Marius, — thus called, the one, from his native place, the *Terra Grudiorum*, Louvain; the other, from the saints celebrated on the day he was born at Mechlin, Our Lady's Nativity : *SweMon.*, 22, 26. Their mentor was Rombaut Steynemolen, until they were sent to Louvain : already by 1530, the three brothers edited *Dialogi aliquot Lucianici*, and some poems. Especially Janus was highly appreciated at Margaret of Austria's Court <sup>2)</sup>, and also made a name as a carver of medals, amongst which is a fine one of Dantiscus <sup>3)</sup>. — One of the brothers, Grudius, succeeded to Valdes as Imperial Secretary : he went to Spain, where he was rejoined by his wife Anna Cobella, and by his brother John ; by 1538, he was appointed Secretary both to the Private and State Councils, and in 1540 as *quæstor* of the Golden Fleece ; he died on a mission at Venice in 1571 <sup>4)</sup>. — Adrian Marius, a member of Mechlin Great Council since 1541, was appointed Chancellor of Gelderland, in 1547, and, in 1567, member of the Council of Troubles in Brussels, where he died on March 21, 1568 <sup>5)</sup>. — As to John, the most brilliant of the three, he was, as Paquot said, the first Latin poet on this side the Alps who rose above mediocrity ; he is especially known by his poems to Julia, by his *Basia* and by his *Reginæ Pecuniæ Regia*. Unfortunately

<sup>1)</sup> DE, 185 : Upm, 154, 73.

<sup>2)</sup> *HTL*, II, 198, 398, 432-51.

<sup>3)</sup> Cp. further, p 132 ; *Simonis*, 35-92.

<sup>4)</sup> *HTL*, II, 431, 445-46, 451-52 ; *Nicolai Grudii, Hadriani Marii & Joannis Secundi Poemata* : The Hague, 1609.

<sup>5)</sup> *HTL*, II, 432-34, 452-53, &c.

he had not the occasion to rise above his youthful productions. He suffered from the Spanish climate, in so far that he was too poorly to follow Charles V as secretary to Tunis. He left for the Netherlands, and accepted too quickly the position of secretary to George of Egmont, Bishop of Utrecht : he died in the Abbey of St. Amand, on September 4, 1536. Cp. Crane ; JSecO ; *DelPoBel.*, III, 225 ; FG, 421 ; Opmeer, I, 478, B ; *ActaMori*, 88, 195-204, &c ; *Busl.*, 19, sq, 27, sq, 124, 166, 220 ; *HTL*, I, 57, 518, II, 198, 398, 432-51, III, 22, sq, 562, sq, &c, IV, x, 443, 496-97, 515 ; *Cran.*, 280, 1, &c ; *MonHL*, 479, 457, 505, 614, 624 ; *Auw.*, 37, 44, 326-29, 428, 458-59 ; *PighE*, 44, 126 ; Simonis, 39-92, 115.

On the last day of 1531, Janus Secundus wrote a letter from Mechlin to Dantiscus <sup>1</sup>). He thanks him for the missive sent through Hilarius <sup>2</sup>), by which Dantiscus shows that he likes and appreciates Secundus' poems, although hardly knowing him. 'I therefore highly praise you', he writes, 'and I read 'lubentissime' what you judged 'de Julia, et gratulatus sum Misis meis, quæ in argumento siue vero, siue ficto, siue mixto, probabiliter certe et non aliene versati sunt'. You congratulate me also, he continues, for the *sculptura*, and the help it gives to the Muses ; yet it seems as if you have not received the picture of Julia ; for her head is, as far as I judge from your letter, not veiled : the lady with unveiled head 'nobilis quædam, et dives, & alterius farinæ virgo est'. I thought I had sent Julia 'in fundo capsulæ', as reply to the first letter : at any rate I represented Julia as veiled, as I did not want to show her in public, 'in apertum'. If you want her, she will come either through Hilary, or through myself, for probably I will be sent on some mission. 'Bene vale, Musarum præsidium singulare, subjectissimus J. S.' <sup>3</sup>).

On January 19, 1532, 'Carolus Vtenhoveus' writes from Ghent to Dantiscus <sup>4</sup>) that he has received his most humane

<sup>1</sup>) DE, 101 : Fbm, 3, 37-38 ; cp. *HTL*, 435-39, 441-49.

<sup>2</sup>) Hilarius Bertulphus was in Dantiscus' service from November 1531 : cp. before, pp 54-55.

<sup>3</sup>) Another hand added : 'ent huys van heer Jan Jacobj, Canonick vp den Louenschen wech'.

<sup>4</sup>) DE, 187 : Ccm, 247, 95 ; the letter is dated : 14 Kal. Febr. 1531, evidently *stylo Gallico*, as Uutenhove was still in Italy in January 1531. Cp. *HTL*, II, 465, sq.

letter, which is properly too kind. If what he hears is true, Robbius is 'felix quod uxor eius non resciverit : alioquin audiret quod minime vellet ; nam ego', he writes, 'arbitror illam minime mutam esse, nec sine manibus' ; still I should like to see his face, when thus treated ; he would then be a 'cheream' : he indeed boasts the *cyatos* which he drank 'isthic, & delicatos bolos quos voravit, ac tuo munusculo nusquam se non ostentat'. A few days ago, we celebrated 'Dyonisia' ; he then behaved as no painter or poet could represent. There is no news here : only Dantiscus is absent ! I will be his admirer and friend as long as he lives. — This letter conveys the greetings of Livinus van den Zande, Ammonius, Carthusian of Bois-St. Martin, Grammont <sup>1)</sup> ; it was brought by 'Franciscus Utenhoueus, my consanguineus, who wants to be recommended, so as to enter your *familia*, and go with you to Poland. D. Gulielmus a Wale, D. Scriba, & soror nostra Iodoca <sup>2)</sup>, commendant se tibi plurimum. Si qui isthic sunt qui Vtenhouium norunt, quæso ut et illis commendatus sim. Vale Dantisce, Mæcenas huius temporis. Gandauj, festinans : xiiij. Kal. Febr. a M. D. XXXI. D<sup>no</sup> Episcopo Culmensi vbi vbi fuerit'.

Through Olah and the Ghent friends, Dantiscus soon made the acquaintance of Livinus van den Zande, de Harena, AMMONIUS, a brother of John (cp. p 95), who was born at Ghent on April 13, 1488. He entered the 'Chartreuse' Bois-St. Martin, Lierde, Grammont, whereas his brother resided near Enghien : Gestel, II, 216. Professing on August 18, 1506, he proved an eager student for Latin and also for Greek. He copied Greek texts of the Psalms and of the Four Gospels, translating into Latin a treatise *De Providentia Dei* (Antwerp, 1527), as well as the History *De Filio Minori natu*, 1542. He also wrote a *De Institutione Novitiorum*, 1538 ; a *Vita Gulielmi Bibautii*, Carthusian General, besides collecting a volume of letters *ad Viros Doctos*. He had written a letter to Erasmus on July 4, 1524, and although it was not replied to, a second was forwarded on July 31, 1528 by Omer van Edingen, which elicited a most hearty answer on October 2, 1528 : Allen, v, 1463, VII, 2062. Ammonius was in most cordial connection with several Ghent friends like Omer van Edingen, and the Utenhoves, as well as with Mary of Hungary's great minister Nicolas Olah : a fine collection of their letters and of those of other outstanding men of the time is preserved in the Besançon Manuscript. Livinus should have liked to have welcomed Erasmus in Belgium, and had procured him an ideal sojourn. By 1533

<sup>1)</sup> Cp. before, pp 94 & 95 (his brother John).

<sup>2)</sup> Cp. before, p 95.

the advent of a new prior, who neither appreciated nor understood modern studies, broke the peace of Bois-St. Martin, and sent Livinus to Val-Royal, near Ghent; in 1541 to Arnhem; about 1542 to Scheut and he was only allowed to return to celebrate his jubilæum at Val-Royal on August 18, 1556: he died on the following March 19, 1557. Cp. *Cor-Amm.*, 5, 7, 14; *GoetHist.*, I, 95-97; *SweABelg.*, 505; *BibBelg.*, 606; *Cran.*, 291, a-c; *ActaMori*, 22; FG, 296; *OlaE*, 395, 415, 427, &c; *HTL*, II, 190-92, 355, 463, 466-69, 493, 497, 499, 532, III, 38, 577, IV, 100, 209; Allen, VIII, 2197, 19, sq; *GandErVir.*, 17, 24, 50, 92; *BrugErVir.*, 60, 18.

In his *De Tradendis Disciplinis*, 1531, Vives <sup>1)</sup> had advised leaving some poets, like Tibullus and Ovid, out of the hands of youth, except in expurgated editions, and had condemned Aulus Gellius as unreliable, if not ignorant, in his pretentious remarks. Resendius had felt hurt, and had composed a poem to criticize his severity: he had it shown to Dantiscus; maybe, he wished to have it issued, as he just then had a *libellus* that was printing by Rutger Rescius <sup>2)</sup>. Dantiscus, however, evidently disapproved of Resendius' attack, and asked the advice of Goclenius, whom he, no doubt, knew not to be partial at all to the Spaniard, although he valued him as a highly meritorious erudite. As expected, Goclenius, far from encouraging Resendius, suggested mentioning Vives only by a pseudonym, if he insisted on publishing the skit, calling him *Charitæus* for Joannes, and *Gurdus* for Vives, alluding to the immortelles that are on his scutcheon with the device 'Siempre Vivas' (VOO, I, *Geneal.*, 8). It seems as if Goclenius and Dantiscus managed to convince Resendius, for the criticism was not published <sup>3)</sup>.

Referring to that criticism by Resendius on Vives, which, no doubt, Dantiscus had mentioned, Conrad Goclenius, on January 21, 1532, wrote to him in reply from Louvain <sup>4)</sup>: 'Prudentiam tuam... vehementer probo qui eo temperamento Resendij nostri famæ consulis, ut Viuetis, viri quod negari non potest, haud quaquam vulgariter eruditi, maximam rationem ducas, quem suo nomine palam traducj et ipsius Resendij, et studiorum causa nolim. Neque enim Resendio satis consultum in se, ut totam gentem Hispanicam provocet.

<sup>1)</sup> *MonHL*, 1-60, 425-58, 585-93; *HTL*, II, 400-18, 519-25, &c; *CantE*, 44; *M'Crie*, 81; *Laurie*, 142-54; *Lossius*, 14, &c.

<sup>2)</sup> The *libellus* said to have been given to be issued for Dantiscus by Rescius on September 20, 1531 on *HTL*, II, 401, was not a poem, but merely a letter, which was printed, not in September, but in October 1531: cp. before, p 101, sq.

<sup>3)</sup> Cp. *HTL*, II, 400-402; *MonHL*, 614; *SweMon.*, 238, 255.

<sup>4)</sup> DE, 188: Fbm, 3, 65; *Hipler*, 492.



Et Vives, tametsi præcipiti iudicio de vniuersa poetarum familia, deque Gellij vigilijs, non omnino indignus videatur, cui male promerentj mala reponatur gratia : tamen cætera quibus eruditiores offendit potissimum posita sunt in moribus et petulantia effrænioris linguæ ; ideo certe aliquanto parcius ferendum censeo : aut ob virtutes non exiguas, leuiora vitia illi condonanda. Quod si omnino decreuistj in publicum edere hoc poematum, meo suffragio dignissimum lectu, nisi obstarent quæ commemorauī, qui Resendiano nominj ea publicatione consulatur, nisi autoris titulo inscriptum edatur, equidem non video. Quod ad Viuem attinet, visum est et ipsi Resendio, qui hesternæ die hac iter fecit in Germaniam, ut suppresso nomine res notetur, cum hac inscriptione : Jn L. Charitæū Gurdū, et ut, pro Viuis nomine, toto poemate Gurdi nomen substituatur. Cuius rei rationem ipse Resendus tibi explicabit, cui hæc nomina primis visa sunt proxima, quamquam hac mutatione bonam partem gratiæ suis vigilijs putat discessuram. Sed satius esse duco, ut ratio omnem vincat gratiam, ne dum alienam vlciscitur iniuriam, ipse iudicetur admisisse iniuriam'.

I would have answered before, if I had not had so many callers, and had I not been myself a 'Salutigerulus', as I wanted to come up to the occasion. I heard from Alph. Valdesius how much you had done to make him also a helper in the Hougaerde nomination <sup>1)</sup>. There is no reason to despair; still there is a dangerous competitor. Valdesius says that he will prove that he, Goclenius, has more favourers in Court than those who seem mightiest. 'Reipsa experior quam optimatum amiciciæ sint fœcundæ'. I already begin 'magnificentius me gerere, atque e tua munificentia, Sarmaticis pellibus splendidius ostentare'; if Hoegaerde should not succeed, I shall have to return into the rank and file. I therefore pray you, not to let me drop, but to keep me at the height to which you promoted me.

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<sup>1)</sup> Goclenius had wished to obtain a canonry at Hougaerde through the Louvain Privilege; as there was an adversary, Valdes helped him, by invoking the Emperor's privilege of the *Primariæ Preces*: it actually led to the appointment, for which, on July 24, 1534, Goclenius thanked Dantiscus: *HTL*, III, 97-98, 563, and further *DE*, 290.

Indicating most candidly and interestingly the motives that made him leave theological studies for philology and Scripture, John Campensis wrote, on February 4, 1532, from Louvain to Nicolas Olah, Secretary and Councillor of Queen Mary <sup>1)</sup> : Ingenij felicitatem, vir modis omnibus ornatissime, et summam eruditionem quam tribuis, adeo in me non agnosco, ut sciam illam a me abesse quam longissime. Quod de meis laboribus tam multum effutuerim præter morem meum, in causa est dominus ille Hispanus, qui audierat, nescio a quo, mihi nonnihil fuisse contentionis cum Theologis Louaniensibus, quod, quia falsum erat, volui sinistram illam suspicionem ex animo illius delere penitus <sup>2)</sup>. Quare multa dixi, quæ quamvis vera erant, nonnihil tamen et inter dicendum, et finito colloquio, multo me magis facilitatis meæ pœnituit. Tuum ergo erit, D. mi, ignoscere, si quid amplius quam oportuit, mihi imprudenter tum exciderit. Numquam potui iurare in verbis hominis alicuius. Sacrarum litterarum scriptores semper excipio : quare cum conflictationibus illis theologicis, quas scholasticas vocant, multis annis pene detritus essem, vidi in illis multa quidem esse non penitus contemnenda, sed quæ ad intelligentiam genuinam sacrarum litterarum facerent admodum pauca. Quare animum adieci ad linguas illas discendas, quibus sacratissimorum Bibliorum autores in conscribendis illis usi essent. Hæc cum tentarem, subito extitit Lutherus et, illo doctior, Philippus Melancton, quorum libros quatenus licuit per imperatorem, non alia de causa legi ; et cum doctioribus de dogmatibus illorum disserui, quam ut rem intelligerem, etsi quando usu veniret, cum ratione utrique parti respondere possem eisdem illis scripturis, quibus sua asserere conarentur ; cuius rei me adeo nondum pœnituit, ut optarem illos, qui sedandis huius temporis tumultibus adhibentur, eandem libertatem in iudicando seruare, et non potius affectibus propriis indulgere. Verum hæc hactenus. — In Daniele et aliis multis, quia et tu et alii multi me orant, præstabo, quod potero, nec ullam prætermittam occasionem, quo id possum : certius consulam Judæos, qui in Germania sunt plurimi ; sed unus est omnium, qui his

<sup>1)</sup> OlaE, 192-193.

<sup>2)</sup> Cp. before, pp 83, 90, 93.

proximis annis mille vixerunt doctissimus Elias <sup>1)</sup>, natione Germanus, sed qui tota fere vita sua versatus in Italia, nunc autem est in familia Reverendissimi Patriarchæ Aquilegiensis apud Venetos ; apud illum, si mihi contingere potuerit mensibus aliquot versari, beatissimum me iudicabo. — Vale, domine mi : si non ingratum fore tibi iudicauero, scribam sæpe quocunque peruenero : candorem enim tuum amo vehementer. D. Jacobus Danus <sup>2)</sup> offert operam suam in conscribendo carmine, quo opusculum hoc Psalmorum laudetur : habeo profecto gratias illi ; sunt alii, qui et scripserunt et scribere iterum cupiunt ; verum ego si efficere potuero, ne Dantisci quidem carmen libello adscribi patiar <sup>3)</sup>. Iterum vale. Louanii 4<sup>a</sup> Februarii 1532.

On February 10, 1532, Olah replied to van Campen <sup>4)</sup> : Cum nuper, mi Campensis doctissime, satiati prandio Dantisci nostri una commentaremur, licet et doctis et humanissimis sermonibus tuis, nihil aliud de te suspicari potueram, quam admirabilem quamdam felicitatem ingenii tui in te esse sitam, non paruo tuo, ut tu ipse dicebas, labore partam ; tamen ex familiaribus illis colloctionibus, qui inter nos tunc primum notitiam et amicitiam contrahentes mutuo conferebantur, non tantum tunc te potui æstimare, qui vir esses, qua virtute, doctrina, eruditione, quibusque ingenii dotibus præditus, quam postea ex tua *Ecclesiastis* ex Hebræo in Latinum versione, cuius tu mihi, — vel Reginæ potius meæ, — copiam fecisses, quiescere non potui, donec eum ingenii tui fœtum statim summo cum desiderio legerim et relegerim. Mirum, quam mihi placuisti et quam tua eruditio singularis magnæ fuerit mihi admirationi ; contuli veterem translationem tuæ novæ lucubrationi : quantum sol cætera sidera, tantum tua hæc translatio veteres illas præstare videbatur ! si ita, ut cœpisti sacras litteras illustrare perrexeris, non parum ab orbe universo Christiano promereberis, omnisque posteritas se tibi multum debere profitebitur. Quare, mi Campensis, laborem

<sup>1)</sup> Elias Levita : cp. further DE, 290 & 298.

<sup>2)</sup> Cp. p 111 : James Jespersen.

<sup>3)</sup> Evidently Campensis values far more the evidence provided by his arguments and explanations than the praise of friends and acquaintances.

<sup>4)</sup> OlaE, 193-94.

hunc tuum et utilem et salutiferum persequere : labor iste non te defatiget ; sed memineris Deum Optimum Maximum ideo te hac ingenii et doctrinæ felicitate ornasse, ut primum Ecclesiæ suæ sanctæ, tum bonis quibusvis omnibus, tui observantibus, lucubrationibus tuis ornamento et decori sis futurus. Danielelem, scis, quam maxime in suam quisque trahere conetur sententiam. Id fieri puto tum mysteriis in eo absconditis, tum etiam, quod non versus sit ea sinceritate et claritate, qua tu alios codices sacros vertere feliciter es aggressus. Quare non parum amicitiae nostræ nascenti tribues, si meo rogatu eum latinitate donaris. Labor is tibi homini docto et clarissimo, ac Hebraicæ linguæ peritissimo, ut opinor, non admodum difficilis, non mihi solum, sed omnibus etiam aliis sacrarum literarum studiosis futurus erit et iucundus, et gratissimus. Vale, et me ama. Bruxellæ, 10<sup>a</sup> Februarii 1532.

Henry BAERS VEKENSTYL, — Barsius, — treasurer of St. Peter's, Louvain, was an able mathematician and astronomer : he wrote and printed himself a *Libellus Novus de Compositione ac Vsu Directorii Planetarum*, March 26, 1530, — of which he probably now is sending a copy, — and a *De Vsu Quadrantis*, August 2, 1537 ; in 1528 Gilbert Masius had printed there for him his anonymous *Tabulæ perpetuæ Longitudinum ac Latitudinum Planetarum, ad Meridianum Lovaniensem*. Cp. Mol., 347 ; HTL, II, 546-47, sq, III, 114 ; BibBelg., 342 ; Quetelet, 77 ; — also Nijkron., I, 2110, 2111, as well as II, 3362, viz., Will. Lapidanus' *Meditationes in Septem Psalmos Pœnitentiæ*, followed by a *Carmen Dialogicum Meruellij in Commendationem Calcographie Barsianæ*.

On February 7, 1532, Henry Vekenstyl, or Baers, mathematicus, writes to Dantiscus <sup>1)</sup> that he once had been received by him, and had been shown all his *clenodia* : he had thus been able to esteem and value all his virtues, as well as his erudition, and his paternal kindness. 'Euigilet ergo', he writes, 'spiritus Paternitatis vestre, ipsum a terra ad sursumque sydera suspicando, mentemque ad distantias, mensurasque a terra ad syderum concavitatem convexitatemque nouo anhelitu considerando, — quorum exempla vestre paternitati (licet indignus) represento : gratanter ergo rogo atque iterum rogo (non mej meritj causa, sed jntimi cordis vestreque paternitatis amore) accipere dignemini. Ex Louanio. R<sup>o</sup> in Christo Patri Regisque Polorum ambasiatori'.

<sup>1)</sup> DE, 190 : Fbm, 6, 128.

## DANTISCUS RECALLED

On February 12, 1532, King Sigismund of Poland sent word to the Emperor Charles <sup>1)</sup> that he was calling back his Orator Dantiscus, and appointing in his place at Monteserico the Imperial secretary Cornelius de Schepper. On the same day, he also writes from Cracow to Dantiscus <sup>2)</sup>, and announces him that, although on account of the dissensions in Hungary, he should have kept him some time yet in Charles V's Court, he now requests him to return, as he seems to get tired of the embassy ; so much the more since the Hungarian affairs appear to draw out. He announces that, before leaving, he will receive some munificence from the Emperor for the care bestowed on Monteserico, for which department he grants to Cornelius de Schepper, his successor, a remuneration of 200 aureos by the Queen ; he entreats Dantiscus to acquaint him with all unfinished affairs, and to recommend him to the Emperor.

A few days later, on February 17, 1532, King Sigismund wrote from Cracow to Cornelius de Schepper <sup>3)</sup> that, on account of his integrity and of his benevolence for Poland, he decides appealing to his services, so as to replace the Bishop of Culm, whom he has called back. He wrote to Cæsar about de Schepper, and he and his Queen want to be recommended to him. They will always study his welfare, and do what is becoming to both of them.

On February 18, 1532, de Schepper reached Brussels, and from there he wrote to Dantiscus, who was at ' Anntorff ' <sup>4)</sup>, Antwerp. He announces that he will have a six weeks' rest ; after which he will have to leave again for Switzerland. He discourages Dantiscus from starting the journey back just then, on account of bad and dangerous ways, and advises him to wait until April, when he will accompany him.

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<sup>1)</sup> DE, 191 : Ccm, 1366, 47-48.

<sup>2)</sup> DE, 192 : Ccm, 1366, 49-52.

<sup>3)</sup> DE, 193 : Ccm, 47, 81-82.

<sup>4)</sup> DE, 194 : Fbm, 3, 67 ; it reached Antwerp and Dantiscus on February 19.

Meanwhile Bishop Erard of Liège invites Dantiscus to stay with him, and offers him money, and de Schepper tells him the way by Diest to Curingen, Hasselt and Maastricht. He refers to things in Germany, announcing that Jerome Lasky 'gessit se tam male (in the legation to Turkey) vt sit regi Romanorum <sup>1)</sup> et omnibus qui eum ante suspiciebant, redditus exosus': it seems that he brought the Turks into Austria just to save his honour.

On February 19, 1532, a Johannes Jacobus Antonius wrote from Brussels to Dantiscus <sup>2)</sup>, whom he addresses as 'Dominus et Præceptor', and as, just then, boarding at Antwerp 'Int Root Leewken'; he calls himself his 'famulus & amicus addictissimus'. He refers to several of Dantiscus' enterprises, to a 'Morianus noster', or rather 'Rubianus noster', who has returned from Namur, and who likes to fight with Bacchus; he further mentions a 'Johannes de Auro, sine auro'. He assures that they are doing well: 'hic omnes valemus', and he wishes success to his master.

On February 21, 1532, Cornelius de Schepper once more writes from Brussels to Dantiscus at Antwerp <sup>3)</sup>; he hears that he is going to leave, in so far that Carondelet thought that he had gone already. His own affairs are dubious: he does not know what to do, and as Queen Mary is leaving for Antwerp, he wants to know of a decision before. He regrets that his wife is suffering; at any rate he wants to come, and say good-bye. The affairs of Monteserico and the treaties with Hungary will be taken care of, he promises, though nothing will be done until the Court will have settled. A meeting with the German Princes will probably be held 'Stockardiæ' <sup>4)</sup>. He refers to Hungary, Germany and the Protestants.

On February 21, 1532, John de Carondelet, Archbishop of Palermo, writes to Dantiscus <sup>5)</sup>, — who from Brabant wishes to journey to the Cardinal of Liège, — that, before leaving

<sup>1)</sup> Viz., Ferdinand of Austria.

<sup>2)</sup> DE, 195 : Fbm, 66, 144.

<sup>3)</sup> DE, 196 : Fbm, 3, 66 : the letter reached Dantiscus at Antwerp on February 22; it still has its beautiful seal.

<sup>4)</sup> Possibly at Stockach, Baden.

<sup>5)</sup> DE, 197 : Ccm, 243, 161.

Mechlin to return to Brussels, from where he writes, he took care of the Polish woman, according to what Dantiscus had requested him by letter ; he has recommended the matter to his friends, so as to solve the question in an obliging fashion, *amice*, as he already did by a letter which, unfortunately, he forgot in his *ædes*. He is pleased to tell Dantiscus that, now and always, he will do whatever may give him satisfaction.



On February 21, 1532, the day before St. Peter's feast, Janus Secundus writes to Dantiscus from Mechlin <sup>1)</sup>, stating that Fate seems to make him appear most neglectful and ungrateful, since an illness keeps his father at home, and even in bed, so that he is unable to continue the *negotium*, which he has started in Court, — most probably the one to which Archbishop de Carondelet refers in his letter of this same day <sup>2)</sup>. — The councillor who replaces father said to-day to me, he writes, and to my brother, who also 'interpellavit illum hac de re, curaturum se vt res hæ præ reliquis terminentur'. I offer my further services, and I regret that you may have stayed for that affair, or might have to leave 're infecta' ; it would be the more disagreeable to me on

<sup>1)</sup> DE, 229 : Fbm, 6, 140 : the letter has here as date Febr. 21, 'pridie Petri vincti', — which last word is crossed off : no doubt *Cathedra Sti. Petri Antiochiæ* was meant.

<sup>2)</sup> Cp. preceding letter.

account of your candour : which, however, makes me hope that you will not take it ill, if the matter is not settled before you leave. ‘Nos hoc vna cum M. Ægidio <sup>1)</sup>, qui oscitantes quoque nos sua diligentia ad officium nostrum propellere posset, agemus sedulo ne negotio defuisse aliquo modo videri possimus. Bene vale, foeliciterque migra, præsul optime, & vt poetice quoque Vergilii Dani more valedicam :

I, fausto pede, patrias ad vrbes,  
 Phoebeæ pie cultor artis ito ;  
 Nec picus vetet ire te molestus,  
 Nec cornix iter ominosa rumpat :  
 Faunus dux exit & celer deorum  
 Interpres liquidas volans per auras.  
 I, fausto pede, patrias ad vrbes.

Mechliniæ pridie Petri <sup>2)</sup>).

T. R. P. addict. Io. Secund. Hag.

R<sup>do</sup> J. Dantisco Culmensi, Poloniæ Regis Oratori, Antverpie.

On February 23, 1532, James Robbius Aldenardus wrote from Ghent to Dantiscus, who was still at Antwerp <sup>3)</sup> : Rediens pridie ex scribatu, Clarissime Præsul, vbi perpetuo molam circumago, offendi Michaellem tuum <sup>4)</sup>... offendi illum, mense accinctum cum co-epulonibus Carolo Vtenhovie, & Jodoco ejus agnominis : he gave good news from Dantiscus, and said he was starting after the meal. ‘Etiam si ventrem tam famelicum quasi vulturem habeam, hoc prandio priuabo, non continebo calamum quin’, at least, I should have sent this *jejunos* greeting to Dantiscus from me, Robbius, who ‘in diario magni... viri locum occupat’. He adds : ‘se familiam & supellectilem vsibus Dantisci exponere non refutabo : maiora tibi, he writes, reges & principes debent. Vale, humaniss. Vir. — Gandaui, ex ædibus Vtouiianis, xxij. february. Seruus tuus Jacobus Robbius Aldenardus.

<sup>1)</sup> Probably Ægidius is Giles de Busleyden, the son, who was one of John the Second’s great friends : *Busl.*, 27, sq.

<sup>2)</sup> The word *vincti* was written here and was smudged off.

<sup>3)</sup> DE, 198 : Ccm, 243, 215. — Of the same date there is a letter asking an alms for a poor servant girl, whom Dantiscus had met in the house of the bailiff where he had lodged, and whom he had helped ; for she was expecting a child : February 23, 1532 : DE, 199 : Fbm, 67, 252.

<sup>4)</sup> Dantiscus’ servant Vrients, Amicus : cp. DE, 158 & 317.



On February 24, 1532, Cardinal Erard de la Marck, Bishop of Liège, writes from Curingen to Dantiscus to invite him to come and rest with him, and thanks him for the letter he sent from Antwerp.

Erard de la MARCK of Arenberg, who came of a powerful family, was born in 1472; he was inscribed in 1476 in the Louvain *Matricula* <sup>1)</sup>, and was already a canon of Trier and Tours, when, on September 1485, he was admitted as a student in Cologne University (Keussen, 387, 78). Besides his many worldly titles, he got that of Liège canon in 1500, and he became a priest in 1506, since he had been elected Bishop of Liège on December 30, 1505, and further also Bishop of Chartres in 1507, as an ally of France. He later on was so closely connected with Maximilian, that it caused him to be promoted Cardinal and Archbishop of Valencia, on which occasion Vives dedicated to him his *Somnium Scipionis* (1520). Different from his brother Robert, who afterwards became again an ally of France, Erard remained faithful to the Emperor; he had been in the beginning a great favourer of changes, and an accuser of abuses in the Church, although his recent nominations made him more prudent in the twenties, and a decided opponent of heresy. If more circumspect as years advanced, he remained all his life jealously attentive to his personal advantages, in so far that where he could not prevent privileges to be granted to Louvain University, he obtained at least, that, during his lifetime, they should not be applied in his own large diocese (*MarckConf.*, 71-73). His pretensions even disheartened Erasmus: and the last letter of their correspondence is an insistent — but ineffective — appeal of the Humanist in favour of the poor *Trilingue*, Sept. 7, 1530: Allen, ix, 2382, 15-34. He died at Liège on February 16, 1538. Cp. Allen, iii, 738, *pr*; *MarckBrust.*; *MarckHalk.*; *Cran.*, 51, *b*; *MonHL*, 481-85, &c; *Busl.*, 406-7; *HTL*, i, 427, 430-31, 435, &c, ii, 64, 276-77, 283, &c, iii, 91-93, &c.

On February 27, 1532, returning from Antwerp, where he had seen Dantiscus, Cornelius de Schepper writes from Bruges <sup>3)</sup>, which he had reached by *auriga* in two days. He requests his great friend to apply again to the 'Dominus de Beveris' <sup>4)</sup> for his future. As Dantiscus' bags are made, there is no reason why he should not come and see 'his' people at Bruges: 'noster Athleta, victor debellatorque Gallorum' <sup>5)</sup>,

<sup>1)</sup> DE, 200: Fbm, 67, 120.

<sup>2)</sup> *LibIntII*, 119, v: Domicellus euerard' de marka filius primogenitus domini de har'berghe: March 21, 1476.

<sup>3)</sup> DE, 201; Fbm, 3, 69.

<sup>4)</sup> Viz., Adolph of Burgundy.

<sup>5)</sup> Viz., Mark Laurin: cp. pp 120-21.

id in votis habet'. His wife and sister send their greetings. The letters to the 'Dominus de Beveris' may be given to the nuntius who daily goes to Bergen, in Hainaut.

Adolph of BURGUNDY, Lord of Veere, Beveren, Flushing, Tournehem and neighbouring places, also of Aire, was born about 1490 from the admiral Philip of Burgundy, governor of Flandres and Artois, who died at Bruges on July 4, 1498, and from Anne of Borssele, Lady of Veere and neighbourhood, one of the first who protected the young Erasmus : it explains a lifelong friendship between the great Humanist and Adolph, whom he praises in several writings. He entered the service of his kinsman, the Admiral of Flanders Philip of Burgundy by 1515, and was even appointed his successor in the Fleet at his promotion to the Episcopal See of Utrecht in 1517. Adolph thus became one of the leading members in Charles V's Council ; he was sent on embassy to England in 1525. He had not the occasion of acting as admiral, but he was so much the more taken up in the thirties by the repairing of the dykes and of the waterworks, which the wild seas broke down on several occasions, to which reference is made by de Schepper in many of his letters. He had married Anne de Berghes on June 18, 1509, but only his second son Maximilian survived him, and became Stadhouder of Holland and marquis of Veere. Adolph himself died on December 7, 1540. Cp. Allen, I, 93, *pr*, III, xxiii ; Henne, I, 78, III, 88, 248, &c, IV, 346, VI, 151, VII, 306, X, 254 ; *Cran.*, 54, 14, 168, 21, &c ; FG, 313 ; Hoynck, III, II, 312 ; *HTL*, I, 185, 256, 260, 263-66, II, 379, 461-63, 493, 522, III, 416, 435, IV, 195, 383, 524.

A few days later, on March 11, 1532, Cornelius de Schepper once more writes to Dantiscus <sup>1)</sup> that he is sorry that his great friend left before he himself had called again on him at Antwerp. He mentions the movements of the Emperor <sup>2)</sup>. He has not heard yet at all from the Lord of Beveren, whom he merely asked for an interview ; if he has no reply, he will have to go back to the Emperor, which will be most unpleasant for him. 'De Gemma tuo <sup>3)</sup> aliud credidissem. Gaudeo quod adhuc manserit Campensis, sed et hunc audio hesurum Coloniae Agrippinae, vbi si tu quoque mansurus es, nescio.

<sup>1)</sup> DE, 202 : Fbm, 3, 70 : it reached Dantiscus at Ratisbon on April 6. Cp. *HTL*, II, 550.

<sup>2)</sup> He left Brussels on January 17, 1532, and reached Ratisbon on February 28, where he remained until September 2 : Gachard, 101-03.

<sup>3)</sup> Gemma had been requested to accompany Dantiscus to Frauenburg, but he prolonged his visit to Friesland until the ambassador had long gone off : cp. further, DE, 291.

Ego vero, nisi prius me Cæsar vocet, statui postridie dominicæ *Quasi modo geniti* recedere et celerrime ad vos proficisci'. He sends to Dantiscus his *frater uterinus*, whom he wants to be brought up for some office ; as he himself always rides full speed on horseback, he sends him to Dantiscus that he may journey with him slowly, and so learn, whilst on the way to Ratisbon : he requests Dantiscus to allow him to follow with the rest of his retinue. If Dantiscus should stay at Liège or Cologne, de Schepper will take him at his expense. His wife and her sister heartily greet Dantiscus ; his Catherine has a fever. Mark Laurin *valet* : he had hoped to see Dantiscus again at Bruges, and had prepared a *vas fictile egregii operis* for him as a present. He requests to greet for him the Cardinal of Liège and Cæsar.

On March 17, 1532, Alonso de Valdes writes from Ratisbon to King Sigismund I <sup>1)</sup>, that the nuntius of Poland came to him with a parcel for Dantiscus and another for de Schepper, both of whom are absent. Dantiscus is at Antwerp to see to the dispatching of some of his *sarcinulæ* by water. Valdes will take care that the messages be handed to them as soon as can be, and meanwhile he sends news about the *Comitia*, and about the question of Monteserico, which was almost decided when leaving Brussels.

## CAMPENSIS' PSALTERIUM

John Campensis writes to Dantiscus in Ratisbon from Nuremberg, — unfortunately there is a hole in the paper where the exact day of April 1532 was indicated <sup>2)</sup>. Campensis mentions that he wrote twice a few days before about his work with Eobanus Hessus <sup>3)</sup>, through his hospes who had to return to Nuremberg : so, he says, we write again : *quatuor codices* are ready, which will be sent to you, Dantiscus, if this messenger will carry them ; 'pro Psalterio, si Ecclesiastes non accesserit, ad Petreium pervenient floreni plus minus viginti quinque', it was said ; 'decem *iam* ab hospite accepit :

<sup>1)</sup> DE, 203 : Ccm, 274, 423-25.

<sup>2)</sup> DE, 205 : Fbm, 3, 71.

<sup>3)</sup> Cp. before, p 61.

quare reliqui erunt quindecim. Ego nihil adhuc poposci mihi dari : sed nunc quia abit, nec scio quando rediturus sit, accipiam ab eo florenos quatuor, si forte pecunia opus habuerim'. Eobanus and his family greet Dantiscus : for his sake, they have treated me, Campensis, so well that, when going, I want to show him my thanks for the stay of a whole month.

On April 16, 1532, Campensis writes from Nuremberg <sup>1)</sup> that he does not wonder that Eobanus is a poet : he praises his virtues, his erudition, his charms ; they talk continuously about Dantiscus. I find, he says, the printer 'imparatiorem quam sperabam', as only six codices are now ready : there remain about fourteen, which I will bring in the beginning of May. The 'hospes in Bove' swore that the day after you left, owing to *ebrietas*, he did not remember anything of what you told him about the paying ; still he promised to give, and he actually gave that day to Petreius <sup>2)</sup>, ten florins, that he might buy the paper. 'I myself', Campensis says, 'have not asked anything from him as yet ; still I will soon be compelled to apply to him, for I do not want to be a burden on Hessus < - gap in the paper — >. I will have the *Ecclesiastes* added to the Psalms, — or is it perhaps better to join it to the Proverbs ?' At any rate, he requests Dantiscus' copy, so as to reproduce it.

On April 20, 1532, John Campensis announces from Nuremberg <sup>3)</sup> that, a few days before, he sent word through the 'hospes in Bove' <sup>4)</sup>, who promised to see to the missive ; we write again, he says, so that you, Dantiscus, may know all, if anything should be lost. To-day will be printed the fourteenth quire : perhaps eight will remain ; so that all might be ready in the first days of May ; I repeat that the host forgot what you, Dantiscus, had said about the money ; he, however, gave ten florins ; we now should like to have

<sup>1)</sup> DE, 207 : Fbm, 3, 72.

<sup>2)</sup> John Petreius, printer in Nuremberg, edited Eobanus Hessus' *Vrbs Noriberga*, (spring) 1532.

<sup>3)</sup> DE, 208 : Fbm, 3, 73 ; Hipler, 493.

<sup>4)</sup> The inn was called Ταυρο-πεδιον : ox-hoof, or ox-field.

your (Dantiscus') copy of the *Ecclesiastes* to be added to the Psalms, or to another book. — I already owe a lot to you, Dantiscus, but I now owe still more on account of the introduction to Hessus : we live 'plane poetice', often 'potatice, sed tam modeste', so that if you, Dantiscus, could see us through a chink, or if you could hear us talk, you would want to join us ; for certain, I have actually started 'evomere melancholiam ante biennium conceptam !'

On April 23, 1532, John Campensis apologizes from Nuremberg <sup>1)</sup> for not having written : the more so as he got a letter the night before from Dantiscus : he actually waited for the printer, who was not ready, and myself, he adds, I was too well treated by Hessus, who, having recently described Nuremberg city <sup>2)</sup>, wanted to show me its beauty : I am sending some pages of his book to you in Ratisbon, through Bove, our host.

On the same day, April 23, Eobanus Hessus writes from Nuremberg <sup>3)</sup>, that, like Campensis, he has received a letter to blame him for his silence ; he has been feasted too much since Dantiscus was here ; he now sends this letter by the host, Tauropedinus ; the Psalms advance very well, although the printer, Petreius, is kept waiting for want of paper. He will greet Jerome Ebner and the others as requested, and he adds the kindest salutations of his wife.

One of Eobanus Hessus' friends at Nuremberg was Joachim Kammermeister, CAMERARIUS, born at Bamberg on April 12, 1500 ; he studied at Leipzig under Richard Croke, and then, in 1518 at Erfurt, where he became Erasmus' admirer. He later on was a student in Wittenberg, and became Melancthon's friend. Although he visited Erasmus in April 1524, he gave to Luther the final spur to write the *De Servo Arbitrio*. In October 1524, he left Wittenberg and, after staying two years at home, became Rector of the newly founded town-school of Nuremberg, where he was Hessus' friend, and met Dantiscus and Campensis. In 1535, he went to lecture in Tübingen, and in 1541, in Leipzig ; he died after a life of continuous study on April 17, 1574. Cp. Allen, v, 1501, *pr* ; FG, 316 ; Hessus, I, 223-25 ; CeltE, 614.

<sup>1)</sup> DE, 209 : Upm, 154, 80.

<sup>2)</sup> Viz., Helius Eobanus Hessus, *Noriberga Illustrata*, 1532 : Neff, xix, sq, 1-54.

<sup>3)</sup> DE, 210 : Upm, 154, 82.

On April 25, 1532, Joachim Camerarius wrote from Nuremberg to Dantiscus <sup>1)</sup> to thank him for the benefit received ; he had written, he says, on the impulse of Eobanus Hessus and of Campensis. He recommends the bearer of this letter, Daniel Stibarus, who is representing the 'Princeps' of Würzburg at the Ratisbon meeting.

One of Camerarius' fellow-students at Erfurt in 1520 was Daniel STIBARUS, Stieber, of Rabeneck, a Franconian Knight, born in 1503, at the family estate between Bayreuth and Bamberg. He visited Erasmus in 1528, and went with Philip Montanus from Basle to Paris, and studied law, which he had already been taught by Boniface Amerbach. From Paris he went to Louvain, where he attended the *Trilingue* lectures, and became an intimate friend of Goclenius, of Rescius and of Campensis. Having returned to Franconia, he again went to spend some months with Erasmus in 1529-30. He returned from Freiburg to Würzburg to fulfil the duties of a canonry, and to become councillor of the Bishop. There seem to be four letters to him from Melanchthon between 1536 and 1554. He died in 1555, recorded by the poems of Joachim Camerarius. Cp. Allen, iv, p 615 ; *ActaMori*, 61 ; *HTL*, II, 466, 520, III, 364, IV, 370, 518 ; *Auw.*, 306, 458 ; *Hessus*, I, 225, II, 42, 188 ; *DelPoGer.*, II, 31, sq, III, 1362, 1398 ; FG, 426 ; P. Henckel, *P. Lotichius* : Bremen, 1878 : 10, sq, 22 ; H. Holstein, *J. Sinapius* : Willemshaven, 1901 : 16 ; MeIEL, 13-17.

When on May 3, 1532, his *Enchiridion Psalmorum* was ready printed, Campensis wrote the following dedicatory letter <sup>2)</sup> :

Reverendissimo D. Ioanni Dantisco, Culmensi Episcopo, Regis serenissimi Poloniæ apud Cæsaream Maiestatem Oratori, &c. Ioan. Campensis S.

Habes tandem, modis omnibus Ornatissime Præsul, succinctam in Psalmos omnes paraphrasim, iuxta Hebraicam ueritatem, in qua cum uerbum uerbo respondere non potuerit, uersus tamen uersibus secundum Hebræorum exactissimam distinctionem exacte respondent : qui in uulgata editione plurimis in locis confusi, rem per se alioqui obscuram plus satis obscuriorem reddiderunt. Quis autem fuerit autor huius editionis, qua Ecclesia utitur, mea non multum refert : hoc

<sup>1)</sup> DE, 212 : Upm, 154, 81.

<sup>2)</sup> *Enchiridion Psalmorum*. Eorundem ex ueritate Hebraica uersionem, ac Ioannis Campensis e regione paraphrasim, sic ut uersus uersui respondeat, complectens... Seb. Gryphius excvdt. Lvgd. Anno 1536 : ff a 2, r-a 4, r.

unum tantum affirmo, indignam esse quæ diuo Hieronymo tribuatur : constat hunc per omnia Græcam editionem sequutum, uertisse quicquid uertit, cuius non minus obscurus est auctor, quam est nostræ huius. Certum enim est ex ipso Aristæa, qui septuaginta duos interpretes iussu Ptolemæi regis in Aegyptum perduxit, quique quid egerint, quomodo a rege excepti fuerint, quot horas uersioni singulis diebus impenderint, quodque non septuaginta cellulis, alijs ab alijs seclusi, fuerint, sed in una domo consultants inter se, consonum quiddam ediderint, quod Græco Demetrio describendum traderent, unico libello complexus est. Ex hoc ergo certum est, & ex Iosepho in præfatione Antiquitatum Iudæicarum, imo ex ipso diuo Hieronymo non uno tantum loco, ipsos septuaginta duos, tantum legem, hoc est, quinque libros Mosi in linguam Græcam transtulisse : absoluerunt enim id, ad quod uocati fuerant, eo, inquit Aristæas, dierum numero, quo erant ipsi, hoc est, duobus & septuaginta. Hæc paucis hic non sine causa commemorare libuit, propter receptam, sed perniciosam persuasionem in Græcis de septuaginta, & Latinis de uulgata editione, quod ea sit diui Hieronymi, atque ob id in neutra quicquam mutare ex ipsis Hebraicis fontibus liceat : cum extet iuxta Hebraicam ueritatem editio alia, quam certissimum est esse ipsius Hieronymi, quamuis Ecclesia, nescio quo modo, eam non receperit. Qui ergo nunc conatur melius quiddam afferre, quam usu receptum est, non diuersum a Hieronymo cum iniuria sanctissimi & doctissimi uiri facit, sed idem penitus, quod olim faciebat ipse. Verum hæc hactenus : ad me enim non multum pertinent, qui non interpretem ago, sed paraphrasten : quique auctoritatem in Ecclesia nullam ambio, nec cuiquam iniuriam facio : nisi forte obscuros locos, eosque non paucos, ob nimis scrupulosam in reddendo uerbum uerbo fidem explicuisse alijs uerbis apertioribus, sit iniuriam facere. Ego tantum natiuum quendam gustum horum psalmorum dare uolui, futurum sperans, ut olim Ecclesiæ consensu totum uetus testamentum doctis, & linguarum peritis in nostram linguam transferendum, committatur : quemadmodum audio hunc nostrum summum pontificem Clementem Septimum ante nuperrimam Romanæ urbis expugnationem tentasse : ut uidelicet ea prouincia sex Iudæis, & sex Christianis Hebraice peritis mandaretur. Sed

ad rem nostram reuertamur. Hanc paraphrasim, quam tantopere in publicum prodire cupis, maxima ex parte, ante aliquot annos Louanij cum linguam Hebraicam in Buslidiano Collegio profiterer, auditoribus meis non in hoc dictaueram, ut unquam euulgaretur, sed ut aliquos ad studium Hebraicarum literarum inuitarem, re ipsa ostendere conatus sum, non utilem solum, sed necessariam fore ad sacros autores intelligendos, eius linguæ nonnullam cognitionem; quod quam uideatur uerisimile alijs nescio: de me hoc dicere possum, quod nullis commentarijs in hunc Psalmorum librum, — puto enim me omnes propemodum legisse, qui aliquo modo in pretio fuerint, — tantum adiutus fuerim, quantum exigua, imo propemodum nulla sacrosanctæ huius linguæ notitia.

Habe itaque, mi Dantisce, non nostri tantum seculi Præsum decus, quod a me nullus impetrasset alius, quantumuis id multi conati sint, & boni & docti, nec mediocriter magni uiri: non quod illos iudicauerim hisce meis nugis indignos, sed quod mihi persuadere nunquam potuerim, aliquid inesse, quod doctis placere posset.

Quid ergo causæ sit, fortasse ipse tu rogabis, cur nunc tibi dem, quod nulli dare constitueram? Paucis respondebo: fama nominis tui, qua mihi annis non paucis cognitus fuisti, & ipsa præsentia, quæ famam adeo non minuit, ut auxerit etiam uehementer, cogunt me credere plus tibi, quam ipsi mihi: deprehendi enim non fallacibus argumentis reculam quandam in te; oportet enim minimum quiddam esse, quod uix ulla lingua pluribus dignata est syllabis, quam una: ex Hebræis est '*lēb*', Græcis, *νοῦς*, Latinis, *mens*: tu si uoles ex reliquis linguis addes: nouisti enim totius Europæ ferme omnes: hæc certe syllaba magis me rapuit in amorem tui, quam ullæ tuæ opes, aut in me innumera alioqui beneficia; & quid me non raperet? quum per eam, cum summa eruditione, & nequaquam Sarmatica ciuilitate coniunctam, ad pontificale culmen euectus sis, & merito apud potentissimos principes tam sit gratiosus meus hic Sarmata, ut si quidlibet, indutus celeberrima per loca uadat, omnis Dantiscum deceat color, & status, & res. Vale, Domine mi, & has qualescunque laboris mei primitias consule boni, meliora tibi promitto, & alia multa, & hæc fortassis ipsa, si Deus uitam concesserit.

Norimbergæ 3. Maij. 1532.



IO. DANTISCI E. C.  
in eandem Paraphrasim Epigramma <sup>1)</sup>

Pura mente Deum si uis cognoscere, lector,  
Et quis sit ueræ religionis amor :  
Et quibus ipse modis Deus est orandus, & illi  
Fidere quo possis pectore, labe reus :  
Hæc lege diuini, sacrata poemata uatis,  
Qui fidei nostræ fons & origo fuit !  
Ex cuius sacro mundi seruator IESVS  
Semine, mortali corpore, factus homo est.  
Cum falsis ueteres dijs interiere poetæ :  
Nominis illorum, fabula sola manet.  
Hic cum perpetuo uiget omni tempore Christo :  
Istud & in terris, dulce reliquit opus.  
Dulce quidem numeris, sed sensu dulcius omni  
Melle, quod ex Hybla sedula legit apis.  
Clarius hoc tandem, Campensis reddidit orbi,  
Interpres linguæ candidus Hebraicæ.  
Perlege, ne pigeat, mentem super astra leuabis :  
Plusquam pius fles quam modo, lector, eras !  
Non hic Castalios, ficto de fonte liquores,  
Sed quos dat Christi spiritus, ore bibes.  
Quæ quondam prisci, finxere poemata uates,  
Mentitis pollent, omnia plena iocis.  
Hic est firma fides, hic spes, hic fervor amoris :  
Quem quisque in summum debet habere Deum.

Τέλος.

The first edition of the Psalms in the ordinary text with, — side by side, — John van Campen's Paraphrase inspired by the original Hebrew, was edited at Nuremberg, soon after this dedicatory letter was written. A copy of that first edition, in the Hamburg Library, is described as *Psalmorum omnium juxta hebraicam veritatem paraphrastica interpretatio, autore Joanne Campensi, publico Lovanii Hebraicarum literarum professore* : Norimbergæ, 1532 <sup>2)</sup>. — The book was most welcome <sup>3)</sup>, even judging only by the reprints at Antwerp : Michael Hillen brought

<sup>1)</sup> *Enchiridion Psalmorum*, a 1, v ; *DantCar.*, 161-62.

<sup>2)</sup> *Corvinus*, 163.

<sup>3)</sup> *Cp. ContarE*, 104.

it out in 1533 under the same title, with the addition of the letter of *St. Athanasius ad Marcellum in librum Psalmorum* : NijKron., 1, 1202. So did also, in 1533, William Vorsterman : NijKron., 1, 1203. On July 13, 1534, already a Dutch translation was issued at Delft by Corn. Henricz. Lettersnyder : *Dē Psalter wt die Hebreusche waerheit nae den sinne ouergheset*, and, under a similar title, by Peter Jansz, at Leyden in 1534 and 1537 : NijKron., 1, 1206, 1207, 1208 ; — whereas Peter Claesz van Balen printed it at Leyden in 1537, and on January 8, 1538 : NijKron., 1, 1209, 1210 ; moreover, the translation of the *Ecclesiastes* by Solomon that follows on the *Psalms*, was edited by itself by Peter Jansz, at Leyden on January 13, 1535 : NijKron., 1, 1211.

Meanwhile an edition had been brought out by Sebastian Gryphius at Lyons in 1536 with, as title : *Enchiridion Psalmorum. Eorundem ex ueritate Hebraica uersionem ac Ioannis Campensis è regione paraphrasim, sic ut uersus uersui respondeat, complectens. Concionem præterea Salomonis Ecclesiastæ per eundem Campensem παραφραστικῶς traductam*<sup>1)</sup>. That text quotes a few Hebrew words : the copy described, a 16mo, contains as sheets, a-z, A-R, in eights. Along with the paraphrase, it was reproduced at Antwerp in 1535 and April 1537 by John Grapheus for John Steels, under the same title : *Enchiridion Psalmorum D. Hieronymo Interprete, cum Joannis Campensis è regione ad ueritatem Hebraicam paraphrasi* : NijKron., 11, 3255, 3256.

There are two Antwerp editions of the paraphrase by Campensis with, side by side, the Latin translation, under the same title, *Enchiridion Psalmorum* : the text of the Psalms is not that of the Vulgate, as in the preceding issues, but that arranged by Zwingli<sup>1)</sup> : both are printed by John Grapheus, one in 1535-36, the other, dated 1540, was for the account of John Steels : NijKron., 1, 1204, 1205.

Another edition, issued by Martin de Keyser at Antwerp, entitled *Psalmorum Omnium Iuxta Hebraicam Veritatem paraphrastica interpretatio*, does not provide the text of the Psalms, but only Campensis' paraphrase, along with the letter of St. Athanasius in *Librum Psalmorum*. It was dated — if there is no mistake — as early as 'Anno 1532 mense Octobri' : it was reproduced by John Steels in July 1533, and again by Joannes Grapheus in 1535 for John Steels, at Antwerp : NijKron., 11, 3257, 3258, 3259. Of that text an English translation was brought out at Antwerp by the widow of C(hristopher) E(ndoviensis van Ruremund) in 1535 : *A Paraphrasis vpon all the Psalmes of David* : NijKron., 11, 3261. — A French translation of the same text was issued on June 10, 1537 by the widow of Mart. de Keyser : *Paraphrase cest a dire Claire & succincte Interpretation... sur tous les Psalmes selon la verite Hebraique* : NijKron., 11, 3260. Besides, from the very first, the paraphrase by Campensis was often reprinted and translated in Ger-

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<sup>1)</sup> In Paris, in 1533, was issued : *Jo. Campensis Psalmorum et Ecclesiastis paraphrastica interpretatio cum latina versione ex Ebr. ab Ulrico Zwinglio composita* : Corvinus, 163.

many and elsewhere <sup>1)</sup>; even in later times, it has been praised as 'eine der besten und gesundesten Auffassungen des Sinnes' <sup>2)</sup>).

On May 4, 1532, John Campensis writes to Dantiscus <sup>3)</sup>, — who is now a guest 'in edibus Domini Decani' of Nuremberg, — that the Psalms are finishing, and that he and Hessus will come 'perendie', as they are waiting for the books to be bound; the twelve in black leather, which Dantiscus had asked for, will only be ready in four or five days. Hessus is sending a carmen on the issue, which allows Campensis to see how his friend conceives and writes a poem <sup>4)</sup>. Neither of them has lost himself on *alea* or *Venus*: 'sed in vino cum pecunia naufragium fecerunt, sic tamen ut vivi enataverimus'. They hope Dantiscus will forgive the loss of some money spent by them, and they sign 'Rex meus Narraconiæ, et ego, primus hic factus Cancellarius illius'.

Probably a few days after May 3, 1532, Valdes wrote at Ratisbon to Dantiscus <sup>5)</sup>: S. Quod Cæsarem sis allocutus, vehementer gaudeo: nunc dabimus operam ut negotia recte absolvantur, et ita fiet ut te non pœniteat quod meum consilium sis secutus. Ceterum misisti ad me rem omnium mihi gratissimam, Campensis Psalterium <sup>6)</sup>, pro quo maximam tibi gratiam habeo. Et cras mane, hora circiter decima vel ante, ad te veniam ut tu quæ mecum conferre optas, conferas; ego autem meum desiderium videndo duos viros eruditissimos expleam <sup>7)</sup>, et pictori nostro satisfaciam. Interim vale. Tuus Valdesius.

It is worth while pointing out that by this time, — about 1532, — though Louvain was the great intellectual centre in the Netherlands for Humanistic Studies, with the exceptionally clever leader Goclenius,

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<sup>1)</sup> E. g., by Corvinus: *Ein nye Psalter uth der latinischen Paraphrase Joannis Campensis verdüdeschet un in de Sassische Sprake gebracht*: Hannover 1549: Corvinus, 163, 204; CorvE, 219-24.

<sup>2)</sup> Cp. Corvinus, 163, quoting H. Hupfeld, *Die Psalmen*: Gotha, 1867: 1, 58, sq.

<sup>3)</sup> DE, 213: Upm, 154, 85.

<sup>4)</sup> DE, 214: May 4, 1532: Upm, 154, 83-84.

<sup>5)</sup> DE, 204: Fbm, 130, 14; Boehmer, 38.

<sup>6)</sup> Cp. p 139.

<sup>7)</sup> No doubt Campensis and Eobanus Hessus.

and his colleagues, van Campen and Rescius, of the *Trilingue*, and his most active group of students in various directions, from Mudæus to Vesalius, from Gemma Frisius to Dodoens, and the continually growing generation addicted to enthusiastic tasks : a similar centre was active at Bruges. There, in fact, the great Vives <sup>1)</sup> was devoting all his time and abilities to his *De Disciplinis tradendis*, and to his other immortal books. There were, moreover, several other scholars at work, no doubt aroused and encouraged by Dean Mark Laurin <sup>2)</sup>, and, most certainly, animated by the spirit of restless activity which Cornelius de Schepper spread about. He owed his formation to the *Trilingue* of which he remained the faithful protector throughout his most energetically employed life, especially since he was indebted to that grand Institute for the renown that had already made him an admired friend of all great men in Europe, — from the future martyr Thomas More, whose sacrifice he was one of the first to know here in the country <sup>3)</sup>, to the King and Queen of Poland, and their Chancellor Christopher Szydlowiecki <sup>4)</sup>, and to many more celebrities that were his personal friends, — not to mention Erasmus <sup>5)</sup>. And at Bruges, he actively encouraged the studies of men, like the erudite John de Fevyn <sup>6)</sup>, mentioned before, as well as that other canon of the same Chapter of St. Donatian's, the sound literary critic and restorer of old texts, Antony de Schoonhoven <sup>7)</sup>, and other members — even to the very secretary of that body, Stephen de Grave, le Comte, Bellocassius, who wrote Latin poetry about his erudite masters as well as about Saints <sup>8)</sup>.

On May 14, 1532, Cornelius de Schepper wrote from Bruges to Dantiscus <sup>9)</sup> that he had been expecting in vain to be sent to Germany : ‘laboravi, he says, ‘et apostemate et rebus

<sup>1)</sup> Cp. before, p 125.

<sup>2)</sup> Cp. before, pp 85-86.

<sup>3)</sup> Cp. further DE, 312 ; also *ActaMori*, 34.

<sup>4)</sup> *OlaE*, 281, sq, 269-71, &c ; cp. before, p 97 ; also DE, 239, &c.

<sup>5)</sup> Allen, vi, 1747, 120, viii, 2327, 2336, ix, 2567.

<sup>6)</sup> Cp. before p 87.

<sup>7)</sup> *HTL*, II, 179-81, and before, p 121.

<sup>8)</sup> He was born at Bailleul, near Cassel : he taught there, as well as at Ghent, where he wrote poetry, and even attacked de Spouter. He also rendered service to Peter van Onderberg, Abbot of the Downs, and made *orations* at the decease of Maximilian of Austria and his daughter Margaret, as well as *Carmina* in honour of Charles V ; also on Flemish Saints, and on his Bruges friends, like Laurin and Vives. Cp. *BibBelg.*, 817 ; *SweABelg.*, 680 ; Paquot, I, 383 ; *Cran.*, 39, b ; *HTL*, I, 210, sq, 516-17, II, 179-181, III, 433, 437, sq, 442, 451 ; *NijKron.*, I, 268, II, 2391.

<sup>9)</sup> DE, 215 : Upm, 154, 86 ; the message reached Dantiscus at Ratisbon on August 27.

familiaribus'. I have established a house which it is hard to leave so soon ; nor was anything ready in the Court, on account of the illness of His Majesty. Moreover in the preceding winter, I reduced the Duchy of Luxemburg 'ad voluntatem Cæsaris' at my own expenses, which have not been refunded. I properly do not know whether I have to ask to be repaid or not. The Baron of Montfaucon takes this letter, and I shall follow in six days. The Court is in Brussels ; Thomas Elyot <sup>1)</sup>, who wanted to greet Dantiscus, has been there, but went away without having transacted anything.

Sir Thomas ELYOT, born about 1499 in Suffolk, studied in Oxford, where, by 1518, he became Bachelor of Arts, and, a few years later, of Civil Law. By 1523 he was elected Privy Councillor after having acted some time as Justice of the Peace for Oxfordshire. He was knighted in 1530, and, when, in 1531, he issued *The Boke of the Governor*, a treatise on education, putting into use the ideas of classic culture found in the authors he had studied, he was appointed as an ambassador to Charles V, whose assent in Henry VIII's divorce he was to try and obtain. He evidently had talked with the Emperor about Thomas More, whom he greatly admired for his erudition, and he even may have learned from Charles V the dangerous turn things had taken, as Chapuys had announced to Catherine's nephew on February 21, 1531 : in so far that More had resigned. There thus may have been conversations between Charles V and Elyot, to which Roper afterwards referred, as if they had taken place after More's death, when probably the councillor had ceased his close relation with his old friend's family : *MoreChamb.*, 287-90 ; *MoreHarp.*, 353-55 ; *MoreRop.*, 103-04. In fact, at More's death, Elyot declared to Cromwell that he had only been his friend *usque ad aras* : Strype, I, 355, sq, 420-21, v, 553-55. Elyot afterwards, on Erasmus' example, wrote and issued many books, such as *The Castle of Health*, *The Image of Governance*, the first translation of Eucolpius, 1540, some Platonic Dialogues and a Latin-English Dictionary. He died at Carleton, Cambridgeshire, 1546. Cp. *DNB* ; Wood, I, 57-58 ; *CHEL*, III, 21, sq ; *Colet*, 172 ; Gough, 296 ; *HarvMarg.*, 183 ; Hallam, I, 345, 350, 454 ; *FrRenaiss.*, 70, 130, 137 ; Saintsbury, 239, sq ; PollCran., 14 ; *RenELit.*, 36, 54, &c.

On May 23, 1532, Cornelius de Schepper writes from Bruges <sup>2)</sup> that he finally is leaving for Germany ; he announces that the man, who was treasurer under Margaret, and Secretary of State to Mary of Hungary, has just died. 'I do

<sup>1)</sup> Sir Thomas Elyot : cp. next note.

<sup>2)</sup> DE, 216 : Fbm, 3, 74.

not think of the Treasury', de Schepper declares, 'but would like to become Secretary, and I am writing about it to de Nassau : I am sending that letter to you, Dantiscus, that you might insist on it, if you think it would suit ; otherwise, silence ! Still, it would be for me as a crown for my work, and I would be able to live at home, not *opulenter*, but at least *commode* if *mediocriter*. I will leave in two days. I have been busy with family affairs until now. — Those of Lübeck are trying to make the Dutch and the 'Gedanenses' come to their town, and not sail the Baltic, — which would be their death. News of the navigation, and greetings from the Dean his 'brother' <sup>1)</sup>, from his wife and her sister.

There is, of May 28, 1532, the copy of a letter written to John Dantiscus by Fabian Dameraw, the man who had been at his service in Spain <sup>2)</sup>, and who was appointed probably about that time as his successor as ambassador at the Emperor's Court <sup>3)</sup>. By May 28, 1532, he was at Cracow, and from there he writes to Dantiscus at Ratisbon. He sends what news he has about the '*nuncii* reduces ex Moscow' as well as about the Turks. He had already written to his former patron, whose reply, if there was one, must have gone astray. He announces that there is no news in Prussia except that Dantiscus' sister Anna, called 'Hannowscha', has married the Hamburg jurist John Rheyneck, whom he did not know <sup>4)</sup>. — Another piece of news is the death of the Referendarius Regis Poloniæ Zamoyski <sup>5)</sup>. — Moreover is mentioned that the Sicilian who is known for always trying to belittle the great Erasmus and his praise, is spreading the news in Poland 'eum esse in tota Gallia excommunicatum : quod an ita sit, melius apud vos sine dubio scitur', he tells Dantiscus, closing his letter.

A few days later, on June 12, 1532, Eobanus Hessus had returned to Nuremberg rather abruptly from a visit to

<sup>1)</sup> Viz. Mark Laurin : cp. pp 85, sq.

<sup>2)</sup> DE, 217 : Ccm, 47, 439 : cp. further, DE, 363.

<sup>3)</sup> Cp. further about him, DE, 310 and 363.

<sup>4)</sup> He was not in good health, and died before many years elapsed : cp. DE, 308, 317.

<sup>5)</sup> He may possibly be meant in DE, 224 : p 151.

Ratisbon, where, after the printing of his book, Campensis had rejoined Dantiscus. He writes from there to the latter <sup>1)</sup>, and announces that he had returned from the ‘Ratispunæ crapulas ac molestissimum iter’, but did not write at once. He now has finished the *Ecclesiastes* in verse, as he wants Campensis to know ; in order to attain that arrangement, he even had left Ratisbon almost in secret, and he would like to be told whether Dantiscus would stay another week, so that he might come and see him about that *Ecclesiastes*. He refers to the meeting of the Princes, at which he was not present. He should have written also to the ‘amabile et candidum pectus’ John van Campen, if he had not been invited to supper by the Provost of St. Laurence. He greets Dantiscus’ brothers Bernard and George, as well as *Campensem*, and offers the salutations of Joachim Camerarius.

Writing to Dantiscus, two days later, on June 20, Eobanus Hessus answers Campensis’ letter <sup>2)</sup>, but remarks that Dantiscus has not received his missive, describing his ‘poetical’ leave from Ratisbon : it was early when he went away : Dantiscus was still asleep, but Campensis had gone to the Donau ; so I could only greet Bernard, Dantiscus’ brother. If Dantiscus should leave, I shall not come to Court, he writes, and I wrote to Campensis about the *Ecclesiastes*. I am sending to both of you, Dantiscus and Campensis, the greetings of Regina, my wife, and of my *filiola*, Campensis’ *uxorcula*. I met de Schepper, offering plenty ‘veteris Bacchi pinguisque ferinæ’. I am sending salutations from Joachim Camerarius.

On that same day, June 20, 1532, Eobanus Hessus also writes to Campensis, entrusting his letter to de Schepper <sup>3)</sup>. He mentions that Campensis remarked friendly, though *facete*, that he had acted *nimum poetice* by not taking leave before going away ; he is sorry thus to lose the title of Poet, but he warns Campensis not to act ‘nimum theologice’ by getting up so early, and going off ‘incomitatus <sup>4)</sup>’ : extra

<sup>1)</sup> DE, 218 : Fbm 3, 77 ; Hipler, 498.

<sup>2)</sup> DE, 220 : Fbm, 3, 78 ; Hipler, 500.

<sup>3)</sup> DE, 221 : Ccm, 247, 129.

<sup>4)</sup> Campensis had gone for a walk to the Donau : cp. preced. letter.

jocum', he wishes to know how he does, and what he does, and how is Dantiscus' health, which recently was not so well. Hessus is ready to return to Court, whenever Dantiscus desires, but he expects a reply, and he should like to be remembered to 'Dominos Bernhardum et Georgium, fratres germanos D. Dantiscj', as well as to 'Petrum Pincernam juvenem, Andream Dluskus', and their host Sigismund the Dean <sup>1)</sup>. I will write, he says, about our *Ecclesiastes* in my next letter. Regina greets you, and so does 'uxorcula tua, mea filiola; salutant te et tuæ famulæ nostræ, tuæ nuper conjuges. Doctissimo ac humanissimo viro D. Joannj Campensi, theologo & amico ac fratri cariss. suo'.

On June 24, 1532, St. Baptist's day, Eobanus Hessus, writing from Nuremberg <sup>2)</sup>, recommends to Dantiscus Michael Membergius, præfectus Cancellariæ et Senatus urbis Northusii [Nordhusen, N. E. of Mühlhausen,] in Thuringia, who has a request to the Emperor; Hessus asks to help him and also to approach Alonso de Valdes on his behalf.

On July 1, Eobanus Hessus once more recommends to Dantiscus <sup>3)</sup> the bearer of a letter, Dr. Sebaldus Münster, of Nuremberg, who is a professor of jurisprudence in Wittenberg <sup>4)</sup>. He sends his greetings to Campensis and to the *familia*.

## FROM RATISBON TO CULM

Before leaving Ratisbon, Dantiscus sent several letters: one to the King, and another to the Queen, of Poland; also one to Tomicki and another to an official of the Queen: DE, 227, 226, 225, 224, of which full copies were made in a quire: for they even reproduce the signatures 'humillimus servus Jo<sup>es</sup> Dantiscus, manu propria'; yet they have not one single word crossed off or changed; fourteen pages are left blank after them in the quire. The first of those letters was addressed

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<sup>1)</sup> He seems to have been Dantiscus' host as Dean of Ratisbon.

<sup>2)</sup> DE, 222: Fbm, 3, 80; Hipler, 501.

<sup>3)</sup> DE, 223: Fbm, 3, 76; Hipler, 501.

<sup>4)</sup> He died in 1539. Cp. Enders, VII, 339, XII, 271; cp. further, DE, 260.



# LETTERS TO AND FROM ERASMUS

quoted or mentioned in this study  
and not referred to in Allen's Edition

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Letter from Dantiscus to Erasmus : end of October 1531 *pp* 104-10

»	»	Erasmus to Decius : beginning of 1533	179
»	»	Dantiscus to Erasmus : August 1533	180
»	»	Erasmus to Cochläus : November 24, 1535	259
»	»	Erasmus to Decius : May 26, 1536	270
»	»	Erasmus to Cochläus : May 25, 1536	280

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## CORRIGENDA

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On p 44	<i>l</i> 7 from below	instead of	1536	read	1526
86	<i>l</i> 14 from top	» »	and	»	an
96	note 2	» »	Cartusian	»	Carthusian
143	<i>l</i> 2	» »	<i>Marcellum</i>	»	<i>Marcellinum</i>
161	note 6	» »	D	»	DE
189	<i>l</i> 6 from top	» »	but which	»	but of which
189	<i>l</i> 7 from top	» »	to of which	»	to which
211	<i>l</i> 16 from top	» »	sympton	»	symptom
241	<i>l</i> 4 from top	» »	26	»	24
281	<i>l</i> 6 from below	» »	1535	»	1536
353	<i>l</i> 18 from top	» »	friends	»	friend
359	<i>l</i> 23	» »	Louvain.	»	Louvain,
363	<i>l</i> 24	» »	Emdem	»	Emden
416	<i>n</i> 3, <i>l</i> 2	» »	<i>xxxvii</i>	»	<i>xxxii</i>

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by John Dantiscus to King Sigismund on July 7, 1532 from Ratisbon <sup>1)</sup> : he requests to be dismissed from the embassy, and offers excuses for having kept the messenger longer than necessary for the letters, as he wanted to send news about the Emperor's mind and the *induciae* with Hungary, which are detailed in the accompanying missive.

As to the Turks, there will be no question of peace ; with great expense an expedition even is being prepared, for which deSchepper is levying an army about the 'Augustanos'. Within the letter is a rough draft, or a sketch, of a letter from Charles V to the King of Poland, thanking him for trying to make peace in Hungary ; yet it should be a real peace.

There is further a message of the same day, July 7, 1532, from Ratisbon to the Queen of Poland <sup>2)</sup>, by which Dantiscus declares that he has done what he could about Monteserico, thanks to the help of Alonso de Valdes. Yet it was difficult to do anything : even the Duke of Nassau left Naples without glory, and was taken a prisoner at Ferrara, so that the Emperor Charles had to write to have him liberated <sup>3)</sup>. News had come on the day before from Italy that the Cardinal Colonna had died <sup>4)</sup>. 'Serenissimam Majestatem Vestram in lectione Psalmorum scio esse sedulam, et cum in illis sint plurima adeo obscura vt vix a quopiam fuerint intellecta, mitto Sereniss. Majestati Vestrae in illos *paraphrasim* succinctam et claram quam...

On the selfsame July 7, 1532, Dantiscus announced to the Reverendiss. Peter Tomicki <sup>5)</sup>, Polish Chancellor : I am writing to the King and the Queen, and sending the Emperor's letter ; I also forward this short missive, as I hope to be soon with

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<sup>1)</sup> DE, 227 : Ccm, 247, 132.

<sup>2)</sup> DE, 226 : Ccm, 247, 134.

<sup>3)</sup> Cp. pp 13-14.

<sup>4)</sup> On June 29, 1532, Fabrizio Peregrino wrote from Rome to Federigo Gonzaga, Duke of Mantua, that the Cardinal Pompeo Colonna died in Naples by drinking cold water and 'altri disordini', and that thus Clement VII and the Medici family lost a 'grande et grosse nemico' ; Cardinal Colonna was even considered as the originator of the 'Sacco' : Pastor, iv, ii, 762 ; Marcello Alberini, *Diario*, 1521-36 (Roma, 1895) : 372.

<sup>5)</sup> DE, 225 : Ccm, 247, 135.

you. ' Misi superiori die cum alijs literis D<sup>nj</sup> vestræ Re<sup>mæ</sup> *paraphrasim in Psalterium* nunquam prius satis intellectum, ad hebraicam æditam veritatem, a viro *eximio* qui ex Louanio, vbi fere 10 annis hebraicam linguam professus est, mecum proficiscitur ; quæ si D<sup>nj</sup> Vestræ R<sup>mæ</sup> placuit, rogo his adnexum exemplar R<sup>mo</sup> D<sup>no</sup> Plocensi [Joanni Choienski], cui omnia fausta precor, transmittat.

The fourth letter which Dantiscus despatched from Ratisbon on July 7, 1532 <sup>1)</sup>, was addressed to a royal official — connected in some way or other with Monteserico and Her Majesty. — ' Illustrissime Dne Observandissime ', he wrote, I have sent word several times, but not lately, on account of the sadness caused to you by the death ' Magnifici fratris tui et filij ' <sup>2)</sup>. Still I cannot omit to write, — not about the news which you will hear from my letter to the Queen, — but to allay somewhat your sadness ; I therefore am sending ' Illustrissimæ Dominationj Vestræ opusculum plane divinum, *paraphrases in Psalterium*, multis prius involucris obductum, nunc adeo clarum et apertum, vt nullis alijs egeat commentarijs ; jn eo si Ill<sup>ma</sup> D. Vestra sæpe legere non grauabitur, majorem concepti mœroris partem euanescere, et in Deum solum fiduciam sibi crescere, atque amorem in illum indies augeri sentiet. Quod quia non ingratum futurum Ill<sup>mæ</sup> D. Væ, omnino persuasi libellum hunc D<sup>nj</sup> Vestræ Ill<sup>mæ</sup> mittendum censui, quem, quæso, bonj consulat, et me quo cæpit favore prosequatur '. I hope soon to see you.

In the xv<sup>th</sup> century there circulated oral predictions attributed to St. Birgitta about six kings of Sweden : the last was considered to be Christian II. He was sketched as causing unrest all over the world, as spilling innocent blood, as treading underfoot honesty and right, as allowing fools to reign, and as being finally chased from his own realm <sup>3)</sup>. If it sounds cruel to apply the various details of this prediction

<sup>1)</sup> DE, 224 : Ccm, 247, 136.

<sup>2)</sup> Possibly the ' Referendarius Regis Poloniæ Zamoyski : cp. DE, 217 ; — some suppose, without foundation, that he was the Ludovicus Aliphius, who is mentioned up to 1535 in connection with the administration of the Queen's patrimony of Monteserico : cp. e. g., *CatCzart.*, II, 253 (1595, l 3), I, 40 (243, l 9).

<sup>3)</sup> Cp. *Heliä*, 12 : which author, a Carmelite friar, is said to have believed that they referred to Christian II.

to the unfortunate King, the last one, at least, seems to have been realized in him.

About this time of the correspondence, — the summer of 1532, — misfortune once more befell on Christian II. He had gathered an army and a small fleet in Holland, and had been provided with money by his brother-in-law, for he had returned to the unity of the Church. He went to Norway, where his arrival was welcomed, thanks to the sane and sound preparation of several friends, such as the Archbishop of Trondhjem Olaf Engelbrektsson <sup>1)</sup>, and thus the campaign seemed most prosperous, in spite even of the Danish fleet under the command of Bishop Knud Gyldenstjerne, to which had been even joined some ships sent by Lübeck, which town, at the time, dreaded the influence of the Netherlands. They could not prevent the whole country to be soon mastered by Christian II's forces, but they kept a few fortresses, like that of Agershuus, of which the long-drawn siege wearied the assailants, so that most foreign elements of King Christian's army disbanded. It caused him to accept the proposal to go and interview his uncle, and the commander Gyldenstjerne promised a sure and inviolate safe-conduct in the name of his own episcopal honour, basing it on creed, laws and loyalty, a safe-conduct to be respected on the penalty of divine vengeance and of eternal damnation. Before preparatory negotiations with Christian II about that interview were finished in Norway, Gyldenstjerne was informed by Frederic I that he was not to make any definite arrangement with the dethroned King, who was expected to surrender himself to discretion <sup>2)</sup>. The Bishop did not mention that important change in the situation, in so far that Christian II, relying on the safe-conduct, embarked on the fleet that carried him to Copenhagen on July 25, 1532. Even Frederic found some objections to realize the plan, as it had been arranged by Gyldenstjerne, who shrewdly objected some infringement by Christian II on the conditions, and pronounced the safe-conduct as violated ; it led, after some days, to the incarcerating of the poor monarch in a dungeon on the island of Sonder- or Sønderborg <sup>3)</sup>. To some members of his *Rigsraad*, Frederic I declared that he never would grant liberty to the prisoner, and the same was afterwards promised by his successor Christian III. The only change that seems to have been allowed after some years, was the removal to Kallundborg, chiefly at the request of his daughter Christina, on February 17, 1549. About that time King Christian III invited his prisoner to his table and actually removed him to the pleasantly situated castle of Kallundborg, in Zealand, since Dorothea's husband, the Palatine, had promised to abandon all attempts to maintain his wife's

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<sup>1)</sup> Cp. further, p 153.

<sup>2)</sup> Cp. *AltRel.*, 202-204 ; Cartwright, 64, *sq.*

<sup>3)</sup> It is said that when the fallen monarch was pushed into his lonely cell, Gyldenstjerne, who had been one of the lovers of his mistress Dyveke, plucked him by the beard, and tore the jewel of the Golden Fleece from his neck : Cartwright, 65.

claims <sup>1)</sup>. Christian died there on January 25, 1559 at the age of seventy-seven <sup>2)</sup>. The death of Frederic I, on April 10, 1533, was only regretted by the Protestant nobility, who had been largely favoured at the Odense Diet of 1527; they offered the crown to the son of the deceased, the Duke of Holstein, as Christian III. Still the people, regretting the most popular prisoner of Sönderborg, wished to have Christian II restored into his rights, and acknowledged as king. They were helped by his relative, Count Christopher of Oldenburg, who, by June 1534, became master of Zealand. He restored protestantism, and counted as allies the people of Lübeck under Georg Wullenwever and Mark Meier. He prepared the return of Christian II to power, and deposed Gyldenstjerne for having cheated him into imprisonment.

The Emperor abstained from helping Oldenburg, since he was so intimately connected with Lübeck, whose victory would have been ruinous for the commerce of the Netherlands in the Baltic Sea. The action of Oldenburg meanwhile increased to such an extent that it gave the name to the three years following Frederic's decease as *Grevefeiden*, the Count's challenge, and it seemed as if Christian II was going to be re-installed on his throne after all.

Unfortunately the nobility and some of the bishops turned in their despair to the son of the Count of Holstein Frederic I, Christian III, whom they had proclaimed their king, but who just then was in war with Lübeck. A peace was made, so that he could dispose as he liked of his troops under his excellent army-leader John Ranzau <sup>3)</sup>. The latter gained a victory over the peasants, whom he treated with disgusting cruelty. After having submitted Jutland, he gained, amongst others, the victory of Æxnebjerg, 1535, which, amongst other results, rendered impossible all further opposition of the Norwegian Archbishop Olaf Engelbrektssön, preventing his attempt at an insurrection in the *Nordenfjelds* and making him even leave the country <sup>4)</sup>. A final victory

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<sup>1)</sup> Cartwright, 327 : the Duchess Christina never gave up her hope of being reinstated in her father's property : Cartwright, 488. About that event, Otto Harnack, in his paper '*Pasquinos Schreiben an Landgraf Philip*,' (Rome, 12 October 1542), refers to the alliance of King Christian III of Denmark with Francis I, and mentions that the Emperor had not recognized him as King, since Christian II had not renounced the Crown yet, adding that he only did so in 1546 : still no authority is quoted : *PhilHessen*, 559.

<sup>2)</sup> Cartwright, 449.

<sup>3)</sup> Cp. *Heliö*, 22, sq.

<sup>4)</sup> Cp. *CMH*, II, 618-20. Olaf ENGELBREKTSSÖN, Archbishop of Trondhjem, visited Christian II in Lier and Mechlin by 1523 on his way to Rome to be consecrated. In 1535, losing all hope of Christian's return to power, he collected all treasures he could lay his hands on, together with the archives of the Kingdom, and set sail for the Netherlands on April 1, 1537. He died at Lier, Brabant, on March 7, 1538. Cp. *DanHist.*, I, 306, 313.

having been gained in 1535 on the Lübeck navy by Peter Skram, *Danmarks Vovehals*, Zealand was attacked and before long, only Copenhagen and Malmö stood by Oldenburg; they remained invested for several months: Malmö held out until April 2, 1536. It was nearly the end, and the change in the Emperor's policy, caused by the marriage of Dorothea of Denmark to Frederic, Count Palatine, solemnized on September 9, 1535, could not bring any change, as it was too late. Frederic, to be true, gathered some troops and a navy to go and offer help to Copenhagen, which plan Christian III rendered impossible by an incursion into East Friesland: Copenhagen had finally to give up, for living became almost impossible: it surrendered on July 29, 1536. Thus fell the last bulwark of the old Danish popular liberties <sup>1)</sup>.

William of ENCKENVOIRT, Enckevoort, was born at Mierlo, near Hertogenbosch, in 1464, and soon entered the Papal Court, 1489, which helped him to several preferments and benefices, especially in the diocese of Liège. Under Leo X, he was protonotary, and, since years, he had been Adrian of Utrecht's procurator in Rome. At the latter's promotion, he was appointed as Datary, and, before his decease, the Pope secured to him his succession to the see of Tortosa and the dignity of Cardinal. He was considered as one of the most upright men of the time in Rome; yet he remained miles behind his great countryman Adrian in perspicacity and especially in abnegation. He was as eager in his pursuit of all kinds of prebends and preferments as his famous colleague Inghenwinkel, with the only exception that he tried to make up partly for his unsatiableness by his gifts to *Sa. Maria dell' Anima*, when it was rebuilt, as well as to the memory of his great friend Adrian VI, whose college in Louvain he helped to install, and provided with some welcome means. Still, the latter's tomb was hardly closed when he resumed his old hostility towards the Faculty of Arts and her Privilege of Nominations, evidently as far as it thwarted the unsatiable longings of his patron Erard de la Marck. Most fortunately, Erasmus saved that highly necessary help to the life and activity of Louvain University, thanks to his appeal to Enckenvoirt's successor, the Datary John Matthew Giberti. All the same, Enckenvoirt was appointed Archbishop of Utrecht on October 1, 1529; he attended on Clement VII at the anointing of Charles V as Emperor in Bologna; he died on July 18, 1534. Cp. *Cran.*, 141, *k-o*; *Busl.*, 281-82; Schulte, *passim*; *HTL*, II, 63-66, 124, 300, 305 309, *sq.*, 373, *sq.*, III, 394, 399; *Anima*, 214-16, 264-72, &c; Brom, I, *passim*, II, 92, *sq.*, 146; *Aléandre*, 285-86.

On July 15, 1532, the Cardinal of Tortosa, William van Enckenvoirt, wrote from Rome to Dantiscus <sup>2)</sup> to recommend

<sup>1)</sup> Cp. *DanHist.*, I, 305-14; Cartwright, *passim*; *Heliä*, 5, *sq.*, 14-17, 22-29, &c; Schmitz, *xi-xvi*, &c; *CMH*, II, 229-32, 444, 602-621.

<sup>2)</sup> DE, 228: Fbm 67, 139.

Adrian Prusse, who then was in the Papal Court, as successor to Laurent Zager, who had just died, and thus produced a vacancy in the Chapter of Ermland.

About the same time one Guido Petri, of Anderlecht, near Brussels, writes on August 1, 1532 <sup>1)</sup> to Dantiscus, stating that he is poorly, and suffering as 'idropicus' at Venice, the town 'condita in undis adriaticis'; he asks for help, and also for protection: having been long in the prisons of Placentia, he wishes Dantiscus and de Schepper to obtain for him forgiveness for his crime, and an end to his exile, as well as help.

Alonso de Valdes sends news from Ratisbon to Dantiscus, who has left: his letter is dated August 8, 1532 <sup>2)</sup>: he complains that he has been a long time without any news, and yet his friend's letters are certain to be most welcome to him. Cæsar has recovered, and has taken good care of Dantiscus' and of Poland's interest, even though not being asked by his former *socius* and countryman here in the Court <sup>3)</sup>. The Princes are all making ready against the Turk; so is the Prince of Hessen; so is the Dux *Medina Cœli*; so is Andrea Doria preparing a fleet. The Emperor has promised a General Synod within six months: if the Pope is opposed, he will convene the Princes. He himself marches against Vienna, and many chiefs and noblemen come with help from Spain and Italy. As the Cardinal Colonna died, Charles has appointed the Marquis of Villefranche to replace him as Vice-King in Naples. — 'Chirothecas' <sup>4)</sup>, he writes, 'ex his quas Imperatrix nostra ferre solet, cum his ad te mitto, ut si forte in aula puellam (ut soles) ambire cœpisti, Hispanico more eam allicias. Granvella voluit vt ad te scriberem': he wishes to buy one of your horses, an 'equum gradarium qui blande incedat', and he wants to know the price.

<sup>1)</sup> DE, 231: Fbm, 3, 79, and Ccm, 55, 51.

<sup>2)</sup> DE, 232: Upm, 154, 87: another copy is wrongly dated 1537 in Ccm, 55, 193; — it reached Dantiscus in Cracow on September 2.

<sup>3)</sup> Probably the Polish Orator Nicolas Niptzytch is meant: cp. DE, 241.

<sup>4)</sup> Chirotecas: in Spain Dantiscus used to procure them from friends to distribute them amongst the Ladies at the Court; cp. *HTL*, III, 20, n 1, and DE, 235, p 158.



A few days later, on August 22, 1532, Sigismund ab Herberstein, Austrian ambassador, writes <sup>1)</sup> that he has interviewed and thanked Dantiscus' host Rodolph de Hohnfelde, and found his dog, a *canis anglicus*, which he now sends. He adds some news of the Turk, and of the preparation of the war, as well as greetings from Petrus de la Cueva, magister Curiae Cæsaris.

Dantiscus' leave made his friends and acquaintances aware of the void he thus caused at Ratisbon, — not only the councillor Archbishop V. Pimpinelli, who regretted, on August 31, not to have entrusted him with a message to the Queen of Poland <sup>2)</sup>, but even Valdes, who had heard from his friend on September 3, through the Count of Tarnow <sup>3)</sup>. Indeed, on the 3<sup>rd</sup> of September, 1532, he wrote to Dantiscus <sup>4)</sup> : S. P. Nisi manum et anulum tuum agnovissem in his literis, quas familiaribus illustrissimi D. Comitis in Tarnow ad me dedisti, nomen profecto quod a te omissum est, cognoscere non poteram, et quamquam sero illæ ad me perlatæ sunt, fuerunt tamen, ut tuæ omnes solent, jucundissimæ. Et officium quod a me in his postulabas, cum his, qui equos ad Cæsarem attulerunt, libentissime simul ac diligentissime præstiti, quod ipsi testari poterunt ; effeci præterea ne non donati abirent. Quamquam in his angustiis res nostræ versantur ut pecuniam profundere non valeamus, existimo tamen eos contentos abire, intellexisseque te, licet absentem, plurimum apud nos posse ; id quod in rebus omnibus dabo operam ut omnes intelligant. — Ceterum non possum non tecum expostulare quod ad oratorem Gallum <sup>5)</sup> scribens, mei adeo fueris oblitus ut nec te valere, quod me vehementer optare satis persuasum habes, scribere volueris. Ego vero ad te bis scripsi : primum per eum nobilem quem pro negotio Prussiæ hic dimisisti, et deinde per Eingher <sup>6)</sup> nostrum, qui litteras meas tabellario

<sup>1)</sup> DE, 233 : Upm, 154, 89 : it reached Dantiscus on September 2.

<sup>2)</sup> DE, 234 : Upm, 154, 91 : he was Abp of Rossano.

<sup>3)</sup> The Count of Tarnow was Captain of Cracow : MEW, I, 404-8.

<sup>4)</sup> DE, 235 : Upm, 154, 93 ; Boehmer, 39 ; the letter reached Dantiscus on Sept. 20.

<sup>5)</sup> Prob. Dantiscus' friend Claud Dodeus, mentioned further, DE, 250.

<sup>6)</sup> Probably an Ehinger connected with international finances.

recta istuc proficiscenti se dedisse asseveravit. Quæ an ad te pervenerint litteræ, nescio : pervenisse autem vehementer eupio.

Quæ hic agamus accipe. Cæsar ubi vidit omnem prope Germanicum peditatum et equitatum præcessisse, legionem-que Hispanicam Passavium secundo flumine applicuisse, atque hinc ex Italia, inde ex Gallia Belgica, omnes copias incredibili celeritate adventare, omniaque tormenta bellica parata esse, ulterius hic permorari noluit, sed omisso balneo, ac pristinæ valetudini restitutus, heri ad exercitum profectus est. Quem nos, missis aliquot tum in Hispaniam, tum in Italiam, tabellariis, cras sequemur. Turcæ, veluti ex Vienna ad nos scriptum est, nondum oppidulum illud, quod vix per biduum tantam obsidionem sustinere posse credebamus, expugnare potuerunt <sup>1)</sup>. Eorum classis, quæ adverso Danubio Strigonium prætergressa erat, Posonium, quam Petrus Sapata Hispanus tuendam suscepit, aggredi ausa non est. Ita ut nec terra, nec aqua tanti apparatus dignum aliquid hactenus egerint. Milites ad præsidium Viennæ dispositi, constanter affirmant se venientibus Turcis urbis portas oclusuros. Quid hic hostes facturi sint nescio, licet communis opinio apud nos sit Turcam, ubi copias nostras congregatas intelliget, vastatis agris abiturum. Ego autem vix mihi persuadere possum tantum principem tantum itineris confecisse, tantum laboris hausisse, et pecuniarum effudisse, ut rebus intentatis, nedum infectis pigeret. Sed dicunt aliqui, non putabat Germaniam unitis viribus in eum ruiturum, nec Regem Gallum, a quo, ut fertur sollicitatus fuerat, domi quieturum. Atqui turpe est imperatori, dicere : non putaram. Præterea, ubi video hos duos potentissimos orbis monarchas, perpetua hactenus felicitate usos, ad conserendas manus properare, duos instructissimos ac florentissimos exercitus, quorum similes nondum usquam locorum congregatos esse existimo, parvo adeo locorum intervallo disjunctos et avide alter in alterius exitium ruere, non possum mihi persuadere quin magnam aliquam rerum metamorphosim visuri simus. Spero tamen quod hiems nos ab hoc dubio quam primum liberabit. Copiæ nostræ erunt longe quam credebamus majores, adeo magna hominum

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<sup>1)</sup> The town of Güns, defended by Jurischitz : cp. further, p 159.

turba huc confluit; pecuniam nobis Hispania suppeditabit, quæ vix credas quanta animi promptitudine in hac expeditione vires et facultates impendat, ut, nisi Hispanus essem; servatam Germaniam Hispanis deberi auderem asseverare. Nemo erat qui Strigoniam propugnandam susciperet: Lescanus Cantaber inventus est eam qui provinciam lubens assumpsit. Posonium deserere decreverant hi quibus ejus custodia commissa erat, ubi classem Turcicam Strigonium prætergressam audierunt: Petrus Sapata Carpetanus, qui conscribendi Ungarici equitatus gratia eo venerat, ultro id muneris subivit. Et tamen Turcæ nec Lescanium, nec Sapatam tentare ausi sunt. Viden quo me perduxerit stultitia, ut factus sim meæ gentis encomiastes; tu autem ea libertati, qua tecum semper usus sum, tribues.

Misi ad te superioribus diebus chirotecas <sup>1)</sup> *quasdam* quibus alicujus puellæ gratiam captares <sup>2)</sup>: nunc indusii ornamentum manu cujusdam formosissimæ nymphæ in Hispania elaboratum ad te mitto ut, si forte illis parum profeceris, hoc eam aggrediaris. Vale. Ratisponæ, III Septembris.

Si Rex Joannes <sup>3)</sup>, ubi videbit copias Cæsaris congregatas in hostem prodire, vellet suas vires nostris adjungere, ac hostes a tergo adoriri, vel saltem pontes infringere, ut illi ad conserendas manus cogerentur, maximum nomen apud Christianos sibi comparare posset, ac longe melius rem suam ageret. Quodsi quemadmodum Itali, ita et ipse Cæsaris clementiam et liberalitatem expertus esset, sat scio eum hanc occasionem non prætermisurum. Tu vide an ea in re aliquid præstare possis.

Granvella jussit ut de gradario <sup>4)</sup> iterum ad te scriberem quod ego invitus facio, sed quia me facturum recepi, fidem meam liberare volui. Pimpinellus <sup>5)</sup> quoque rogavit ut negotium de quo ad te scribit tibi commendarem: commendo. Et iterum vale. Tuus quicquid est Valdesius.

R<sup>mo</sup> D<sup>no</sup> D<sup>no</sup> Joanni Dantisco Episcopo Culmensi, Ser<sup>mt</sup> Regis Poloniæ Con<sup>rto</sup> &c.

<sup>1)</sup> Cp. DE, 232, p 155.

<sup>2)</sup> Cp. before, p 155.

<sup>3)</sup> Viz., Zapolya.

<sup>4)</sup> Cp. before, p 155.

<sup>5)</sup> Cp. DE, 234 : p 156.

A few days later, on September 11, Valdes wrote from Passau <sup>1)</sup> : ‘ S. P. Cum his qui ex parte illustrissimi domini Comitis de Tarnow equos ad Cæsarem attulerunt, diffusius ad te scripsi, eosque donatos dimisi : primus eorum habuit ducenta scuta auri, alter centum, et uterque nescio quot ulnas panni sericii ; famuli sexaginta scuta ; hæc dixi non ut nostram tibi liberalitatem aperiam, sed ut scias me quod imperasti præstitisse.

Cæsar discessit ex Ratispona die primo huius mensis, et heri huc venit, eo animo ut extemplo in campum prodiret ; omnes enim copię ante decem dies erunt congregatę. Hic autem rumor ad nos perlatus est Turcas, omisso castro <sup>2)</sup>), quod expugnare non potuerunt, incensisque nonnullis villis retrocedere ; id tamen certumne sit aut incertum ignoramus. Et cum maxime rei veritatem habere expediat, voluit Cæsar ea in re tua opera uti, quemadmodum ex ipsius litteris intelliges. Ego vero ne tuis in suspicionem venires, aut quid mali tibi evenire propterea posset, curavi, ut ne tabellarius quidem ipse litteras se Cæsaris habere intelligeret, sed meas tantum. Quodsi tibi visum fuerit serenissimo Regi rem aperire, existimo suam Serenitatem tanquam Christianum Principem adeo non ægre laturum, ut pro reipublicę salute ea ad nos scribas, ut potius mihi persuadeam, id ipsi gratissimum futurum. Si autem consultius existimabis ea ad nos aliter perscribere, omnia tuo arbitrio præstare poteris, cum nec nostrorum quisquam hoc sciat, nec tabellarius ipse quidnam afferat intelligat. Modo ita Cæsaris erga te benevolentię respondeas, ut non injuria de te magna sibi promississe agnoscat : quod ut facias, te etiam atque etiam rogo. Quodsi ad ipsum Cæsarem ea scribere nolueris, ad me ea dirigere poteris, ut minori suspitione perferatur, et a nostris legatur. Si cum Christianis Principibus nobis contentio esset, nullo pacto hoc abs te peterem, sed cum hæc pro reipublicę salute et adversus religionis hostes postulemus, sat scio ea te quam libentissime facturum.

De classe Turcica scribunt ad nos ex regno Neapolitano, ad Epirum usque pervenisse, et cum ibi intelligeret classem

<sup>1)</sup> DE, 236, Upm, 154, 95 ; Boehmer, 40 ; it reached Dantiscus in Cracow on September 24, 1532.

<sup>2)</sup> Güns : cp. p 157.

nostram in Sicilia esse, atque inde statim solvere velle, extemplo retrocessisse, ut sperent jam Constantinopolim usque pervenisse. Quodsi idem faciunt Turcæ, poterimus nos iter nostrum in Italiam, et inde in Hispaniam proseguī. In qua utinam te videre valeamus. D. Granvella te præsertim valere jubet. Orator ille Levinianus maximum sui specimen dedit in ea responsione quam Cæsari exhibuit, cum ex Ratispona proficiscerentur, ad ea quæ a Rege suo Cæsar adversus Turcas postulaverat. Quam responsionem, una cum his quæ nos ad ea retulimus, per primum tabellarium ad te mittam, ut gentis imprudentiam, vel impudentiam potius, perspicias. Vale. Passavii, die XI. Septembris. Tuus quicquid est Valdesius.

On September 14, 1532, Cornelius de Schepper was at Augsburg, from where he sends a letter to his great friend, Bishop Dantiscus <sup>1)</sup>; he has, he says, no end of trouble to find powder for the Emperor's forces at Ulm, and he imparts news about the expedition against the Turk. The *præfectus munitionum*, Gabriel Martinengius, wishes him to enter his service, a place which, no doubt, will bring him a fortune. He should like to consult his friend Granvelle and a 'Saren-sis' before taking a decision; still, he told Valdes; and what would you advise me? he asks Dantiscus.

On September 30, 1532, de Schepper writes from Vienna <sup>2)</sup>, where he met Godschalk Ericksen, who had fallen ill soon after the death of Prince John of Denmark, and owes his life to being a 'Saxo Carolus'. He refers to his situation, and to Martinengo's offer. He does not prefer the 'Foccharos & Welzeros' to the Emperor, though the latter pays badly, even when army material is wanting: moreover the Spaniards are getting the mastery over the Germans. — He refers to Brantner, who is waging war in Posen, although there are no Turks there. — The Emperor used at first to be favourable to the Jews, — such as those imprisoned at Antwerp. —

<sup>1)</sup> DE, 237: Upm, 154, 97; Dantiscus received it in Cracow on September 24.

<sup>2)</sup> DE, 239: Upm, 154, 102: it reached Dantiscus at Löbau, on October 24. Cp. *EraSpain*, 464.

— Johannes, a Venetian lapidary, has fallen in an ambush.  
 — De Schepper sends greetings to the 'Castellanus Cracoviæ' <sup>1)</sup>, and their common friend Niptzytch <sup>2)</sup>. He found Dantiscus' letters at Fabian's, who seems an excellent man <sup>3)</sup>. The Turks, aware of the growing army, prudently retreat, destroying what they can on their way, so that the Xerxes-like preparatives have been made for nothing. Meanwhile John de Weze is sent on embassy.

Whilst the Emperor is preparing to go away from Vienna, leaving his brother to fight the Turk, an epidemic breaks out in the town, and one of the first victims is Alonso de Valdes; he fell ill in the night following on September 29, and died on October 6. On October 20, 1532, Mariangelus Accursius writes from Augsburg that he came to Vienna after his death, which he announces to Dantiscus <sup>4)</sup>; he sends greetings to his brother Bernard, to John Levicius, Stanislas Turcho and to the Bishops of Cracow and Plock.

Meanwhile Nicolas Niptzytch, ambassador in Vienna <sup>5)</sup>, who had returned to the Polish King, wrote to Dantiscus <sup>6)</sup> that, when 'illinc abirem, reliqui eum [*viz.*, Valdesium] quodammodo in desperatis, ut sepius ex illius seruis intellexi. Dicebant enim eum incepisse delirare. Et hoc non parum timoris, sed potius desperationis, nobis incussit quod vlcus pestilentielle in [inguen] non exijt, sed redijt in corpus. Deo Optimo Maximo eum commisi, nec adhuc scio quomodo

<sup>1)</sup> Cp. before, pp 63, 145.

<sup>2)</sup> Cp. below, and DE, 241.

<sup>3)</sup> No doubt Fabian Dameraw, Dantiscus' helper and successor as ambassador; cp. DE, 217, 310, 363.

<sup>4)</sup> D, 242 : Fbm, 3, 81.

<sup>5)</sup> Nicolas de NIPTZYTCH, — Nybszych, Nybtzich, or Nipszich, — was a Polish official who, from the very beginning, was a friend as well with de Schepper as with Dantiscus. He was for several years ambassador in Austria, and was sent to Bologna, where he is mentioned in letters of May 1536 and April 1537 — it can hardly be a man of the same name : DE, 325 & 348. At any rate he is often mentioned in the letters of Dantiscus and his friends, as, e. g., DE, 364<sup>bis</sup>, to Justus Decius, on Sept. 28, 1537, as also in *CatCzart.*, II, 254-55, 257-58, 267, 288, 298, referring to missives from 1530 to 1542.

<sup>6)</sup> D, 241 : Knm, 230, 375 : probably it dates from the first days of October : the end of the letter is missing.

habeat : ordinaui enim Vienne ut mihi scribatur de exitu ipsius'. Before Valdes fell ill, Niptzytch further relates, he mentioned several times to me that he wanted to tell me about three 'particulars' of His Majesty, which you, Dantiscus, had predicted : quam resolutionem vtique Maiestas sua equo accepit animo : sensit enim eiusmodi futuram. Paraverat etiam mihi expeditionem scriptam, sed non firmatam (antequam prosterneretur), quam habere tunc non potui propter Cæsaris abitionem. Sed reliqui memoriale D<sup>no</sup> Cornelio Duplicio, qui se Majestati R. servituum obtulit. Verum in discessu meo tantum temporis non habuit, ut vel Majestati, vel D. R., aliquid scriberet' : for he has become provisor seu *proflant-meester* exercitus Hispanici et Italici, sed promisit se cum primis scripturum...

There is a letter dated from Padua on November 23, 1532, by which Lazarus Bonamicus writes to Dantiscus <sup>1)</sup> about Hosius, and about studies ; he requests the *descriptio germana* of South America, and adds some pieces of news.

That Lazarus BONAMICUS, born at Bassano in 1479, studied in Padua, taught in Bologna, having quite become a Ciceronian. He then gave lectures in Rome, but he lost all his books in the Sack. He afterwards was made professor of Latin in Padua, where he met with great success : he died on February 11, 1552 <sup>2)</sup>).

On November 30, 1532, Cornelius de Schepper related to Dantiscus from Innsbruck the sad news of the untimely death of their friend Alonso de Valdes <sup>3)</sup> : 'decessit ad cœlos noster Valdesius, a me visitatus in media peste. Ego ægre secutus sum Cæsarem Mantuam... Interim egi apud Cæsarem si videretur majestati ipsius dignus Cornelius qui succederet in locum secretarii latini pro Valdesio, permissa interim cura Neapolitanarum rerum cuidam Diacques, homini qui neque literas neque natare : versatus vero est apud Cobos, fuitque apud eum loco præfecti domus ipsius. Respondit se non velle amplius habere secretarium latinum'. Meanwhile, de Schep- per says, I am with Godschalk and John de Weze, and live

<sup>1)</sup> DE, 243 : Fbm, 67, 160 ; Hipler 502-03.

<sup>2)</sup> Cp. Allen, vi, 1720, 53 ; SadolE, 226-35 ; SaxOonom., 124.

<sup>3)</sup> DE, 244 : Upm, 154, 104 ; cp. *EraSpain*, 465.

a sad life, for I lose all my friends at the Court, and am badly paid, if paid at all ; I am now entrusted with a secret mission to Ferdinand, whereas all the time my wife is *vicina partui*, and most disastrous floods are destroying my lands and my possessions in Flanders. I send the greetings of Nicolas Niptzytch, and of Charles Coczer, Coxanus, whom I met. 'He gives, moreover, some news of Italy, France and England, and, once over, he expresses his sadness for not hearing about his wife, — a few words are added in cipher. — He longs to come and see Dantiscus whom he loves as a father : and then... happen what may !

### CULM 1533 <sup>1)</sup>

On January 12, 1533, John de Valdes writes from Bologna <sup>2)</sup> to Dantisous ; he recalls the memory of his deceased brother Alonso, whose friend Dantiscus had always been ; and he now states that he is afraid that he himself has not received whatever belonged to the deceased ; if Dantiscus has any missives which were his brother's, he is requested to send them, so that, in his sadness, he might have as a *symbolum* of the departed. He himself is apud 'Summum Pontificem', where he will do what he can for Dantiscus. 'Bene vale', he writes, closing his letter, 'et me Alfonsi Valdesii loco ama. Joannes Valdesius'.

On January 13, 1533, Cornelius de Schepper replies from Innsbruck <sup>3)</sup> to a letter of January 1, 1533 from King Sigismund of Poland, which he had received through Nicolas Niptzytch, his Orator ; he sends news of Italy, where the General Council does not please, as it is especially claimed by heretics. He mentions that the Pope tries to get Alexander de' Medici, Duke of Parma, married to Margaret, Charles V's illegitimate daughter, who had caused herself to be sent away from here, as she had lost her name with ladies ; he also mentions Nicolas von Schönberg, who was highly in favour with the Emperor, and tried to promote his policy <sup>4)</sup>,

<sup>1)</sup> Culm : cp. Gams, 83, 85, b.

<sup>2)</sup> DE, 246 : Fbm, 130, 51.

<sup>3)</sup> DE, 247 : Ccm, 49, 11, sq.

<sup>4)</sup> Pastor, iv, ii, 177, 179, &c, 471, sq.



## LETTERS TO AND FROM ERASMUS

quoted or mentioned in this study  
and not referred to in Allen's Edition

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Letter from Dantiscus to Erasmus : end of October 1531 *pp* 104-10

»	»	Erasmus to Decius : beginning of 1533	179
»	»	Dantiscus to Erasmus : August 1533	180
»	»	Erasmus to Cochläus : November 24, 1535	259
»	»	Erasmus to Decius : May 26, 1536	270
»	»	Erasmus to Cochläus : May 25, 1536	280

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## CORRIGENDA

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On p 44	<i>l</i> 7 from below	instead of	1536	read	1526
86	<i>l</i> 14 from top	» »	and	»	an
96	note 2	» »	Cartusian	»	Carthusian
143	<i>l</i> 2	» »	<i>Marcellum</i>	»	<i>Marcellinum</i>
161	note 6	» »	D	»	DE
189	<i>l</i> 6 from top	» »	but which	»	but of which
189	<i>l</i> 7 from top	» »	to of which	»	to which
211	<i>l</i> 16 from top	» »	sympton	»	symptom
241	<i>l</i> 4 from top	» »	26	»	24
281	<i>l</i> 6 from below	» »	1535	»	1536
353	<i>l</i> 18 from top	» »	friends	»	friend
359	<i>l</i> 23	» »	Louvain.	»	Louvain,
363	<i>l</i> 24	» »	Emdem	»	Emden
416	<i>n</i> 3, <i>l</i> 2	» »	<i>xxxvii</i>	»	<i>xxxii</i>

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but did not find favour at the appointment of Cardinals in 1532 (or 1533). He further mentions the events as well in Germany as in Hungary and describes at length the heavy losses caused in Flanders by the several breaks of the dykes from November 1, 1532, and the floods of the Scheldt on December 24, which ruined even towns like Valenciennes, St. Omer, Arras, though fortified against the French : the letter is left unfinished.

In another letter from Innsbruck, Cornelius de Schepper writes on January 15, 1533 <sup>1)</sup>, that, although it had been arranged that he should go to Poland with Nicolas Niptzytch, the Orator, he had to wait for King Ferdinand's order, so that he has been two months at Innsbruck, looking out for a decision. He sends news about Hungary. He further relates that at Christian II's final departure for Norway, Godschalk Ericksen took service in the Imperial Court under Granvelle, and that he will replace himself, de Schepper, in his absence : he recommends him to Dantiscus, and to the King of Poland. He sends the good news that his family has been enriched by a son, who, as his mother says, resembles Dantiscus, and like he, was born in November. Unfortunately the news of Flanders is bad, as the sea did even more harm than in 1530 : he mentions that the Lord of Beveren lost over one hundred thousand ducats.

Here a kind of tyranny has started, so that one man is afraid of another. In Court, Granvelle has become all : 'cæteri nihil : nos contemnimur' ! Even Doria, who was most prosperous in his action against the Turk, has been called back : no one knows why ! — De Schepper also mentions Italian affairs, as well as the movements of Cæsar. The Lord of Praet has returned to Flanders. Meanwhile he himself likes Niptzytch. — In the misery of the flood, he longed to come to Poland, but *patria* is the 'nec plus ultra' after all. He looks out for news, and is sending letters from Philip the Palatine, as well as from George of Austria, the Bishop of Brixen. He may now write from Italy or from Hungary, and he requests Dantiscus to send missives through the Saylers to Pomponius Occo.

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<sup>1)</sup> DE, 251 : Fbm, 3, 83.

Meanwhile Eobanus Hessus wrote to Dantiscus from Nuremberg on January 23, 1533 <sup>1)</sup>, regretting that he had not gone to see him at Ratisbon before he left. He wants to know how he is, and where Campensis has gone to, if he did not return home; he would be so happy if Dantiscus would write, and tell Hessus whatever happened to himself and to Campensis. At any rate, he has heard with great joy of the way in which he, as Bishop, has been received, and how he is working. He himself is leaving next year for Erfurt, where a better situation is offered; — he sends books to Culm, and asks that greetings might be given to Campensis: for the reason why he does not write to him, is that he ignores where he now is; he should like to give him the salutations of ‘sua Cunnibenigna, quam ille probe novit et cognovit dum mecum ageret’. He drinks to Dantiscus a large pot of wine, asking him to answer it with three glasses of Danzig beer; he also wishes to greet Dantiscus’ brothers George and Bernhard.

Having been deprived of the larger part of Hungary, which had been made tributary to the Sultan, and was ruled by the Vayvode John Zapolya, Ferdinand wished the Emperor to reconquer the country lost. Forefeeling danger, Zapolya requested the help of the Turk after Charles’ coronation at Bologna, in so far that the Grand Vizir Ibrahim entered Hungary with a large army, and was approaching Vienna, when he was kept for a long time at Güns by the valiant defense of Nicolas Jurischitz, which even caused him to retreat <sup>2)</sup>. It seemed to Ferdinand that the moment was propitious for a favourable agreement; he sent in December 1532 as envoys to the Sultan the brother-in-law of Jurischitz, Jerome de Zara, and their nephew Vespasian de Zara, to treat of a truce or of peace. Charles V thought of de Schepper as ambassador, and made him come to Italy, where, at Mantua, on November 13, 1532, he entrusted him with the mission to Constantinople, so as to get the most favourable conditions for his brother the King of Austria: still, he himself did not want at all to be mentioned, although he was ready to grant the Sultan’s wish, and return the port of Coron that had been conquered, on condition that Barbarossa should render an island by Algier to Spain; also that the Sultan should not interfere in the least in the religious dissensions of Germany; and, finally, that all Christian Princes should be favoured by that peace, from the Pope to the King of France and to the Township of Venice. In consequence, Ferdinand

<sup>1)</sup> DE, 249: Upm, 154, 107; it reached Dantiscus on February 20.

<sup>2)</sup> Güns, 90 miles N. E. from Graz: cp. bef. pp 157, 159; CMH, III, 108.

thanked the Emperor for the mission entrusted to de Schepper, which, however, had to be postponed for a while, as his captain Katzianer was just then negotiating a truce with Zapolya. On December 13, 1532, he sent word to Charles V that the King of Poland wished to see Ferdinand make peace with the Vaivode, so as to free his own country from the danger of an invasion. Unfortunately Zapolya, in those proposals, wanted to gain time, and so de Schepper had to wait for months at Innsbruck and Linz, where Ferdinand's Court resided. He there soon experienced the lack of reliability of the Austrian ministers, who neglected their master's interests for their own. On February 7, 1533, de Schepper arranged a meeting between Katzianer and Zapolya, to which also John de Weze was invited : here once more the wish of the Emperor was insisted on, that the Turks were not to be comprized in any of the decisions, and that there was not to be granted any tribute from Hungary to Soliman.

Before that meeting took place, the Sultan sent a messenger along with Vespasian de Zara to ask for the keys of Gran. The Turkish envoy was received with great solemnity in Vienna, and it was decided to send along with the keys, the clever ambassador who was waiting, and who was to prevent all harm to Hungary. So Cornelius de Schepper left Vienna on April 12, and rejoined both Vespasian de Zara, who had the keys requested, and the Turkish messenger, waiting at Fiume, to return on April 20. Storms prevented an immediate sailing off, and only on May 20, de Schepper reached Tschekmedsche Böyük, near Constantinople, and was introduced duly to the Sultan. What four messengers before him had attempted in vain, he accomplished ; he laid the foundation of a sound peace, and thus obtained a result, which gave full satisfaction to Ferdinand. On his return to Vienna on September 23, after having left Constantinople with Jerome de Zara on July 16, he started for the Netherlands where he rested a few months.

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From that sketch of the events about Hungary, it appears that de Schepper was going to be used by the Emperor, if not as his Latin Secretary, yet as his actual, although not openly recognized, messenger to the Sultan. Having been entrusted with that mission at Mantua on November 13, he had to wait, however, for circumstances before going into action ; he had most probably received the sanction to offer his help to Mary, late Queen of Hungary, and to her secretary Nicolas Olah, both of whom had lost considerably by the late events. It explains letters which from Innsbruck on January 1, 1533 had been sent to Queen Mary and to her minister, — of which those to Olah are still in existence, — by which de Schepper promises to take care of their interests as soon as

circumstances will allow <sup>1)</sup>. Thus Olah provided from Brussels, on January 14, a list of what the Queen had lost of her bridal gifts, and what he himself had been deprived of <sup>2)</sup>.

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On January 25, 1533, de Schepper writes to Dantiscus from Innsbruck <sup>3)</sup> that he has not received any reply yet to the letters he sent by Nicolas de Niptzytch and by the Bishop of Przemisl ; he also announces that he is going to follow King Ferdinand into Hungary. He sends greetings from John a Montfort, as well as news from war and treaties. He also relates the return of the French ambassador Claud Dodeus : ' Francus [rex] adhuc sollicitat Sanctissimum ', and the *Cæsarea Majestas* does not even treat him any better. He sends salutations from Jerome Sayler, who is in the Court, and he hopes that Dantiscus and his *familia*, along with Campensis, are doing well. He has not had since long any news from Flanders, and mentions that Godschalcus Ericii is in Spain.

In reply to Nicolas Olah's missive, de Schepper wrote from Linz on February 8, 1533, a long letter <sup>4)</sup> promising to be for the Queen and her secretary ' et sollicitator diligens, et admonitor opportunus ', having already gained the name of ' hominis studiosi rerum Hungaricarum. Velim ', he requests ' quod sacra Reginalis Maiestas inter alia, quæ ad serenissimum Regem Romanorum scriptura est, modice tangat, quod mihi iusserit, si quando esset occasio admonendi Maiestatem Suam, aut ipsius commissarios ad hunc conuentum ordinandis super suis negociis '. He refers to his friendship, not only with Dantiscus, but even with the very King of Poland and his chancellor Peter, bishop of Cracow <sup>5)</sup>, his vice-chancellor, Szydłowiecki, with the Bishop of Przemisl and others. He mentions more friends, and recommends his wife : solare litteris uxorem meam.

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<sup>1)</sup> OlaE, 269-71.

<sup>2)</sup> OlaE, 271-76.

<sup>3)</sup> DE, 250 : Upm, 154, 109.

<sup>4)</sup> OlaE, 279-290.

<sup>5)</sup> Bishop Tomicki.

On February 18, 1533, de Schepper wrote a letter from Linz to Queen Mary <sup>1)</sup>, and another to Nicolas Olah <sup>2)</sup>, announcing that, with a colleague, he is going to try to make an understanding between the Hungarians that had remained faithful to the *Rex Romanorum*, Ferdinand, and those of the Vaivode: they only wait for the *mandatum Cæsareæ Majestatis*. In a letter from Vienna to Nicolas Olah of the last of February <sup>3)</sup>, he announces that, but for lodgings, the meeting would soon be held; yet the favourers of Ferdinand regret to say of their adversaries, 'se... illos fateri Turcam ipsorum dominum esse'; so that it is feared that whatever part should be granted to the Vaivode, 'statim esset futura Turcarum. Ad quod nemo Christianus consilium suum esset impartiturus'.

On March 1, 1533, Cornelius de Schepper writes from Vienna to Dantiscus <sup>4)</sup> wishing for news; he himself has had the consolation to complain to John de Weze, who joins him in sending greetings to Dantiscus, their dear friend. He has no news except that 'Anglus excommunicabitur aut recipiet uxorem repudiatam; jamque est in confinibus facta promulgatio excommunicationis'. He himself is going to Posen.

A few days later, on March 18, 1533, de Schepper had returned to Vienna <sup>5)</sup>, from where he writes that he cannot understand Dantiscus' silence, who, since long, must have seen his mother, and his family; he had sent letters through Nic. de Niptzytch, and through the Bishop of Przemisl. Meanwhile he himself has been in Posen, and has arranged Ferdinand's affairs with the Vaivode most satisfactorily. An ambassador is expected from the Turks with propositions of a settled peace. — The Pope has ordered the Bishops of Thérouanne and of Tournai to affix to the valves of their churches, the excommunication of the King of England; it is even rumoured that the King of Scots prepares an invasion into England. — De Schepper sends greetings from Jerome Sayler, and from Godschalk Ericksen, whom he should like to take his place as agent for the interests of the Queen of

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<sup>1)</sup> OlaE, 293-95.

<sup>2)</sup> OlaE, 295-96.

<sup>3)</sup> OlaE, 304-05.

<sup>4)</sup> DE, 252: Upm, 154, 111.

<sup>5)</sup> DE, 253: Upm, 154, 112; it reached Dantiscus on March 28.

Poland in Montesperico, — unless she prefers sending another ; for he, de Schepper, would like to return for good to Flanders when this present *legatio* is over. He announces the decease of the Lord of Fiennes : ‘ Domina de Egmonda habuit graviora verba cum illius vidua ’ <sup>1)</sup>. He also mentions that, in Valdes’ place, there now is in the Emperor’s employ a ‘ Hispanus quidam, famulus commendatoris Cobos, qui neque literas neque natare ’ <sup>2)</sup>. — He also refers to the question of the Jews. Still the chief conclusion of his letter is that, at least just then, de Schepper was sick of Court life : Doctor Matthias is intolerable ‘ et Waltkirchisat ’ ; Obernburger is secretary : yet he himself is shut out everywhere ; he has only Cobos and Granvelle. He requests Dantiscus to write by the ‘ Foccharos ’ or by the Bruges merchants. He sends greetings to Dantiscus’ sisters, brothers and friends, especially to Campensis ; also to Jerome Lasky, and ends by the lamentation : Flanders is half submerged !

On March 7, Olah replied to de Schepper’s letter by a *longa ... epistola* <sup>3)</sup>, in which he tells his friend that he has no doubt at all ‘ quin, in rebus primum suis, eam præstiturus [sit], dum tempus erit, curam et diligentiam quam debe[t] ’, and that he will work for the welfare of Hungary. He meanwhile regrets that Schepperus has to wait so long before becoming actually active. As to himself, he longs for ‘ pacata Hungaria : non me hic [in Brabant] detinebunt campanularum vestrarum artificiosi sonus, non caminorum, etsi sanæ, tamen fuliginosæ deliciæ ’... To another letter of the preceding month, Olah answers from Brussels on March 9 <sup>4)</sup>, with many thanks for his hearty help and the good wishes, that all will be for the best. He also sent word from Brussels on the 15<sup>th</sup> and on the 17<sup>th</sup> <sup>5)</sup> with news about the hostile arrangements in the Baltic towns, as well as of France and England.

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<sup>1)</sup> James II of Luxemburg († 1517) and his son James III were Lords of Fiennes : Moeller, 107, 111, 265, 282.

<sup>2)</sup> FG, 438 : when de Schepper asked for that place, the Emperor had replied that the function would not be continued ; cp. p 162.

<sup>3)</sup> OlaE, 307-15.

<sup>4)</sup> OlaE, 319-321.

<sup>5)</sup> OlaE, 322-23, 323-24.

On March 27, 1533, 'Cornelius Duplicius Scepperus Eques, Consiliarius, Commissarius & Orator in jnelyto regno Hungariæ', writes from Vienna to Dantiscus <sup>1)</sup> that letters had been much delayed, and he himself could not have written more, as he had to go from Mantua to Vienna, since he wrote last. He is pleased with the news of Dantiscus, and that of his friends. He himself feels more sanguine : his wife bore him another child, and his land is not quite lost. He thanks Dantiscus' mother and sisters for their sympathy ; also the Bishop of Przemisl, and Karol Coczer, who offers him a place in Poland if all else fails. He has worked at the peace with the Turks, and refers to what is preparing ; he is waiting for the answer of his Imperial Majesty, for which the Count of Salm has gone. The Vaivode sent Ludovico Gritti as his ambassador to Constantinople. He writes little to Campensis, as he has hardly any time. He adds greetings to Dantiscus' family ; also those from his wife, from his brother and from his friends. He communicates news about the Emperor, about Italy and France. He writes about de Praet, who has left the Court ; about Granvelle and the Commander Fr. de los Cobos, who now are his only friends here. He offers hearty salutations to Campensis, and he is sorry not to have been able to do more for the Queen, but he hopes to see to her welfare through Ericksen.

On April 2, de Schepper sent a long letter to Olah to announce him that an interview, which was to have taken place at 'Posonium' <sup>3)</sup> between Ferdinand's delegates and those of the Vaivode, was broken off by the arrival of a Turkish messenger Mehemed Tzaus, who was received with due honour in Vienna, where he submitted the conditions of peace between Hungary and Turkey ; it was then suggested that the Vaivode was to surrender his provinces to Ferdinand, who would receive them from the Sultan against the port of Coron just recently taken by Andrew Doria (1532) ; mention was then made of the property of Queen Mary in the Vaivode's possession, which was to be returned.

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<sup>1)</sup> DE, 254 : Upm, 154, 114.

<sup>2)</sup> OlaE, 330-346.

<sup>3)</sup> Posonium, *Hungarian Pozsony*, now Pressburg.



On April 4, 1533, Cornelius de Schepper wrote from Vienna to Queen Mary of Hungary <sup>1)</sup> : ‘Serenissima Regina, Litteras Reginalis Maiestatis Vestrae qua decuit veneratione accepi Viennae die ultima Martii. Quod dignatur me hortari, ut curam operamque ad ipsius negotia impendam, nihil sane sum omissurus in eam rem, conuenique Regiam Maiestatem et Reuerendissimum D. Tridentinum desuper. A quibus optimum responsum accepi, prout latius ad R. D. Nicolaum Olaum perscripsi. Cui in iis et aliis poterit Maiestas Vestra indubiam fidem adhibere. Nolo enim eidem tot negociis occupatae molestus esse. Rem illam omnem, ut verissime gesta est, eidem referet. Cui me humillimus commendo dedicoque, et eandam Sacram Maiestatem Vestram Reginalem felicissime viuere et regnare exopto.

To Nicolas Olah he wrote on April 5 <sup>2)</sup>, ‘mane : Non mitto nunc ad te pro uxore mea sicut decreueram litteras, quia scripsi his diebus, et sum mirabiliter occupatus, sed breui sum missurus. Scribe me recte valere, et ipsius et Decani <sup>3)</sup> accepisse, quibus sum rescripturus ; et bene vale’.

On the 8<sup>th</sup> of April, 1533, de Schepper announced to Olah <sup>4)</sup> that he had received as well the letters of March 17, from Queen Mary as those from himself. He announces that the Turkish Legate is not leaving by Strigonium or Gran, as was thought, but goes straight to Carnia, to the port St. Vito <sup>5)</sup>. The President of Mechlin Council is expected, as is supposed, for the General Council. Here the Hungarian affairs are being put into order, although nothing will be decided before the connections with the Vaivode are definitely arranged.

On the first days of April 1533 there is a letter of Copernicus by which he offers to Dantiscus <sup>6)</sup> his thanks for the invitation to come and see him, as well as his excuses, since, for the time being, he has to decline.

<sup>1)</sup> OlaE, 346-47.

<sup>2)</sup> OlaE 347.

<sup>3)</sup> Decanus, Mark Laurin.

<sup>4)</sup> OlaE, 347-48.

<sup>5)</sup> St. Vito is a town, situated at 20 km. S. W. of Görz, on a river between Istria and Liburnia, Dalmatia ; — there is also a mount St. Vito on the island Brazza, N. of the island of Lesina, in the Adriatic Sea, 135 km. N. W. of Ragusa.

<sup>6)</sup> DE, 255 : Ccm, 1596, 358 ; Prowe, II, 157-58.

NICOLAS COPERNICUS, born at Thorn on February 19, 1473, studied from 1491 to 1494 in Cracow, where he had as special professor of mathematics Albert Blar de Brudzewo, who introduced him to astronomic observation <sup>1</sup>). He became canon of Frauenburg in 1497, thanks to his uncle, the Bishop Luke Watzelrode (1489-1512). He had then recently left for Bologna, where he was inscribed in 1496 as student of jurisprudence, and studied Greek under Ant. Urceus Codro, and astronomy under Dom. M. di Novara. From 1500 to 1501, he privately taught astronomy and mathematics in Rome, and returned to Frauenburg <sup>2</sup>), so as to request to be allowed to continue his studies. He subsequently went to Padua, became *Decretorum Doctor* in Ferrara, and returned to Padua for medical studies until 1506, when he left for home <sup>3</sup>). He stayed for a time at the Castle of Heilsberg with his uncle, then at Allenstein and at Frauenburg, where he worked at an edition and a translation of the letters of Theophylact Simocatta <sup>4</sup>), and composed, after many years of patient studies and observation, his *De Revolutionibus Orbium Cœlestium Libri VI* : Nuremberg 1543. It was dedicated to Paul III; it demonstrated the theory already forefelt by Pythagoras, that the sun is the centre of our planetary system, and that the earth, with the planets, revolve about themselves and about the sun : it was completed, later on, by Brahé and Kepler, Galileo and Newton. Copernicus died at Frauenburg on May 24, 1543, after a long-lasting illness, which Dantiscus had already announced to Phrysius on January 29 before <sup>5</sup>).

When Dantiscus arrived at Frauenburg, he apparently continued the friendship since long begun with Copernicus : cp. DE, 329 : June 8, 1536 <sup>6</sup>). From this letter of April 11, 1533, — as from others from 1536 to 1539, — it is evident that he wanted to revive cordiality, as he invited him to a visit, as well as to the wedding of a niece, although those invitations were not always accepted <sup>7</sup>). They suggest that there were a few more short letters written on other occasions <sup>8</sup>) : yet none of them seems to have been caused by any disagreeable subject, except the one of December 2, 1538, referring to a change in the Canon's *familia*, requested by the Bishop, which Copernicus, however, promised and

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<sup>1</sup>) Prowe, I, i, 137, sq; M. Matz, *Konrad Celtis* : Ludwigshafen, 1903 : 5; H. Wernekke, *G. Bruno gegen die Aristotelische Kosmologie* : Dresden, 1871 : 5, 11, 14, sq.

<sup>2</sup>) His brother Andrew, who had rejoined him in 1498, returned with him : he died between 1516 and 1519.

<sup>3</sup>) Cp. Knod, 270, 269.

<sup>4</sup>) *Theophilacti scolastici Simocati epistole morales, rurales et amatorie, interpretatione latina* : Cracow, John Haller, 1509 (small 4°, 21 leaves) : Prowe, I, i, 383-87, 27, 135, 260, 392, ii, 545.

<sup>5</sup>) DE, 441.

<sup>6</sup>) DE, 329; Prowe, II, 158-9.

<sup>7</sup>) Prowe, II, 157, 158; DE, 255 and 329.

<sup>8</sup>) Prowe, II, 159-165; DE, 361, 382, 396, 397.

executed within the one month's delay for which he had asked <sup>1)</sup>. It certainly does not justify the opinion which Prowe expresses and repeats on every occasion, that there was an enmity between those men, who probably had known each other from their youth. When in April of 1538, Dantiscus started his office as Bishop of Ermland, he felt poorly, and it was Copernicus who attended on him <sup>2)</sup>; even on May 16, his friend Dr John Tresler wrote a letter to the Bishop, mentioning that, having conferred with his physician, they were of the same opinion. When the Bishop had well recovered, and started his journey all about his diocese to accept homage, at least in the chief places, Copernicus accompanied him, so as to be ready to take care of him. Some think, that by 1543, Copernicus composed a set of seven poems, *Sidera*, in honour of the birth and the first years of Christ, and that Dantiscus corrected those *Pleiades*: they may have even inspired his own *Hymni* <sup>3)</sup>. It thus follows that there was a thorough friendship and understanding, — which was not at all embittered, and certainly not, as some suggest, by the newly appointed canon Stanislas Hosius, the more so as the latter regularly resided in Cracow after his nomination of 1538, and only became familiar with the Chapter on his election as Bishop in 1549; moreover, though never being a courtier, Hosius was highly praised as a straightforward man, and as an ardent advocate of truth <sup>4)</sup>. It rather seems as if both Dantiscus and Copernicus were attentive and devoted to their respective duties and interests; the Bishop, for certain, continued the work of his predecessor <sup>5)</sup>; — a fine epigram in praise of the work of his Canon, proves certainly in his favour, although those who edited Copernicus' book, probably left out that epigram as it had been properly devised for another work, — although it would have been particularly welcome to a large number of readers <sup>6)</sup>.

In that respect it is also worth while pointing out that, whereas all Catholics thought highly of *De Revolutionibus Orbium Cœlestium*, — as is attested by Dantiscus' successor Tiedeman Giese <sup>7)</sup> and Louvain's famous professor Gemma Phrysius <sup>8)</sup>, — Luther plainly called the Frauenburg Canon a fool, and that Melanchthon and the Reformers generally attacked and derided the 'Copernican system' <sup>9)</sup>.

<sup>1)</sup> Prowe, II, 161-62; DE, 392.

<sup>2)</sup> Prowe, I, II, 300, sq.

<sup>3)</sup> *DantKop.*, v, vi, 241-269; Prowe, I, II, 372-83; and further, *Dantiscus' Poetry*.

<sup>4)</sup> *DantCar.*, 209: In Copernici Libellum Epigramma.

<sup>5)</sup> Bishop Maurice Ferber was quite as decided an adversary of Lutheranism: Prowe, I, II, 168-71.

<sup>6)</sup> Cp. Prowe, I, II, 250, sq., 259, 328, 337, 350-55, 554, &c, II, 140, sq., 157-68, 277, 280, 381, 417, 540, 544; *DenkmErm.*, 95, 101; *Cracow*, 29, 156; and, e. g., Pastor, v, 701, vi, 173-74, sq., vii, 151, 190, 391-92, &c; Lortz, 179-96, 59, sq.

<sup>7)</sup> Prowe, I, I, 98, sq., II, 366, sq.

<sup>8)</sup> Cp. further, DE, 444.

<sup>9)</sup> Allen, xi, 3112, pr.

On April 11, Parasceve, 1533, Nicolas Copernic wrote from Frauenburg to Dantiscus <sup>1)</sup> : ‘ Reverendissime in Christo Pater et Domine, Percepi literas Rev. Dom. Vestrae, e quibus humanitatem, gratiam et favorem erga me R. D. Vrae satis intelligo ; quae cum apud Ipsam obtinui, etiam apud alios quoscumque bonos viros eadem propagare non dedignatur. Quod certe non meis meritis, sed cognitae R. D. Vrae bonitati puto retribuendum. Utinam mihi possit aliquando contingere, quibus haec possum promereri ! Gaudeo certe plus quam dici potest, me talem Dominum et Fautorem invenisse. Quod autem petit R. D. Vra, ut ad se 20. huius mensis me conferrem, quod et libentissime facerem, non levem causam habens tantum Amicum et Patronum visitandi : id tamen mihi incidit infortunium, ut eo tempore Dominum Felicem et me negotia quaedam et causae necessariae nos cogant in loco manere. Itaque, uti R. D. Vra boni consulat absentiam tunc meam rogo. Sum alioquin accedere R. D. Vram, ut par est, paratissimus, et cui plurima alia debeo facere quod placuerit, modo id R. D. Vra alio tempore mihi insinuaverit. Cui iam non in petitis gratificari, sed magis iussa capessere me debeo fateor. Ex Frauenburg. Parasceve Paschae anno 1533. E. R. D. Vrae devotissimus Nicolaus Copernicus ’.

On April 12, 1533, Easter Eve, finally, Cornelius de Schepper wrote from Vienna to his ‘ charissime D. Olae <sup>2)</sup> : Ego tandem video me vere ad laborem natum esse. Nam cum sperarem, finitis his rebus Hungaricis in patriam ad meos redire, et coniugem meam hac spe diu aluissem, ut videlicet rebus meis prospicerem aliquando, quibus nemo adhuc prospexit princeps, ecce subito noua a Caesare commissio, qua iubeor Regis nomine proficisci Constantinopolim. Nam Mai. Cæs. non vult videri quemquam illic suo nomine esse. Ego obstupui vehementer, quum primum ea intelligerem. Sed quid facerem ? Si recusassem, omnia servitia mea perdita fuissent ; adduxissem in odium mei Caesarem, Regem, Reginam. Breuibis dicam, acceptaui ; et hodie hinc per equos, quos mihi emi perniciēs, usque ad Sanctum Vitum <sup>3)</sup> ad Pflaum Carnorum oppidum <sup>4)</sup>

<sup>1)</sup> DE, 255 : Ccm, 1596, 358 ; Prowe, II, 157-58.

<sup>2)</sup> Olae, 348-49.

<sup>3)</sup> Cp. before, p 171.

<sup>4)</sup> I cannot identify it.

ibo ; inde traiecturus mari ad Rhagusium ; postea equis Turcarum Constantinopolim. Nuncius cæsaris Turcarum expectat me ad Sanctum Vitum. Dic Reginali Maiestati, Cæsarem, quantum ad Coronem oppidum <sup>1)</sup> attinet, non defuturum Regi fratri suo, si modo Turcæ Hungaria cesserint. Wayuodani inter Sacrum et Saxum stant'. He further recommends to Olah his wife and family : 'Solare uxorem litteris. Dic aliquando te intellexisse me rectissime valere, et alia'.

On the same day, Cornelius sent to his wife some of his belongings, as well as some letters <sup>2)</sup>, besides a short message to Queen Mary <sup>3)</sup>, announcing to her his mission to Constantinople, and his promise to recuperate her property, of which he requests her to inform him, so that he may execute the trust with all care. On April 26, he dispatched a note to Olah from St. Vito <sup>4)</sup>, on a river between Istria and Liburnia, Dalmatia ; he there rejoined the Turkish Legate, who had waited for him, and with whom he was ready to embark on the Adriatic Sea.

On April 27, 1533, Nicolas Nicolai Grudius wrote from 'Barcinona' to Nic. Olah <sup>5)</sup> : 'Litteras tuas de Erasmi negotio 28<sup>a</sup> Marcii ad me datas, heri primum accepi, una cum Langii nostri de eadem re litteris ; quibus nihil contingere potuit gratius, neque optatius, quam videlicet occasionem mihi viderem dari, hactenus mihi sæpe frustra desideratam, gratificandi aliquando tanto viro, et cui olim cum patre meo, piæ memoriæ, necessitudo fuerit plane inuiolabilis. Itaque nihil addubites velim, quin ego quantum quidem in me erit, et libenter et diligenter, summaque cum fide et (quemadmodum cupis) secrete omnia sim factururus, quæ idonea ad id, quod volumus, esse videbuntur ; debeo sane id et longe maiora Erasmo, non tantum ut amico paterno, verum etiam ut meo et studiosorum omnium parenti ; sed longe magis id debeo patriæ, cui quantum per illius redditum commodi atque honoris sit accessurum, dici non facile queat. Oculatissimum, neque unquam satis laudandum serenissimæ Reginæ ingenium, quæ

<sup>1)</sup> Coron, or Koroni, town and gulf in the S. W. corner of Greece.

<sup>2)</sup> OlaE, 349-50.

<sup>3)</sup> OlaE, 350.

<sup>4)</sup> OlaE, 354.

<sup>5)</sup> OlaE, 354-55.

rem tantam et perspicit et promovet ! Recte nimirum ac vere illa iudicat, eiusmodi incorruptis ac sani iudicii viris hac præsertim turbulenta tempestate opus esse. Nam de te quidem, ne in os laudare videar, nihil dicam aliud, nisi optare me, ut quam plurimos tui simillimos habeant nostri principes consiliarios ; rectius enim et quies publica sese haberet et litteræ. Si quid ad Erasmum scripturus es, quæso ut me illi commendes, omniaque de me pollicearis, non solum ut de amico eius studiosissimo, sed etiam observantissimo seruitore. Bene vale, magnifice domine, et breui commodum responsum expecta. E Barcinona, die 27<sup>a</sup> Aprilis 1533'.

On May 1, 1533, Olah sent word from Brussels <sup>1)</sup>, announcing Queen Mary's illness, as well as the pleasure which had given her the prospects of some arrangement in Hungary. He also hopes that he will have his goods restored. He keeps the scheme a secret. 'A me hic nemo meum et tuum negotium intelliget. Nam uti tu, ita et ego cupio rem adhuc esse secretam. Nollem enim ante tempus Reginam intelligere, me ab ea parare abitionem'. The Queen is now highly interested in Hungary, and would like to revisit the country after peace should be made. 'Hæc tibi mihi amicissimo soli scribo : nollem aliis esse nota'. He hopes on a good influence of the reddition of Coron, both for Pope and Emperor. — 'Regem Angliæ, repudiata Catharina Regina, nuptias iam suas solenniter peregissee cum matrona Anna, quam tenerrime multos annos deperibat, scio te audivisse, quæ ut dicitur ad festum Georgii coronari debuit. Titulus Reginæ Catharinæ verus mutatus est : nominatur per totam Angliam Vidua Principis illius, cui prius erat, ut scis, desponsata <sup>2)</sup>). Vale et scribe frequenter.

On May 4, 1533 Nicolas Nicolai Grudius once more wrote from Barcelona to Nicolas Olah about Erasmus' return to the Netherlands. 'Post alteras meas litteras, quas ante paucos dies ad D. T. scripsi <sup>3)</sup>, negotium Erasmicum, ut pollicitus eram, quantum potui diligentissime fidelissimeque sollicitavi, et quidem (quod vehementer gaudeo), non sine successu.

<sup>1)</sup> OlaE, 355-57.

<sup>2)</sup> Cp. DE, 287, *pr.*

<sup>3)</sup> OlaE, 361-62, & *bef.*, p 175.

Scribit enim per hunc ipsum veredarium Cæsar ad Reginam et D. a Granuela ad Panormitanum plane fauorabiliter, ut ipse plenius vel ab ipsa Regina vel Panormitano cognosces. Nam mihi non suppetit in præsentia otium fusius cum T. D. agendi. Serenissimæ Reginæ, cui me iam olim deuoui, seruitia mea humillima, si dabitur occasio, offeres, et vicissim mihi quidquid voles imperabis. Cupio me Erasmo a te fieri commendatum. Vale. Ex Barcinona, 4. Maii 1533<sup>1</sup>.

On May 6, 1533, de Schepper wrote to Olah from 'Gabala'<sup>1</sup>), on the Narenta, opposite the island Lesina; he hopes to reach Constantinople in a fortnight, and he sends one short letter to his wife, whom he recommends to his friend and *frater observandissimus*. Olah replied already on June 5<sup>2</sup>), assuring that he takes care of his wife's letters, which he sends through John de Weze, Archbishop of Lund. 'Sunt domi uxor, filius, familia tota, et hic amici bene sani. Uxorem, ut iussisti, sæpe per litteras admonui, ut tuam parui temporis absentiam æquo ferret animo, non minimum decoris et ornamenti posterioribus temporibus, et tibi, et ei, et vestris allaturam; ... nec deficit per me, neque deerit tui apud Reginam commendatio; quotiescumque et tempus fuit et futurum est, senties meam in te commendando operam'. He also sends greetings to and from his several friends... 'Vale, et me tuum esse scito, scribeque si tutum est, quid effeceris'.

On July 2 (no doubt), 1533, Cornelius de Schepper sent this letter to Olah<sup>3</sup>): 'Reuerende Domine, 20<sup>a</sup> die Maii veni Constantinopolim: res omnes erant in ancipiti. Cœpimus de nouo tractare; conclusimus, Deo gratia, pacem firmam inter potentissimum cæsarem Turcarum et Serenissimum Regem nostrum. Die xxiii. Junii ea publicata hic est. Pro serenissima Reginali Maiestate, cuius ego procurator hic fui, obtinui restitutionem bonorum quæ habuit in Hungaria; iubetque

<sup>1</sup>) OlaE, 362; Gabela, on the Narenta, is situated 60 km. N. W. of Ragusa.

<sup>2</sup>) OlaE, 374-75.

<sup>3</sup>) OlaE, 380; the letter is dated '20-a Junii', which evidently contradicts the date of the proclamation of peace; in the letter of July 8, OlaE, 385 — here p 178, — it is said to have been written on July 2.

magnus cæsar Wayuodæ ea ut restituat. Tui non fui oblitus : bene, firmiter et optime spera et confide, nam omnia sunt tranquilla. Sis memor mei apud serenissimam Maiestatem Reginalem. Sit tibi curæ uxor mea et familia, ad quam has breues mitte. Nam non licet pluribus scribere. Commenda me omnibus, et bene vale. Ex Constantinopoli, [2<sup>a</sup> Julii 1533]’.

On the 8<sup>th</sup> of July, 1533, de Schepper wrote to Olah from Constantinople <sup>1)</sup>: ‘Post ultimas meas de dato secundæ huius per Hungariam missas <sup>2)</sup>, nihil noui occurrit scriptu dignum. Scripsi autem tunc et ad Seren. Maiestatem Reginalem et ad D. V., nos conclusisse bonam, firmam et perpetuam pacem cum potentissimo cæsare Turcarum ex parte Regiæ Maiestatis Romanorum, Hungariæ, &c. Idque a nobis factum est xxiii. Junii præteriti, quo die pransi sumus in palatio magni cæsaris cum tribus bassis : Imbraimo, penes quem summa est rerum, Aiam et Cassum ; posteaque cum ipso potentissimo cæsare tractauimus eodem die horis tribus fere. Scripsi præterea eundem potentissimum cæsarem dono dedisse Serenissimæ Reginali Maiestati dotem suam et bona omnia, quæ habuit in regno Hungariæ, et ob id missurum dominum Aloysium Gritti in Hungariam, qui iubeat Joanni Wayuodæ ut ea bona restituat. Reliqua neque tunc, neque nunc scribo ; id scito bonam, honestam et dignam pacem nos confecisse. Quum peruenissem Constantinopolim, omnia erant confusa. Nihil enim nisi verba quædam erant data, plurimique suadebant ne quo modo pax fieret. Sed modus agendi noster præualuit, ita volente Deo. — Ego tibi uxorem charissimam cum filio meo et familia commendo. Tu illam absentem <sup>3)</sup> consolare. Serenissimæ Reginali Maiestati me humillime commenda, illustribus autem dominis et reuerendissimo D. Panormitano seruitia mea offer. Ne mirere me in scribendo breuem esse, quia nescio, an hæ sint isthuc peruenturæ. Pestis grassatur Rhagusii ; in Hungaria latrones more suo sæuiunt, et per alterutram prouinciam litteræ hæ mitti debent. Nos iter per Boszinam sumus facturi usque in Liburniam <sup>4)</sup>. Tu autem, mi Nicolaë, quam rectissime vale. Scribe ad meos, ad quos

<sup>1)</sup> OlaE, 385.

<sup>2)</sup> Cp. p 177.

<sup>3)</sup> Absente me (?).

<sup>4)</sup> Bosnia ; Liburnia is now called Croatia.



ob quædam scribere non possum. Ex Constantinopoli, die 8<sup>a</sup> Julii, 1533’.

On August 6, Olah thanked from Bruges, where he then just had arrived <sup>1)</sup>, for the good news from Constantinople about the property of the Queen, and gives excellent information about his wife, his daughter and his little son, who ‘præ se fert imaginem paternam tum corpore, tum animo. Niger est, hilaris, iucundus, bibulus, — dicere volebam (ignosce) delectabilis, — canorus. Uxor te lætanter et cupidissime expectat’. He mentions the Dean, and says : ‘Meæ [res], si rex suis imperare poterit, redibunt. Ex tuis litteris firmum, ut iubes, concepi animum, ut etiam ea bona mea, quæ Wayuodiani possident, redeant.

Before Queen Mary left Bruges, — so Olah wrote from Ghent, on August 12, 1533 <sup>2)</sup>, — she had sent to de Schepper’s wife one of her ‘pocillatores ad... consolandam... Heri vesperi, ut ei et filiolo et filiæ valedicerem iussit. Nam hoc die venimus Gandauum. Eos visitaui : filiulus valet, exultat, triumphat et lætanter reditum patris expectat. Tu fac, ut incolumis redeas. Timet tamen uxor, ne tibi nunc reuerso, rursus alia legatio noua imponatur, quæ te detineat diutius. Conquesta quoque est de Cæsaris gratitudine, cui multum iam seruieris, tamen pauca retuleris præmia’.

It was as if she forefelt the coming events.

Meanwhile, on May 10, Justus Ludovicus Decius, Dantiscus’ great countryman, wrote to him from Cracow <sup>3)</sup>, and communicated to him, enclosed in his, a letter he had received from Erasmus <sup>4)</sup>, who highly praises Campensis to him. In consequence, Decius wishes him to teach in Poland, rather than that he should keep hiding there in some small corner. — He sends news from Hungary, Germany and Lithuania, as well as about Charles V and the town where the *Comitia* are being held.

<sup>1)</sup> OlaE, 387-88.

<sup>2)</sup> OlaE, 393-94.

<sup>3)</sup> DE, 256 : Fbm, 3, 87.

<sup>4)</sup> It is not in Allen’s collection.

On June 3, 1533, John de Weze, Archbishop-elect of Lund, wrote from Vienna to Dantiscus <sup>1)</sup>, announcing that he had received his letter through his nephew <sup>2)</sup>, whom he introduced 'Serenissimo meo Regi' : 'for what I can do, I will do ; and what I and the Bishop of Trent can do with 'my' King, we will try : I talked to them of Dantiscus' letter and greetings. After a life of storm, I find here a quiet existence <sup>3)</sup>. Cæsar has returned to Spain ; the Turk may think it is favourable for him : yet a fleet is preparing to strengthen Coron. In Italy Antony de Leyva is appointed as locum-tenens <sup>4)</sup>, and the last Marchio Montisserrati, Antony, died. — The King of England has repudiated his wife, and married another. — He remarks on the state of Denmark & Hungary, and looks out to the Council for safety.

On August 16, 1533, Justus Ludovicus Decius once more writes from Cracow to Dantiscus to announce that he sent the letter, which Dantiscus had transmitted, to Erasmus : 'quod Dominatio Tua meas et Erasmi literas accepit, recte habet. Transmisi eciam illi quam ad me nunc R. P. V. misit epistolam ; quoniam tute non committerentur tabellario pecuniæ, jussi ut Franckofordiæ Frobenianis pro Erasmo floreni Renen. 45. numerentur <sup>5)</sup>. Eciam si fuerat quor excusarem officium vndiquaque, — scil. huiusmodi petitus telis, quum ferme nullus sit qui velit esse soluendo : verum et hic magis vtrique vestrum quam mihi ipsi memet accommodare volui' <sup>6)</sup>).

<sup>1)</sup> DE, 257 : Ccm, 249, 135 : the letter is evidently a copy by Dantiscus' amanuensis ; still the name of the writer has been left out.

<sup>2)</sup> Possibly Henry (up ten Haitzhovel) de Weze : cp. PighE, 12, sq. &c.

<sup>3)</sup> Long before Christian II became a prisoner, his chancellor John de Weze had placed himself entirely at Charles V's service : he was one of the profoundest politicians of his time, served as he was by a very clear sight, by a thorough knowledge of men and things, by strong and tenacious ideas of power, by measured proceedings, exact calculations and complete combinations, by prudent discretion, by undaunted energy and tireless activity. His conversation was clever and incisive, his morals stoically severe : unfortunately he was stirred up by a love of lucre, in so far that, not content with the wealthy abbey of Waldsassen of which he was commendatory abbot, that of Reichenau soon was joined, with the dignity of archbishop of Constance. Cp. AltRel., 167, sq.

<sup>4)</sup> Cp. before, pp 31, 54.

<sup>5)</sup> Cp. DE, 285.

<sup>6)</sup> DE, 258 : Fbm, 3, 88 : the last phrase on this page is a puzzle.

He refers to a town laid in ashes in the naval war with Lübeck. He sends news about Ferdinand, about Sigismund ab Herberstein, about Hungary, Aloysius Gritti and Andrew Doria. — Also, about the anathema on Henry VIII. — Sigismund a Dyetrichstein was struck by lightning in his fortress. He sends greetings to Campensis.

On August 31, 1533, Cornelius de Schepper wrote to Olah from Buccari, near Fiume <sup>1)</sup> : *Hodie, qui dies est ultimus mensis Augusti, venimus ad portum Buchari, qui olim fuit comitum de Frangipanibus, quorum etiam fuit Veglia ; et subito de aduentu nostro certiores fecimus Regiam Maiestatem et reverendissimum Tridentinum. Nolui autem omittere, quin id ipsum significarem reverendæ D. T. tam sacræ Reginalis Maiestatis nomine, quam suo, quorum utrique bene prospectum est. Circa calendas nouembres omnino sum istic futurus, si modo Deus mihi hanc vitam conseruarit. Interim consolare uxorem meam et familiam, si modo supersunt, et me sacræ Reginali Maiestati commenda. Ne mirere, quod in scribendo non sum largior, nam et nausea maris, in qua sumus duodecim dies versati post terrestrem longissimam profectionem, et negotia occurrentia, cogunt me esse quam velim breuiorem. Tu interim, mi optime frater, breui plura habiturus : rectissime vale. Ex castro Bucharo, ultimo Augusti 1533.*

Even before that letter reached him, Olah had sent a message to de Schepper from Ghent, where he still was on September 7 <sup>2)</sup>, when his friend's wife came to that town to see a cousin of hers who was poorly : she sent a servant to inquire whether there were any letters. — I had told her that I expected your 'celeris reditus' and mentioned your 'valetudo optima. Sed ', he adds, 'ut est perspicacis ingenii mulier, vix eam deludere queas verbis, nisi tuo aduentu. Litteras quas ad me misit, cum præsentibus accipies. Vale, et exilara nos tuis scriptis. Nunc non plura. Res meæ quomodo sint, nescio. Miror regem non esse inter suos tantæ authoritatis, ut cogere possit unicum Thewreck ad mea bona remittenda'. He bitterly

<sup>1)</sup> OlaE, 402 : Buchari, Buccari, is a place 8 km. S. E. of Fiume.

<sup>2)</sup> OlaE, 406-07.

complains about the ingratitude of princes, and hopes that the promises, which only recently he had mentioned to the Archbishop of Lund, will be realized : he thereto requests de Schepper's help.

A few days later, on September 25, 1533, Cornelius de Schepper wrote a short note from Vienna to Olah <sup>1)</sup> : ' Magnitudo negotiorum meorum efficit, ut non possim longior esse. Bene valeo. Neque negotia male se habent, sed exprimere ea ore possum magis quam litteris. Aduentum meum breui expecta ; dimissis enim equis et famulis ad vos veniam citissime ; illi sequentur. Deuotionem meam erga Reginalem Maiestatem non tam cupio vulgo notam iri, quam re veram esse. Bene vale, domine et amice optime. Ex Vienna, 25<sup>a</sup> Septembris 1533 '.

Actually de Schepper came home, and it is once more mentioned in a letter from Olah to the Archbishop of Lund that on November 4 he had returned to Brussels with his wife, intending leaving for Spain to go and see Charles V on November 12 or 13 <sup>2)</sup>. He waited longer than was foreseen, and only left on November 17, 1533 : on the next day a letter came from John de Weze, — to which Olah replied on November 19 <sup>3)</sup> : he sent the letter he received, evidently full of news about Hungary, so as to follow up Cornelius de Schepper, adding these lines <sup>4)</sup> : ' Heri allatæ sunt litteræ domini Lundensis, quas ad te mitto. Accepi Hungaros meos, qui sunt in parte Regis, meditari clam ea, de quibus fuëramus hic locuti ; id tamen non certo adhuc significatur : verum breui certius audiemus. Scribitur etiam nunc Woyuodam misisse commissarios suos Posonium, Regemque pariter ; nescio quid finient. Deus fortunet eorum tractatus ! Rex idem profecturus est Pragam ; Bohemi namque in quatuor temporibus Nativitatis Domini habituri sunt istic iudicia, in quibus forte rex aliquid corradere poterit. — Regina ægrotat ; nos bene valemus, sed vellem, ut et ipsa bene valeret. Tu, mi Scephere, cura ut valeas, et rebus ex sententia istic confectis, cito huc redi ; interea tamen scribe, tisque scriptis nos refocilla. Vale, Bruxellæ, 19<sup>a</sup> Novembris 1533.

<sup>1)</sup> OlaE, 415.

<sup>2)</sup> OlaE, 424-25.

<sup>3)</sup> OlaE, 425-27.

<sup>4)</sup> OlaE, 427.

It has already been mentioned before, that, late in the summer of 1523, on returning from his second journey to the Court of Charles of Austria, Dantiscus went from the Netherlands by Germany, and was, for a time, a guest at Melanchthon's house, from where he then paid the famous visit to Luther <sup>1)</sup>. He at once announced that news to his mentor Decius, who, on November 10, 1523, replied from Naples <sup>2)</sup>, that he was pleased to hear that he had become a friend to Melanchthon, whom he far preferred to Luther, and whom he would be glad to help out of that tragedy <sup>3)</sup>. The following letter, — edited by Hipler, in 1868, and afterwards reproduced by H. Bindseil, 1874, — refers to the assistance which, about September 1533, Dantiscus had given him recently by seconding and protecting him at the Reichstag, when he was abandoned by all his friends, refusing to back him up, as, no doubt, Bishop Cricius, Melanchthon's Polish favourer, had informed Dantiscus <sup>4)</sup> : it evidently appeared to be a favourable occasion to get him separated definitively from Luther, as some hoped : — still others, like Cochläus, had no illusion at all about such an estrangement.

In fact, on Sept. 5, 1533, Philip Melanchthon wrote from Wittenberg to Dantiscus <sup>5)</sup> : ‘ S. D. Clarissime Princeps, Rogavit me hic adolescens, ut literas ad te darem, quod ego non solum ipsius causa, sed multo magis etiam mea causa libenter feci. Gaudebam enim occasionem mihi offerri significandæ tibi gratitudinis meæ. Etenim cum me singulari benevolentia amplexus sis in eo præsertim loco, in quo nobis etiam coniunctissimorum hominum studia defuerunt <sup>6)</sup>, facile perspexi insignem humanitatem tuam, teque cum propter alias egregias virtutes, tum vero propter hanc humanitatem, homine docto et sapienti dignissimam, vehementer amare cœpi. Neque ego nunc de causa quidquam disputabo, in qua scis me nihil aliud in utraque parte contendisse, quam ut moderatius utrinque res gereretur. Tantum de tuis summis officiis dicam, quæ cum mihi gratissima fuerint, plurimum me tibi per omnem vitam debere profitebor, teque rogo ut me tuo beneficio tibi devinctum commendatum habere velis.

Porro fretus humanitate tua, ausus sum tibi etiam hunc adolescentem Matthiam Langum, natum in tua ditione, commendare ; versatur in literis optima cum spe. Non enim

<sup>1)</sup> Cp. before, pp 9, sq.

<sup>2)</sup> Cp. before, pp 10, sq.

<sup>3)</sup> Cp. Enders, III, 436, VIII, 64.

<sup>4)</sup> *Melanch.*, 357 ; *MelaVers.*, 19.

<sup>5)</sup> DE, 259 ; Upm, 154, 116 ; Hipler, 74 ; *MeLEB*, 523-24 ; *Melanch.*, 357.

<sup>6)</sup> Viz., his own partisans, the non-Catholics.

tantum has primas artes probe tenet, sed philosophiam etiam veterem ac sinceram degustavit, ad quam meo quidem iudicio natura ducitur, sed luctatur cum paupertate, quam scis inimicam esse studiosis. Videt autem patriæ suæ contigisse id quod Plato recte censet utilissimum esse civitati, ut philosophi regnent. Ideo duxit sibi ad te confugiendum esse, quod civium tuorum studia tibi, Principi doctissimo, maxime arbitrabatur curæ esse. Rogo igitur, ut adolescentem optimæ spei respicias, ac tua auctoritate iuves. Mores eius ita mihi noti sunt, ut non dubitem polliceri, quidquid in eum contuleris, positurum te beneficium apud hominem gratum. Et profecto in tali tua fortuna, nihil facere poteris te dignius, quam si studia tuorum civium et excitaveris et adiuveris. Bene vale, et literas meas boni consule. Eobanus revocatus est Erfordiam, ibique sic satis commodam conditionem nunc habet <sup>1)</sup>. Id adscripsi, quod sciebam te ipsius ingenium valde amare. Iterumque vale. Nonis Septembris Anno 1533. Tuæ Dign. studiosiss. Philippus Melantho'.

On September 7, 1533, the Wittenberg professor of jurisprudence Dr Sebalduß Münster, who, on July 1, 1532, was entrusted with a letter to Dantiscus by Hessus <sup>2)</sup>, still thanks for the favour granted the preceding year in Ratisbon <sup>3)</sup>, and recommends the young man about whom Melanchthon writes to Dantiscus in the preceding letter.

On September 11, 1533, John de Weze, Archbishop-elect of Lund, wrote from Vienna <sup>4)</sup> : 'Ex literis Dni Joannis Campensis in Castro Heilsbergo, absque data scriptis, intellexi Rev<sup>m</sup>am Dn<sup>m</sup> Vram satis recte in sua diocesi valere. Accepi enim R<sup>e</sup> P<sup>tis</sup> V<sup>ræ</sup> ad Magnificum Dominum Cornelium Scep-perum literas scriptas, quas penes me reservo vsque ad illius

<sup>1)</sup> Eobanus Hessus : cp. DE, 249 : p 165.

<sup>2)</sup> Cp. p 149 ; DE, 223 : Fbm, 3, 76 ; Enders, VII, 339, XII, 271. In *Beit-Brieg.*, 55, his name is written *Münsterer*. At the outbreak of the pest in Wittenberg in 1539, he died with his wife and three inmates : Luther took the orphaned children into his house : Köstlin, II, 446.

<sup>3)</sup> DE, 260 : Upm, 154, 118.

<sup>4)</sup> DE, 261 : Ccm, 243, 329, and Ccm, 49, 643 ; it reached Dantiscus on October 12.

reditum, cum nulla fuit ad eum mittendi opportunitas. On May 17, I fell dangerously ill here in Vienna; I am better now. I hear that you have lost a lot in a fire, which I, and all in the Court, are sad about <sup>1)</sup>. Ulric Ehinger offers to take letters to you and also to Spain, whereto he returns on the 20<sup>th</sup>. Heri accepimus literas a Domino Cornelio nostro : illum appulisse in Croatia, Regiæ Romanorum &c Majestatis domino, in portu Buccharj nuncupato <sup>2)</sup>, non procul a S<sup>to</sup>. Vito, nec procul a Tergesto. Speramus illum infra dies ix. hic futurum. Rectissime valet ; pacem scribit compositam et confirmatam a Turca ; conditiones autem non scribit, sed se personaliter referre promittit. Hic est fama Andream Doria et Marchionem vicisse classem Turcicam, quæ obsidet Coronam ; etiam hanc urbem esse liberatam, Cornelius et alii scribunt ; sed Cornelius dicit se tantum ex auditu habere <sup>3)</sup> '. The Imperatrix has been dangerously ill at Barcelona. News of Charles V, and of the Pope, who goes to Nice ; Suffolk, messenger of the King of England, is on his way to meet him, so as to make peace. So is Francis I. — Godschalcus noster est in Hispania, et optime valet. He himself is ready to do what he can to help Dantiscus ; he is now waiting in Vienna for the Emperor's orders.

On October 8, 1533, Cornelius de Schepper replies finally from Vienna to a request from his big friend Dantiscus, and relates what has happened to him <sup>4)</sup>. He left Vienna on April 12 ; he reached Constantinople on May 20, and he returned to Vienna on September 20. He there found Dantiscus' letter at de Weze's ; he thanks heartily for the condolence offered : he forgets the losses of land in flooded Flanders, and, having left ground enough yet, he hopes that the Princes, one day, will remember him. He is now ready to leave 'per equos dispositos' to Spain by Flanders, where he intends

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<sup>1)</sup> He refers to the fire in Culm : cp. DE, 266, p 188 ; also letter of Erasmus to Goclenius, Nov. 7, 1533 : Allen, x, 2876, 2-6.

<sup>2)</sup> Buccari, E of Fiume : cp. before, p 181 ; St. Vito and Buccari are more than 100 km distant in a straight line : de Weze writes evidently about things he does not know.

<sup>3)</sup> Cp. CMH, III, 107, sq.

<sup>4)</sup> DE, 262 : Upm, 154, 120-21 ; it reached Dantiscus on February 2, 1534.

staying three days. — In Dec. 1532 Ferdinand sent Jerome de Zara to the Turk : he prepared peace ; but afterwards the Sultan dispatched one of the ‘Zaws’ as envoy ; then His Imperial Majesty requested him, de Schepper, to go to Constantinople. ‘Parui. Veni. Vidi. Vici.’<sup>1</sup>). For bad men and bad Christians wanted to spoil everything, and, in a way, they actually did. Still, now a long, even a perpetual, and soundly based peace has been concluded on June 23. Properly, only four people know all about it : he himself, de Schépper, and Jerome de Zara are two of them. That peace is the more wonderful, and was the more difficult to establish, as there was no religious philosophy, no natural law, nor any other thing to start from or to rely on : only the ‘sic volo, sic jubeo !’ Why the Turk accepted it ? he had lost one hundred and thirty thousand men the year before, and to no good or to no profit whatever ; besides, the Greeks and several other Christian subjects threaten revolution ; Tagmats Sophi, Ismael’s son, also becomes menacing. Then Andrew Doria, too, with the fleet and the Greeks, was victor at Coron : hence, ‘ex brevi videbis interitum bestię !’ — He also adds : — unfortunately as a sign that the Christians cannot see their advantage, and, irrespective of their own griefs, do not avail themselves of this unique occasion to vanquish their secular enemy ! — even the Pope does not turn to Nice, but to Marseille, and to the French King ! — He hopes to be back in Vienna within three months.

On November 15, 1533, John de Weze, Archbishop-elect of Lund, writes to Dantiscus from Vienna<sup>2</sup>), to thank him for letters to him, and also to de Schepper sent by Ulric Ehinger. He rejoices in the announcement that their friend has brought back peace ; he received from His Imperial Majesty and from Ferdinand a gold chain of five hundred ducats, and three hundred *aurati* in money, besides an annual pension of two hundred guilders. — I left Vienna on October 10, and I am

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<sup>1</sup>) Cp. p 165 ; for want of necessary documents, de Schepper’s journeys to Constantinople have been at times badly judged, even by *would-be* well informed historians, such as the one who refers to his mission in *CMH*, III, 108, sq !

<sup>2</sup>) DE, 263 : Upm, 154, 122-23 ; it reached Dantiscus on December 27.



waiting here, he writes, for Aloys Gritti, 'pro confinibus designandis'. He thanks for news about the Denmark Royal family : Christina, the daughter of Christian, married the Duke of Milan <sup>1)</sup>, to whom she was then taken from Flanders by the Lord of Praet for the great festivity in Italy <sup>2)</sup>. He further provides news from the other Scandinavian countries, as well as from Italy and France, and he closes with the announcement that Jerome Lasky returned from Constantinople, but quarrelled with the Vaivode.

When in December 1533 he went to meet the Emperor at Monzon <sup>3)</sup> in Spain, Cornelius de Schepper was once more sent to Turkey for a truce or for peace, and again, as if he had only been sent by Ferdinand. He especially was requested to ask for the motive which had kept back Aloys Gritti from coming to Hungary to delimitate the territory between Ferdinand and Zapolya. Once more Charles V wanted himself to be kept entirely out of the mission : still he wished de Schepper to find out in secret about the intrigues of Francis I in Constantinople, as well as about the amount of naval forces of which Barbarossa was going to dispose. Those instructions were given at Monzon on December 24, 1533, and de Schepper was consequently sent from Prague on February 14, 1534 <sup>4)</sup> to Fiume, where he again was to meet Jerome de Zara as companion. Unfortunately the latter fell ill in Illyria on March 8, 1534, and could not continue the journey. He himself finally reached Constantinople on April 26, 1534. At his interview with the Sultan, he had to correct many false statements which had been imparted by the King of France, as if Charles had had no right to imprison either him, or his sons, and had caused him many unbearable losses of country. After several meetings between de Schepper and the Sultan, the latter finally decided that what had been granted, was considered as such, but that the Emperor was to appoint a regular ambassador. Meanwhile the peace ensured to Ferdinand and the restitution of the goods and of the property requested by Mary of Hungary was duly decided on, and approved of entirely.

De Schepper left Constantinople on June 13, and was kept for some days on his way, until, thanks to Jerome Lasky, who had rejoined him, he could continue the journey. He reached Hungary and arrived at Pressburg on July 15, but was ill with fatigue. He sent a report to Ferdinand on August 2, and left for Spain, where the Emperor was highly pleased with all the information he provided about the Sultan

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<sup>1)</sup> Cp. Cartwright, 71-78 ; and further, DE, 300.

<sup>2)</sup> Cartwright, 78-93.

<sup>3)</sup> Cornelius de Schepper left Brussels to go and meet the Emperor at Monzon about a second mission to Constantinople.

<sup>4)</sup> Cp. further, DE, 272.

and Barbarossa, and about the intriguing of the French King <sup>1)</sup>. He rewarded de Schepper with the title of Private Councillor of the Netherlands, and sent him with messages to Queen Mary, as well as to his ambassador in France, and to the Count of Nassau. He was further allowed to return to his family, but was urgently requested to keep ready to intervene whenever the King of France should try and seduce the Princes of the Empire by his shameless intrigues.

From Monzon Cornelius de Schepper wrote a message to Olah, Dec. 27, 1533 <sup>2)</sup>: ‘Quominus hactenus quicquam scripserim de rebus meis, in causa fuit, quod nulli tabellarii adhuc ad vos profecti sunt. Tanta enim mole negotiorum primates isti viri fuere obruti, ut minime intendere potuerint ad expeditionem eorum. Nunc autem venit iste ad vos, per quem nihil aliud scribere possum, quam me perquam recte valere, propediemque hinc expeditum iri in Austriam. Non satis autem adhuc scio, an per Flandriam sum profecturus, an recta per Burgundiam. Id, quod video Cæsari magis cordi esse, timent, ne me uxor amicique detineant. Quicquid erit, facile reddam D. V. certiore. De rebus nihil video, quod scribi possit : nihil enim dum emersit scriptu dignum. Poterit interim D. V. res suas, quas per me curatas velit, scripto redigere, ut acceptis secundis litteris meis, vel etiam si forte egomet aduenero, possit idipsum aut mittere Viennam, aut mihi in manus tradere <sup>3)</sup>. Nihil habeo aliud in præsentiarum ; occurrer enim negotiis quibusdam de quibus postea fiet certior. Illustri dnæ. comitissæ a Salm, dominæ Baillieul, dominæque Lucretiæ <sup>4)</sup> me plurimum commenda, et bene vale. Ex Montisono die 27<sup>a</sup> Decembris 1533’.

## CULM 1534

The beginnings of Dantiscus as Bishop of Culm were not very encouraging. There first happened a fire which destroyed part of his Cathedral, and even some of his own belongings,

<sup>1)</sup> *SchepMiss.*, 43-67.

<sup>2)</sup> *OlaE*, 435.

<sup>3)</sup> This letter may have been the one which was handed to Olah on January 14 : if so, it was accompanied by one to Goclenius, to whom it was sent on January 15 : *Heri redditæ sunt mihi litteræ Cornelii nostri, cum quibus accepi et has ad te datas : OlaE*, 444.

<sup>4)</sup> Those acquaintances made at Mary of Hungary's Court, are referred to in several subsequent letters : cp. letter of May 31, 1535.

so that he was compelled to find the means to supply all deficiencies, as well as to face all the charges of the necessary repairs <sup>1)</sup>).

There moreover were some difficulties about dues to be paid, which in 1533, were insistingly claimed by Stanislas Kostka, the Polish receiver, but which Dantiscus felt sure that they were due to Prussia, to of which part of the diocese belonged. It caused quite a discontent, in so far that many Polish noblemen became opposed to Dantiscus. Even the Archbishop of Gnesen, Matthias Drevecius, wrote to him on November 30, 1533, and described the way in which the treasurer had been compelled in his diocese, as a suspect, to appeal for a shelter to the 'Conventum Graudentinum' ; he warned him that the treatment of such a magistrate might cause a general indignation in Poland <sup>2)</sup>. In fact, Kostka's friends and connections managed so actively, that they made the old and trusty friend of the Polish Royalty highly suspicious at Court, — from where the King was absent, — and certainly with Queen Bona <sup>3)</sup>. In his abandonment, Dantiscus applied to his friend Cardinal Tomicki, mentioning that it was said that an old protector, like Christopher de Szydlowiecki, the Vice-Chancellor, had even wished that Culm diocese should be given to his own 'servitor' Dnm Plotowski. Tomicki replied on April 11, 1534 <sup>4)</sup> : he assured Dantiscus of his staunch affection, as well as of King Sigismund's prudence : the Queen may believe what is said of Dantiscus, but he is certain to rely only on facts and on reality. Tomicki also made Dantiscus attentive to the envy, which is as part of court-life. He heartily inspirited his old friend, enjoining him to be courageous and manful. And as to de Szydlowiecki, he had only mentioned the exility of Culm diocese after the large amount of services rendered by Dantiscus, deserving a far different reward. On his return the King is certain to put all things right. At any rate Tomicki assured that the rumour was due only to Kostka <sup>5)</sup> and to his chief assistant, the unavowable Dzialinski ; he meanwhile wrote to the Arch-

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<sup>1)</sup> Cp. John de Weze's letter of Sept. 11, 1533 : DE, 261 (p 185).

<sup>2)</sup> Cp. Ccm, 1595, ff 633, sq.

<sup>3)</sup> Cp. before, pp 6, 7, 8, &c.

<sup>4)</sup> DE, 282 : April 11, 1534.

<sup>5)</sup> Cp. DE, 282 ; *CatCzart.*, II, 253.

bishop of Gnesen in favour of Dantiscus, to whom he assured that *Tempus multa corrigit*.

Little by little things calmed down ; still, as late as August 7, 1535, Dantiscus once more mentioned the opposition to John Cochläus <sup>1)</sup>, and even found it necessary to prove that he was, and never had ceased at any moment to be a true subject of Poland <sup>2)</sup>. Fortunately Dantiscus could rely on truth and on his unquestionable conviction, as well as on that of staunch friends, like Tomicki, who did the work of a good advocate when the King returned from his long absence. At any rate, on December 23, 1535, Dantiscus wrote to de Schepper from Löbau, and thanked him for the advice he had given about the *calumniatores* : the spirit of the letter is actual proof that the latter had been reduced victoriously to silence <sup>3)</sup>. Indeed, in that letter Dantiscus refers to the marriage of Hedwige, Sigismund's and Barbara's daughter, with Joachim, elector of Brandenburg, at Cracow, on August 29, 1535, at which Dantiscus had been present. 'In quibus serenissimus dominus meus', Dantiscus adds, 'opera ac servitio meo usus est sæpius, non sine calumniatorum meorum dolore et mœrore, nemoque illorum ausus fuit, cum me coram Rege et Regina publice, etiam illis audientibus, offerrem ad respondendum omnibus, qui me iniquissime detulissent, vel mutire quidem. In eaque oblatione perstiti coram Principibus meis adque unius fere integri mensis decursum : tandem cum laude et gratia illarum maiestatum benigniter dimissus' <sup>4)</sup>. It occasioned the edition of Dantiscus' *Epithalamium Reginæ Bonæ*, which was enriched and enlarged by facts, such as the recent victory of John Tarnow 'ex Moscis lata, cum nonnullis hostium castris, necnon firmissimo eorum, *Starodub* nuncupato, potitus sit'. It also caused Dantiscus to praise the virtues of the King's son, and thus the *Epithalamium* was made far more interesting 'priusquam episcopus post unius fere integri mensis Cracovia discessit' <sup>5)</sup>.

<sup>1)</sup> DE, 270 (Ccm, 247, 177), 309 ; ZGE, ix, 525, sq.

<sup>2)</sup> Biblioth. Ossoliniana MS, published by L. Finkel, *Poselstwa Jana Dantyszka* : Llow, 1879 : 55. <sup>3)</sup> DE, 317 : Ccm, 244, 43-51.

<sup>4)</sup> DE, 317 : Ccm, 244, 43-51 : cp. further in those letters.

<sup>5)</sup> *DantCar.*, xix-xxi.

It was as the perfect proof of the restitution of Dantiscus in favour with the entire Royal Family.

On January 11, 1534, Dantiscus wrote from *Castrum Lubaniacum* in his diocese of Culm <sup>1)</sup>, that, from John de Weze's letter, sent from Vienna on November 15, 1533, which reached him on December 27, he had learned that de Schepper had written to him before leaving for Spain, which letter, however, did not reach him. He now heartily rejoices in the splendid reward which his Royal Highness gave him. He requests him to look after Isipe <sup>2)</sup> in Spain, of whom Albert <sup>3)</sup>, agent of the Velsers, takes care : he will refund whatever he should spend. He sends news from the Lübeck people, who are tired of the war, especially since the '*classis Belgica, preter duas naves, vi tempestatis sub littoratus Norvegiæ naufragium ab his qui interfuerunt fecisse fertur*' <sup>4)</sup>. They are going to make peace this month with Danzig, Bremen Hamburg and Lüneburg by arbiters, either in Bremen or in Hamburg ; the King of Poland is even sending his *cubicularius*, so as to tell him what is decided. I hope, Dantiscus adds, that soon everything will be settled, and that the '*Hollandi tuto ad nos ire poterint*' ; so that you might order '*tutius cerevisiam Dantiscam et alia*'. Here, in my poor diocese, I am so happy that I should not like to change with anybody, although I am not quite free from difficulties moved against me <sup>5)</sup>. There is nobody whom I should like to see as much as you : if you ever come to our King, please visit me too : it is only eighty miles. Please send your letters by a better tabellarius, and recommend me in Spain to '*Magistro Domino Commendatore maiore Couos, D. de Granvelle*', the

<sup>1)</sup> DE, 266 : Ccm, 244, 10 : it is also copied in Knm, 232, 132-33 and Olm, 151, 115-16.

<sup>2)</sup> Cp. further, DE, 345.

<sup>3)</sup> Albert, probably Cuon, Chon : cp. DE, 364 & p 201.

<sup>4)</sup> The rumour of the nearly complete destruction of a *Classis Belgica* is referred to in other letters : DE, 265, 272 ; they probably were merchant vessels with an exceptional man-of-war for safety intending to enter the Baltic Sea. At any rate, no mention is made of a collected and armed fleet, which then seemed unjustified, — quite different from the French Fleet, which in 1543 actually perished on the coast of Norway : AltRel., 461.

<sup>5)</sup> Cp. before pp 188, sq.

Count of Nassau and the old friends. If this letter should reach you in Austria or in Bohemia, you know whom to greet. 'E Castro Lubauiaco, xi. jan. 1534'.

On the same day, January 11, 1534, Dantiscus also wrote a letter from the *Castrum Lubauiacum* to John de Weze <sup>1)</sup>, to whom he mentioned the nice reward granted by the King to de Schepper, and his being sent to Spain. He refers to the naval affairs in the Baltic, and the sad fate of the 'Classis Belgica'. He mentions that his brother-in-law, Doctor Joannes Rheyneck <sup>2)</sup>, has received a pension from King Ferdinand, and he consequently requests de Weze that it should be duly paid : for, he asks, is not his wife my sister ? He finishes by begging him to excuse a short letter : 'Parcat D. R. V. literis' : indeed, 'caligant fenestræ et ad lumen candelæ scripsi'.

On January 17, 1534, Cornelius de Schepper wrote to Olah from Dole <sup>3)</sup>, as the Emperor did not grant him leave to return to Austria by Flanders, 'verente', he writes, 'ne non tam facile a charissima coniuge divellerer'. He hopes to reach Vienna before the first of February. He mentions further : 'Cæsar concessit mihi locum in Consilio Priuato, aut Secreto apud Reginalem Maiestatem', of which the diploma is to be sent by the treasurer Wolfgang Haller to Queen Mary, and further to his wife. He recommends himself to the Queen and the Ladies <sup>4)</sup>.

About the same time Olah replied from Brussels to de Schepper's letter of December 27 on January 22 <sup>5)</sup>, as he concluded that his friend must have gone straight to Austria. He requests him and John de Weze to do what they can, along with King Ferdinand 'ut mea rehabeam', as he writes, and as he and Queen Mary had asked her brother the King, and the Bishop of Trent ; 'velim existimes', he concludes, 'me nihil unquam a te ex animo magis rogasse, quam ut meam hanc causam ex animi nostri sententia conficias'.

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<sup>1)</sup> DE, 265 : Olm, 151, 115.

<sup>2)</sup> Cp. before, p 147.

<sup>3)</sup> OlaE, 445.

<sup>4)</sup> Cp. OlaE, 436 : before, p 188, and letter of May 31, 1535.

<sup>5)</sup> OlaE, 446-47.

During the month of January 1534, Dantiscus wrote to John de Weze from Löbau <sup>1)</sup>, thanking for his letter of November 15, 1533, which reached him on December 27, but he regrets that the letter of their *frater communis Cornelius* has gone astray : for he had written 'copiosissime', as he announced, before leaving for Spain. He requests his friend to find it, and send it : he rejoices that King Ferdinand 'adeo liberaliter exornauerit et donauerit' [de Schepper] : he is now once more writing to him in Spain.

On January 25, 1534, Camillus Gilinus — the secretary of Duke Francesco Sforza of Milan, — writes from Brussels to Dantiscus <sup>2)</sup>, expressing great pleasure at hearing of his health and prosperity : he sends to him two epitaphs on Mary of Hungary's white falcon. He also adds news of the Court, of Rome, of Henry VIII, who is said to be mad, and whom they call on *schedulis*, 'simoneum et bastardum' <sup>3)</sup> ; — also of Gianfrancesco Pico della Mirandola (1470-1533), the scholarly nephew of Giovanni Pico (1463-1494), whom his nephew Galeotto killed after a feast on Oct. 15, 1533 : Sandys, II, 113, 82, 98, 214 ; Symonds, 422-23 ; Allen, x, 2906, <sup>33</sup>.

On January 25, 1534, the Bishop Peter Tomicki, Chancellor of Poland, wrote to Dantiscus from Piotrków, Petrocovia <sup>4)</sup>, about several personages, but especially about John van Campen : 'Campensis quem michi commendat Dominatio vestra Rev<sup>ma</sup>', he writes, 'singulari favore prosequare libenter : et consilio atque ope illum quantum maxime potero, pro illius meritis et eruditione sublevabo, et cum illius institutum melius perspexero, illud pro virili adiuuabo'. The letter further refers to various people and affairs.

On January 26, 1534, Campensis himself writes from Petrokow to Dantiscus <sup>5)</sup>, thanking him effusively for his good

<sup>1)</sup> DE, 268 : Ccm, 244, 9.

<sup>2)</sup> DE, 269 : Fbm, 3, 94 : it reached Dantiscus on March 1.

<sup>3)</sup> LaemKirch., 72, sq.

<sup>4)</sup> DE, 270 : Ccm, 247, 177, sq.

<sup>5)</sup> DE, 271 : Ccm, 247, 185 : the letter reached Dantiscus at Löbau on January 31.

fortune : 'Mag<sup>us</sup> D<sup>nus</sup> Castellanus Gedanensis [Achatius Czeme] et D. Christophorus Beyer, consul Gedanensis, humanissime in hunc usque diem me habent, quos hodie abituros hinc puto : quod si fiat, recta ibo in aulam Rever<sup>mt</sup> et Christ. pij D<sup>ni</sup> Cracoviensis <sup>1)</sup>, qui me in suam familiam tam admisit libenter vt et gaudere se diceret, quod ego illud ab illius paternitate fieri cupiuerim : non diu apud illum herere decreui, sed quam primum id fieri poterit recta tendere Cracoviam. R<sup>us</sup> D<sup>nus</sup> Plocensis <sup>2)</sup> blandissime complexus est me, et chartulas meas integras mihi reddidit. *Ecclesiasten* iussit excudi, dicaturus vt dicebat illum iuniori regi ; vidi Thoronij adiunctum illum *psalterio*, sed typographus qui editionem Parisiens. imitatus est, nomen suum neque locum addidit : in hoc credo vt pro Parisiensi vendere possit. Rev<sup>us</sup> D<sup>us</sup> Camienieccensis <sup>3)</sup> his Comitijs hic non fuit ; quare fasciculum vna cum literis in manus tradidi Rev<sup>t</sup> D. Plocensis, qui recepit bona se fide curaturum vt illi integer contingat. Philippus <sup>4)</sup> rescripsit D. Plocensi, qui literas mihi legendas dedit : scribit se fortasse obiter aliquando inuisurum academiam Cracouiensem ; vestrae D. mentionem facit, sed mei non credo illum olfecisse ; parum mihi probari quæ scribuntur ab illo ; scribam ordine contra totum illius commentarium in Paulum ; spero me rem habere tam compertam vt ipse habiturus non sit quod dicat contra. Erasmi *de Sarcienda Ecclesiae Pace* legi libellum <sup>5)</sup> : videtur mihi magnifico titulo parum respondere tractatus ipse. — Quanquam opus fore non puto, tamen cuperem impetrare a D<sup>ne</sup> vestra epistolium quoddam ad Aliandrum <sup>6)</sup>, quo R<sup>a</sup> Vestra D. testetur me cum gratia discessisse. Hæsurus sum

<sup>1)</sup> Viz., Bishop Tomicki, Royal Secretary.

<sup>2)</sup> The Bishop of Plock was then John Choiensky, who, from Cracow Archdeacon, became Bishop of Przemisl, then by 1534 of Plock, and finally of Cracow : DE, 280 ; *CatCzart.*, 1, 40, 41, 42, 51, 85, 11, 253, 255.

<sup>3)</sup> Probably Camieniecz Podolski, seat of a Bishop, which, later on, was occupied by Hosius : Gams, 83.

<sup>4)</sup> Melanchthon.

<sup>5)</sup> Viz., *Liber de Sarcienda Ecclesiæ Concordia deque sedandis Opiniorum Dissidiis* : Basle, J. Froben & N. Episcopus, 1533 : in that same year, it was also printed at Leipzig and Paris, and translated into Flemish and German : *EraBib.*, 1, 116.

<sup>6)</sup> Viz., Cardinal Aleander, in whose house at Venice he wished to reside to be taught by Elias Levita : cp. DE, 290.



Cracouiæ mensem vnum et fortasse alterum ; quare si quæ literæ mihi inscriptæ ad D. Vestram peruenerint, mittantur ad Georgium Hegeler. Imaginem non tam mei quam quantum meminisse possum charissimi patris mei, isthic cum aliud non haberem, D. Vestræ in memoriam mei reliqui : D. Vestra, certo scio, non illibenter locum illi concedet inter reliqua. Oro Deum omnipotentem ut Rev<sup>m</sup> Vestram Paternitatem quam diutissime cum tota cognatione seruet incolumem. Scribam e Cracouia latius. Cupio ex animo commendari R. Pat. Vestræ, generosi matri, et honestissimis sororibus. Petrocouiæ, 26 Januarij 1534. R. D. V. deditissimus seruulus Joan. Campensis.

R. D<sup>no</sup> Ep. Culm. Lubauij '.

On February 1, 1534, Olah wrote from Brussels to Cornelius de Schepper to answer his letters of Dole of January 17 <sup>1)</sup> ; he once more wrote on February 8, to announce him that Queen Mary was very pleased to learn of his appointment as her secret councillor ; he further repeats recommendations about the restitutions <sup>2)</sup>).

From Prague, de Schepper replied to him on February 8, ad 'litteras D. V. de dato 22<sup>a</sup> Januarii, 1534 <sup>3)</sup> : Accepi et memoriale, quod diligenter exequar. Gritti nondum venit, deque eo nihil auditur, nisi quod deduxit Ibrahim Bassam in Anatoliam, rediturus postea huc. Iam expedimus cursorem hunc citissime ad Cæsarem. Ego forte ibo obviam Gritti, ubicumque sit ; sed hæc sint D. V. secreta, nisi Reginali Maiestati dicenda. Breuitas temporis facit me nunc inscribendo breuem : cum Thesaurario Haller D. V. transigat, ut mandatum consiliariatus mei cito ad uxorem mittat, et scribat responsum ad litteras prius scriptas. Scribam breui plura '. Ex Praga, 8<sup>a</sup> Febr., 1534.

On February 13, 1534, John de Weze wrote to Dantiscus from Prague <sup>4)</sup> that he had received a letter from *Castra Lubaniorum*, and had taken care of the affair of D<sup>r</sup> Reyneck with the King. He had kept a letter addressed to Schepperus,

<sup>1)</sup> OlaE, 451.

<sup>2)</sup> OlaE, 453-55.

<sup>3)</sup> OlaE, 455.

<sup>4)</sup> DE, 273 : Upm, 154, 124 : it reached Dantiscus on March 24.

as he was expected, and had sent the others to Spain through Godschalk Saxencarl and Ulric Ehinger. To-morrow de Schepper is leaving once more for Constantinople from here.

On the same February 13, 1534, Cornelius de Schepper thanked Dantiscus from Prague for two letters received <sup>1)</sup>. He had arrived there on February 5, and he is leaving for Constantinople on the following day, the 14<sup>th</sup>. He now goes for the sake of 'Jhope' and the 'Joannitæ' (cp. pp 229-30), prepared in Spain by Godschalk Ericius, and Jerome Sayler, — but not by Ulric Ehinger, who is against the Welsers and proves imprudent. He himself did not go home to Bruges on his return from Spain, but he wrote to his wife. He had written in October to John Choiensky, Bishop of Przemisl <sup>2)</sup>, and to the Queen and to John, Count of Tarnow <sup>3)</sup>, besides to him, John Dantiscus, and those letters had been entrusted to Charles Coczer <sup>4)</sup>: he hopes that they did not get lost. He has now a son, called Cornelius after himself; he was four days with his wife. He refers to the Lübeck people, and to the wreck of the thirty Belgian ships 'præter armatas'. Of them only four or five were saved! News of the Imperial Majesty, and of what he orders in Spain; he met there the Marquis of Nassau at Bellpuig <sup>5)</sup> on his way to and through France. He imparts news about what happened at Marseille, and about what is going on in Germany, and in the Indies. In Bohemia, the Count of Nogarolles and George Sapkoe greet Dantiscus, and he salutes Campensis, whose *Paraphrases* he saw printed at Lyons with a disputation, which he now sends to Dantiscus. He thanks him for the large amount of information in Diplomacy which he received, and he asks for his prayers. He sends love to his family, to Dr John Reyneck, whose affair will be seen to by de Weze. He himself leaves for Constantinople to-morrow.

On February 14, 1534, Cornelius de Schepper announces to Olah from Prague his second mission to Constantinople <sup>6)</sup>:

<sup>1)</sup> DE, 272 : Upm, 154, 125-26 : it also reached Dantiscus on March 24.

<sup>2)</sup> Cp. p 194.

<sup>3)</sup> Cp. DE, 234, 236.

<sup>4)</sup> Coczer : cp. DE, 283.

<sup>5)</sup> MS Belpuits : probably Bellpuig, E of Lerida.

<sup>6)</sup> OlaE, 456-57.

‘Non opus est me pluribus verbis uti in isto meo repentino recessu. Ego enim abeo hodie rursus ad Turcas quæsiturus Aloysium Gritti, et eum ad serenissimum Regem adducturus. Alia præterea factururus, quæ mihi sunt iniuncta, id, quod rogo, dignetur R. D. V. Reginali Maiestati significare. Cuius litteris credentialibus super Grittum utar suo tempore, neque immemor ero negotiorum tuorum, quæ mihi non minus sunt cordi, quam mea propria. Habeo enim et porto mecum memoriale de omnibus. In summa hoc tibi persuade me et Reginalis Maiestatis et D. V. rem ita acturum, atque meam propriam. Commendo interim D. V. res meas quæ istic sunt, et familiam. Et bene vale’.

On February 17, 1534, Olah wrote from Brussels to de Schepper in reply to his letter of February 8 <sup>1)</sup>, about the absence of Gritti and Bassa, expressing his surprise at John Zapolya being made secure of all he obtained. He will see that Haller, the head of the *financiaril* <sup>2)</sup>, take due note of his recent appointment, so that it be paid, and the document sent to Lady de Schepper. ‘Tu fac’, he concludes, ‘munus tuum peragas, et qualicunque via poterit ex animi nostri sententia. Meas res habe commendatas et ita, ut ego in te confido, et tu pollicitus es Reginæ, et mihi iam dudum te obtulisti. — Litteras uxoris tuæ cum præsentibus ad te mitto. Quas autem nunc ad eam dedisti, cras eo mittam. — Vale, et scribe de omnibus rebus sine timore’.

On February 19, 1534, John van Campen, writing from Cracow to Peter Tomicki, Bishop of Cracow and also Chancellor of Poland <sup>3)</sup>, dedicates to him his edition of the Proverbs of Solomon. He thanks the Bishop for his great kindness, for, like Dantiscus, — who kept him ‘liberaliter et humaniter’ two full years, — he stayed very long in Cracow ; nor could he get away from it, on account of Tomicki. As he had promised, he has now explained some letters of St. Paul there, and he intends remaining until they are finished. He

<sup>1)</sup> OlaE, 457-58.

<sup>2)</sup> Wolfgang Haller was at the head of the Finances in Brussels : cp. p 192 ; Henne, x, 250, 2.

<sup>3)</sup> DE, 274 : Fbm, 3, 96 ; Hipler, 504-6.

hopes that the book he now offers, will be useful to Sigismund-August, the younger Polish King, whose 'alter Pater' the Bishop is. — On the reverse of this letter, — which is a mere copy, — John van Campen wrote the draft of a letter to Dantiscus, to whom he is sending a few copies of Solomon's Proverbs : he hopes they will please him, as well as Justus Decius, and George Hegel ; Charles Coczer <sup>1)</sup> will see that they are dispatched along with the copy of the dedicatory letter to Tomicki ; he also apologizes for a letter from Cornelius de Schepper, which was not sent in time, as Hans Hegeler had not given it.

On February 23, 1534, John Campensis wrote a letter to Dantiscus <sup>2)</sup> : he mentions that he stayed ten days with the Bishop of Cracow in Czelsa, and that he was treated most kindly : on his request, he explained to him and his '*familia*' the Epistle to the Romans. Still as he wanted to publish the Proverbs of Solomon and the *Commentariolus in duas Pauli Epistolas* <sup>3)</sup>, he longed to get to Cracow to have them printed. The Bishop sent him there in his carriage, and gave him a dress and a coat, and ten florins. So Campensis dedicated to him the Proverbs, which, along with the *Commentariolus*, were started composing and printing : some copies are going to be sent through George Hegel. To-day Campensis found a letter dispatched through Charles Coczer <sup>1)</sup> from Cornelius de Schepper, who is sent once again to Constantinople <sup>4)</sup>. It was in a parcel which he opened, thinking that there would have been a letter for him ; still there was only a missive from their 'seniori et mirabili Petro' <sup>5)</sup> — besides a *Psalteriolum* by himself, with the *Ecclesiastes* added like in the edition of Paris : they are printed in Lyons. He effusively apologizes for having opened the packet, and he greets

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<sup>1)</sup> MS Cretzer, Crutzer : cp. DE, 283.

<sup>2)</sup> DE, 275 : Fbm, 3, 82 : it reached Dantiscus, March 24 : Hipler, 506.

<sup>3)</sup> The Commentaries on the Epistles to the Romans and the Galatians were printed in February 1534 in Cracow by Scharffenberg.

<sup>4)</sup> No doubt, the letter sent from Prague on February 13, 1534, when de Schepper was ready to start once more on his journey : cp. p 196.

<sup>5)</sup> Peter Mirabilis, of Montereali, used to be in Dantiscus' service in Spain : cp. DE, 378.

Dantiscus and his brother Bernard. He adds : ‘ Ne omnino hic nihil agam, I am reading here in Cracow St. Paul’s Letters at the Bishop’s request. — ‘ Domino Culm. Episcopo, Pomezaniens. administr., Lubauj, in Prussia ’.

On the last of February 1534, de Schepper wrote to Olah <sup>1)</sup> : ‘ Ego iam perveni Lubianam <sup>2)</sup>, ubi intellexi Petrum Crusitz <sup>3)</sup> fecisse excursionem in Turcas, et profligasse aliquot illorum centurias. Non satis scio, quo consilio aut ratione, nisi quod præsidarii isti de limitophore quietem pati non possunt. De Ibrahimo Bassa nihil scitur : quidam dicunt profligatum illum a Tagmatz Sciach Sophy-Aly, nescio quo confugisse. Constat quicquid roboris Turcarum hic fuit, Europa excessisse. De Gritti adventu nihil dum certi scio, tametsi aduenerit Vespasianus Iaderensis <sup>4)</sup>. Credo certiora vos istic scire. Nam in Vespasianum non incidi. Hæsi hic Lubianæ ob summa incrementa aquarum. Adeo enim Sauus, et Labacus, et ceteri fluuii dissolutione niuium intumuere, ut pontibus fractis undique montis angustiae iter prohibeant. Hæc serenissimæ Reginali Maiestati refer, me nihil obmissurum quod ad ipsius maiestatem, aut D. V. aliquo pacto spectare potest. Wolfgango Haller me commendabis, cæterisque dominis et amicis, litterasque ad charissimam uxorem meam per fidum tabellarium transmittas, cui me ex animo commendo. — Ex Lubiana, ultima Februarij 1534.

On March 10, 1534, John van Campen announced from Cracow to Dantiscus <sup>5)</sup> that he had written a dedication to *Precationes aliquot ex variis Scripturæ locis depromptæ* <sup>6)</sup>, which he inscribed to the Reverend Peter Tomicki, Chan-

<sup>1)</sup> OlaE, 460.

<sup>2)</sup> Possibly Labin, a place 33 km S. E. of Sebenico and 18 km N. W. of Spalato, 30 and 50 km. to the N. W. of the Islands Brazza and Lesina in the Adriatic Sea : — if that is not right, I am unable to indicate any other account either of the town or of the ‘ fluuii Sauus and Labacus ’ ; the editor of OlaE is sadly defective in the spelling of foreign names.

<sup>3)</sup> An Hungarian chief.

<sup>4)</sup> OlaE, 436, 484, 495 (V. a, de, Zara) ; *Iaderensis* may be meant for *Zaderensis*, *Zarensis*.

<sup>5)</sup> DE, 276 bis : Fbm 5, 60 (letter in the edition) ; cp. Hipler, 507.

<sup>6)</sup> Cracow, Matthias Scharffenbergius (without date).

cellor <sup>1)</sup>. — ‘ I could not but show my thanks to him’, he said ; ‘ so I dedicated to him the *Proverbia* which I had paraphrased in Latin, whilst I was staying with you. I added to them these *Preculæ* at his request, which, on your order, I had latinized. Please accept them with some other writings. They would have been ‘ castigationes ’ if the exemplaria had not been ‘ reddita in media perfectione — post sextum tandem mensem, quando neque licuit, neque libuit quicquam mutare. Vale ’.

On March 13, 1534, John de Weze wrote to Dantiscus from Prague <sup>2)</sup> that he was taking care of Reyneck’s case ; he also announced that Vespasianus, son of Jerome de Zara, had returned from Constantinople ; and he provides news from Germany and Italy.

Meanwhile de Schepper wrote to Olah on March 19 from Lesina : ‘ here I am kept back by the weather before reaching Ragusa <sup>3)</sup> ; I heard here that Ibrahim Bassa was beaten by the Sophy, and that all armies available are being sent to Asia. Meanwhile Peter Crusitz is continuing his prosperous inroad, thus making my work difficult <sup>4)</sup>. Gritti is said to have left Constantinople : I hope to have more information at Ragusa : I will do ‘ quæ conveniunt servitio Maiestatis Regiæ et Cæsareæ ’ : I meanwhile recommend myself ‘ prout merentur servitia mea ’ : console my wife and friends.

On March 22, 1534, Godschalk Erycius Sassenkerll writes to Dantiscus from Augsburg <sup>5)</sup> to thank him for the letter of Aug. 4 from *Arx Lubauensis*, which reached him in Spain, and brought great pleasure on account of the announcing of his good health and of the honour that has now succeeded to the years of trouble <sup>6)</sup> : only right people are calumniated.

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<sup>1)</sup> Cp. before, pp 7, 193.

<sup>2)</sup> DE, 277 : Upm, 154, 127 : it reached Dantiscus on April 13 ; Reyneck is Dantiscus’ brother-in-law : cp. bef. pp 147, 192, 196, &c ; DE, 308.

<sup>3)</sup> OlaE, 480-81 ; Ragusa is 92 km. S. E. of the most eastern end of the island Lesina.

<sup>4)</sup> Cp. before, p 199.

<sup>5)</sup> DE, 278 : Knm, 230, 297 : it reached Dantiscus on June 2.

<sup>6)</sup> Referring probably to the difficulties experienced by Bishop Dantiscus some time before : cp. pp 188-90.

He has taken care, since his return from Spain, of Cornelius de Schepper's *negocium*, asking from him 'solicítandi apud Welzeros liberationem & missionem illius puellæ &c in Flandriam <sup>1)</sup>, conuenitque inter Welzeros et me, vt cum Vallisoletum perueniremus, negotium absolveretur'. Cæsar sent him to Scotland from Toledo through Ireland, which country he dislikes ; he cannot relate what he suffered there 'nisi præsens', only by word of mouth. Happily the Franciscans helped him ; they are the only ones that are well received by those 'feri homines, sine rege, sine lege' : he himself had even been several times assaulted there, and helped by the Franciscans, who fight and quarrel themselves every day with the people, and consecrate 'diuo Francisco' the weapons they conquer ! The Irish — even their best men — are animated 'obstinatissimo in Anglo animo', and they all favour the Emperor, whom the Franciscans highly praise. — From Ireland he went to Scotland, and, having finished there his mission, he returned to Flanders, and thence by France to Spain. Charles augmented his stipend, and sent him to Mary of Hungary about the German affairs ; he adds moreover some news about Tunis.

'De Puella sic se res habet <sup>2)</sup>. Mater eam a se nulla ratione videtur velle dimittere, nisi receptis primum 200 ducatis : hoc est, quo posset redimere illic mercedes annuas 25 ducatorum ad dies vitæ. Neque quisquam mulierj persuadere poterit quod vel literis & cautione, vel Ex. D. R. tue, vel mercatorum, contenta sit super solutione 25 ducatorum annua ; dicit omnes esse mortales ; se velle aliquid certi, hoc est, in manibus, antequam puellam dimittat. Visum est proinde et amicis et mihi, si Ex. D. T. puellam redemptam volet, per literas suas committere, vel Hieronimo Zailer <sup>3)</sup>, qui jam abit in Hispaniam, aut Ulrico Ehinger, Alberto Chon, seu cuicumque ex Fucharis et Welzeris <sup>4)</sup> ; nemo enim omnium est qui non libens volensque hoc tuo nomini præstabit, vt recepta primum puella annuos redditus ad dies vitæ pro matre his 200 ducatis

<sup>1)</sup> The Juana is referred to before, on pp 2, 44.

<sup>2)</sup> Viz., Juana Dantisca.

<sup>3)</sup> Jerome Sayler.

<sup>4)</sup> To all appearance Ulric Ehinger was the representative in Spain of one of the great banking concerns mentioned here ; so was Albert Chon, whose name was at times made into Cuon : cp. DE, 364.

redimeret : succurret hoc pacto R. T. D. et honori suo & puelle innocentie. Nam mater jam tuo nomine inter mercatores in nundinis illis statuiis obambulat, inopiam exaggerat, et se puellam propediem prostituturam minatur.

He sends news about the efforts to reinstate the real King of Denmark with the help of Lübeck and Cæsar, mentioning that 'Melchior noster orator <sup>1)</sup>' has got back his fortune, thanks to the Duke of Oldenburg. He suggests that Christian's elder daughter should be married to Count Palatine Frederic, which might bring the Duke of Oldenburg to join Cæsar's party. He himself has received the order from Charles V in Madrid, on February 12, to go to Augsburg, where the 'Dominus de Reux' <sup>2)</sup> will come and tell him his pleasure. Since long he has not been near the Archbishop-elect of Lund, who, however, writes regularly. I do not mention Cornelius, he adds, for I know that he frequently writes to you : I left him in excellent health with his whole family : 'habe commendatum Saxakarlum tuum, als eyn wagen ronghe'.

George of AUSTRIA was born at Ghent in 1505, as a son of Maximilian, the Austrian Emperor, and a young lady of the Brimeu de Meghen family. That uncle of Charles V lived and played as a boy with him, and, having entered the clergy, was intended for a bishopric. He spent some time in Spain, and was chosen in October 1525 as Bishop of Brixen. He followed Charles V twice to Italy, and accompanied his niece Mary of Hungary to the Netherlands, from where she sent him to Hamburg and Denmark in 1534 <sup>3)</sup>. At the death of Erard de la Marck he was appointed his successor to the Archiepiscopal See of Valencia, on condition of resigning that of Brixen, and of becoming a priest. He was protected by Mary of Hungary, as well as by the Emperor, and was proposed by them as Prince-Bishop of Liège, since Corneille de Berghes, who had been appointed, refused to receive any holy Orders. On that account George wanted to return to the Netherlands in July 1541, but was kept for two years as a prisoner in France, and, finally, released in the spring of 1543 on the payment of a heavy ransom. It was only on

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<sup>1)</sup> Prob. Melchior Rantzaw, Ranzau, who served Oldenburg as marshal, Councillor and as ambassador to Gelderland, even to the Netherlands : *OlaE*, 400 ; *AltRel.*, 330, 391, 408, 418. He died rich in 1537 : *DE*, 374.

<sup>2)</sup> Probably either Ferry de Croy, Lord of Rœulx : *Henne*, I, 25, &c, II, 88, 135 ; or John de Croy, Count of Rœulx : *Henne*, IX, 351, X, 289.

<sup>3)</sup> His secretary Daniel Mauch followed him there : cp. preface to *DE*, 286 ; the latter's father, a carver, had settled by Liège. Mauch was left free when coming out of Spain ; his master was kept a prisoner.



June 24, 1544, that he at last could be installed as Liège Prince-Bishop. His reign was most difficult, as he was expected to do the impossible, namely to be Bishop of independent Liège, as well as to serve as collaborator to the Emperor in his policy: in so far that he was even considered as the 'humble chaplain' of Mary of Hungary. In addition to his trouble, his health failed, so that, by 1549, Robert de Berghes was appointed his coadjutor; he died on May 4, 1557. Cp. *BerghAutr.*, 42-57; *BelgChron.*, 243; Pirenne, III, 166, 376, 432.

On March 27, 1534, Georges of Austria, Bishop of Brixen, writes from Hamburg to Dantiscus <sup>1)</sup> at the request of John a Werden, Consul of Danzig; he has been sent to take care of the affairs of Lübeck and Danzig, and offers his help and affection.

On March 28, 1534, John van Campen wrote from Cracow to Dantiscus <sup>2)</sup>: 'Dominus Cracoviensis' returned *nudiustertius*: I dined with him and I dedicated to him the *Proverbia*, of which I am sending you six copies, as well as six of the *Commentarioli* on St. Paul's Epistles. I intend re-editing the latter after augmenting them, as soon as I reach Vienna, or Venice; I want Philip [Melanchthon] to answer me, so that I might prove through St. Paul that the truth is so, and not otherwise. I have lectured on the letters of St. Paul at the request of the Bishop of Cracow in 'collegio' with great success, as far as I can see. I pray you to offer a copy to the Danzig Consul, John a Werden, and one to the Duke of Prussia, if you like. I am sending greetings from Karol Koczer <sup>3)</sup>, who gave the letter from de Weze. The 'Episcopus Plocensis' <sup>4)</sup> wants me to dedicate the *Ecclesiastes* to the *iuniori regi*, whereas I promised it to you. After the feasts I am going to Vienna, where I hope to see de Weze returning from Bavaria, and possibly also Cornelius. Further news is given about friends and acquaintances, and about a 'Polidamus' and a 'Hercules', who have nothing to show for themselves, except talking badly of Erasmus, not knowing that everybody laughs at them.

<sup>1)</sup> DE, 279: Ccm, 1595, 657; it reached Dantiscus on April 18.

<sup>2)</sup> DE, 280: Upm, 154, 129: it reached Dantiscus on April 14.

<sup>3)</sup> Cp. DE, 283.

<sup>4)</sup> Viz., John Choiensky: cp. p 194.

On March 31, 1534, Cornelius de Schepper writes to Olah <sup>1)</sup> from Ragusa : ‘ Contranitentibus ventis decem et octo diebus fui in mari Hadriaco ; tandem perveni Rhagusium, ubi, quod ad Gritti attinet, intellexi illum adhuc esse Constantinopoli, expectareque aduentum Barbarossæ, qui concessit in Syriam ad Imbrahimum Bassam. Idne sit verum, an aliter se habeat res, non satis scio ; breuiter tamen sum resciturus omnia. Hunc Imbrahimum aiunt a Sophy profligatum esse ; quomodo tamen aut qualiter, non satis scitur. Ubi primum venissem Rhagusium, statim expediui cursorem ad Sansachum Hertzogouinæ, ad cæsarem Turcarum et ad Aloysium Gritti, scripsique ad tres illos in rebus mihi commissis : spero breui habiturum responsum ; tunc verius et copiosius scribam de omnibus ’. He adds some news, and sends greetings to Queen Mary and to friends and acquaintances at Court.

On April 3, 1534, de Schepper writes from Ragusa to Olah <sup>2)</sup> : Hodie misit ad me Perybeg Baltogly, Sansachus Herczogouinæ, ex Slavis suum unum cum quadraginta equis qui me hinc sunt abducturi Constantinopolim. Scribit idem Sansachus Aloysium Gritti esse Constantinopoli adhuc, neque tam cito inde esse abiturum. Hortatus ut eo me conferam, id, quod facturus sum die Lunæ proximo, non expectato Hieronymo de Zara, qui in iis, quæ Regiam Maiestatem concernunt, mihi adiunctus, ægrotus mansit in oppido Sancti Viti Liburniæ’. The letter further relates what was said about the plans of the next wars of the Turks, and of the fate of their leaders. He rejoices in the coming Easter-feast <sup>3)</sup> and its strengthening influence, and he decides leaving on Monday : ‘ Ibo tyrannico illo modo, quo priore vice, in gladio et baculo scilicet’. Meanwhile he wishes to be recommended to the Queen and to the friends, and especially ‘ dominis Conrardo Goclenio et Petro Ægidio, si ad eos scripseris ’.

Peter GILLES, GILLIS, ÆGIDIJ, the son of the Antwerp treasurer Nicolas, was born about 1486 ; he got an excellent training, and, although entering the town service like his father, he devoted some of his free time to the correcting of Thierry Martens’ editions. He thus supervised

<sup>1)</sup> OlaE, 484-85.

<sup>2)</sup> OlaE, 485-86.

<sup>3)</sup> Easter was in 1534 on April 5 ; so he left Ragusa on April 6.

the 1503-issue of Erasmus' *Lucubratiunculæ*, which explains the hearty friendship caused on the occasion of the issuing of the *Gratulatorius Panegyricus*, pronounced on the return of Archduke Philip from Spain on the Epiphany of 1504 <sup>1)</sup>. He further was active editing the Epistles of Poliziano, 1510, the writings of Rudolph Agricola, 1511, some fables, 1513, and Erasmus' *Parabolæ*, 1515, besides two collections of that Erudite's letters, 1516 and 1517. He meanwhile had been appointed Town Secretary in 1510, and he married Cornelia Sanders in August 1514, founding a home, which Erasmus was often pleased to resort to. All the time he continued legal studies, which led him to procure an edition of the famous *Breviarium Alaricianum*, issued by Thierry Martens at Antwerp, in 1517, as *Sommæ sive Argumenta Legum diversorum Imperatorum, ex corpore divi Theodosii... ex vetustissimo archetypo* <sup>2)</sup>. It was properly an edition of the text as it was known up to then : it happened that, in 1518, Zasius found a better manuscript, and could thus supply to one of his students the exact and entire original, where Gillis had only the *Sommæ* : in so far that his edition, though long known as *Epitome Ægidii*, was soon replaced by John Fichard's issue, published in 1528, which made useless all previous editions <sup>3)</sup>. All the same, Gilles had provided, at least for a time, the best edition that was available, and the indispensable studies and researches of the very matter came him to the good when, in 1516, he welcomed Thomas More on his arrival as agent of the English Government in Brabant. That stay, which was further made agreeable to the great politician through the hearty friendship of Erasmus, and that of the clever jurist Jerome de Busleyden, produced one of the most wonderful books of the century, the *Utopia*, which opened to the insular conception of England, the broad and healthy view of the happy innovations realized by active and by keen-sighted Humanism. — If the children of Peter Gilles were too young to profit already by Busleyden's foundation at its opening, one of his relatives was amongst the first inmates there <sup>4)</sup> ; it is almost a sign that his uncle went onward with his studies, which were highly appreciated by the scholars of his days. In his *Colloquia* of Aug.-Sept. 1524, Erasmus inserted a fine *Epithalamium*, describing the happy family, and coupling it to the then fully flourishing *Collegium Trilingue* <sup>5)</sup>. Unfortunately, the Sandria died already in August 1526, at the age of thirty, and as Peter, for the sake of his many children, remarried, he was not even as lucky as he had been with his first wife, in so far that Erasmus printed two epitaphs in his translation of Xenophon's *Hieron, sive Tyrannus*, 1530. Those successive losses told heavily on the poor man, who resigned his office in 1532, and died on November 11, 1533. Cp. Iseghem, *passim* ; Guicc., 106 ; *DelPoBel.*, I, 1-8 ; *BibBelg.*, 719 ; *SaxOnom.*, 657 ; *AntwDiercx.*, IV, 64 ; *AntwHist.*, I, 505, IV, 16, sq ; FG, 289-90 ; *Cran.*, 159, a-f, &c ; *MonHL*,

<sup>1)</sup> Allen, I, 179, pr.

<sup>2)</sup> Stintzing, I, 214, 218, 339.

<sup>3)</sup> *ErasColl.*, 330-337.

<sup>4)</sup> Iseghem, 276, S, 20-21.

<sup>5)</sup> Cp. *HTL*, II, 66-67.

358-60, &c ; *ActaMori*, 23 ; *Busl.*, 82, *sq.*, 111, *sq.*, 341, *sq.*, 464-68, &c ; *HTL*, I, 222, *sq.*, 244, *sq.*, 263, *sq.*, II, 66-67, &c ; Allen, I, 184, *pr.* and *passim*.

On April 11, 1534, Bishop Peter Tomicki writes to Dantiscus from Cracow <sup>1)</sup> : I have received your complaints, having been accused before *Principes nostros super nescio quibus turbis, novationibus et dissidiis*, of which you are considered to be the cause. The Queen may believe it, but the King is more prudent. You know court-life, and you know it to be based on envy : you should be courageous and manly. As for our Christopher Szydlowiecki, the Cracow Castellan, I am certain that he has never been opposed to you, or talked against you ; he only mentioned the exility of your diocese, so as to get you another, more worthy of you, and have Culm given to his servitor D<sup>mus</sup> Plotowski ; and he even thus showed that he is your real, your great patron. — In fact, it results from this very correspondence that, as early as May 20, 1531, Christopher Szydlowiecki announced to John Dantiscus that he had spoken (evidently to the King) of his friend's *revocatio*, his return to his native country, and his reward for his diplomatic career ; the latter even would have readily accepted the Culm bishopric, whereas the Castellan replied that it was quite out of proportion with the great exertions of the past years. On August 21, 1531, Szydlowiecki insisted again, and assured that he did not judge that diocese good enough, considering the many important services Dantiscus had rendered. Those two letters are the evident proof of the high interest taken by the great official in Dantiscus, to whom, in his second letter, he repeats his promise of having him recalled, whereas in the first he had expressed the wish to get into connection with Cornelius de Schepper <sup>2)</sup>.

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<sup>1)</sup> DE, 282 : Ccm, 247, 187-91 ; it reached Dantiscus on April 21 ; cp. before, pp 189, *sq.*

<sup>2)</sup> Those two letters are classed as DE, 128 and DE, 128bis, viz., ff. 643-44 and 647-48, of *codex* 403 of Cracow Library ; they almost concern exclusively Polish History, which caused them to be mentioned, not amongst the documents intimately connected with the history of the Netherlands, but rather, that of other countries, amongst the *Gleanings* left after the plentiful harvest.

Continuing his letter to Dantiscus, Bishop Tomicki assures him that the King will set all things right on his return, especially since, as he points out, the trouble is merely due to Kostka's discontent, and that of Dzialinski; in fact 'Tempus', as he remarks, 'multa corrigit'; he is also going to write to the Archbishop on the matter, which certainly does concern the *terra Prussiae*.

'Dominum Campensem', he continues, 'virum bonum et doctum, habeo commendatissimum. Diligitur hic ab omnibus bonis et doctis. Prelegit Epistolam diui Pauli ad Romanos. Placuit vehementer omnibus auditoribus, sed meditatur iter ad Italiam, vt audiret illum doctum Hebreum <sup>1)</sup>. Prosequor hominem singulari beneuolentia, iuuaboque ad hoc iter equo et viatico, et per quamcumque occasionem illi commodare potero, libenter faciam'. With reference to Dzialinski, who has repudiated his wife, and is living with a concubine, he judges it is better be silent, or only 'monere privatim : prudens quisque vel ranunculos potius habere amicos quam hostes cupere debet'. He further mentions the difficulty for the *res Varmiensis*; he thanks for books, the *Declamatio Luciana* and the *Carmina*, as well as for the news imparted.

On April 11, 1534, John van Campen writes to Dantiscus <sup>2)</sup>, thanking him for his letter and his generous disposition. 'Yesterday', he relates, 'I was with the Bishop of Cracow, who wishes to keep me in his town, promising a benefice; still I prefer Hebrew; consequently, as I decided to go and study, the Bishop offered a horse and some help. To-day he sent one of his servants to invite me to dinner. Charles Coczer <sup>3)</sup> is most friendly for Dantiscus' sake; by the servant

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<sup>1)</sup> Viz., Elias Levita : see introd. to DE, 290.

<sup>2)</sup> DE, 283 : Upm, 154, 130 : it reached Dantiscus on April 21.

<sup>3)</sup> The name of this friend of Dantiscus in Cracow, who is repeatedly mentioned in the letters of this period, has been strangely misformed — especially in the Uppsala mss, which is made up of copies. In de Schepper's letter of November 30, 1532 : DE, 244 (p 163) it might be read *Charles lotzer*, as well as *loxanus*; in the same ambassador's letter of March 27, 1533 : DE 254 (p 170), it looks like *Karol Cotzer*; in the missive of February 13, 1534, of the same, it appears as *Charles Kotzer* : DE, 272 (p 196), whereas, in the additional list, DE, 276 (p 198) of February 19 from Campensis, it reads : *Carolus Cretzer*, and in the latter's letter of

of D. Varmiensis I am sending my edited books : namely the *Commentariolum*, which I will enrich by studies on the various epistles of St. Paul. I again thank you for all the kindness you bestow on me, and once more I refer to my 'simulacrum' in your possession<sup>1)</sup>.

On April 12, 1534, John van Campen writes from Cracow to Dantiscus<sup>2)</sup> : I just return from the dinner offered by the Bishop of Cracow : he placed me by his side, and insisted that I should remain in Cracow. I promised to return, and to take care of the study of Hebrew, though absent, recommending a converted Jew, knowing Polish, but little Latin ; still, being young, he will learn it. I offered the grammar which I edited a few years ago, and which I want correcting before having it reprinted. I am waiting a few days until Carolus Coczer goes to Vienna, so that I can go along with him. The Bishop of Cracow offered me a horse to carry me as far as Venice, and even a riding coat, but you, Dantiscus, you have given me one already. — I met an Albert Kiewski, canon of Ermland, who thought that you slighted him. All this I write, knowing that you put an interest in it.

On April 13, 1534, Justus Ludovicus Decius writes from Cracow to Dantiscus<sup>3)</sup>, detailing news about friends and officials. 'Erasmō reddite sunt pecunie ille, dubio procul, ex mercatu autumnali<sup>4)</sup> ; nunc vero credo illum responsurum ;

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February 23 : DE, 275 (p 198), it even becomes *Carolus Crutzer*. In this missive of April 11, 1534, John Campensis spells it *Charles Crotzer*, whereas in the next, of April 12, DE, 284, it reads *Carolus Cotzer*. — Judging by the way the name is written in *CatCzart.*, II, 253 (doc. 1595, p 91, dated 1530), it was, without doubt, *Koczer*, *Carolus*, which explains the use of the initial *C*, whereas the *-t-* for *-c-* may be due to hasty wrong writing or reading — notwithstanding the form *Coxanus* ; — just like the introduction of *-r-*, *Cretzer*, *Crotzer*, *Crutzer*. For clearness' sake the writing is regularized here as *Coczer*, *Koczer*.

<sup>1)</sup> Viz., his father's portrait : cp. p 195.

<sup>2)</sup> DE, 284 : Upm, 154, 131 ; it reached Dantiscus on April 21.

<sup>3)</sup> DE, 285 : Fbm, 3, 97-98 ; it reached Dantiscus on April 21.

<sup>4)</sup> In his letter to Decius of Nov. 1, 1533, Erasmus relates the death of his great benefactor Warham, which was compensated 'accessione nouorum [benefactorum]. Quam ad rem magis idoneum ne optare quidem poteram, quum tu te tuapte sponte præstas' : Allen, x, 2874,

quod tam male tractatur a Luthero, mirum non est, quod mali pessime loquuntur ; decreueram hac in re longior esse : sed prohibet temporis angustia. — He adds news of Hungary, of the Pope, and of France. In the postscript, he mentions the Sophy and his victory, also Barbarossa ; and the inauguration of Charles V in Naples.

On April 13, 1534, Gemma Phrysius wrote from Louvain to Nicolas Olah <sup>1)</sup> in Brussels : Quum in quadragesima Bruxellam venissem D. Camilli <sup>2)</sup> gratia, memini D. V. mihi iniunxisse, uti nonnunquam meis, etsi ineptis, literis, eam seriis alioqui occupatam rebus interpellarem. Quod nullo modo omittendum duxi, quandoquidem principibus placuisse viris non infima laus est. Verum absterruere non sine ratione ab instituto meo ardua ac seria, quibus D. V. occupatam video negotia, metuentem ne importunæ meæ litteræ merito foras reiicerentur. Contra tamen me incitavit, ac animum mihi addidit, insignis D. V. in omnes studiosos humanitas, qua sola fretus iam non incedere vereor per mediam aulam, per medias turbas, perque ardua quantumvis negotia, et D. V. paruo munusculo aggredi <sup>3)</sup> ; quod etsi quantitate sua paruum sit, si tamen animi in D. V. mei affectum spectemus, cum quouis magnifico munere conferri poterit. Quod oro D. V., uti pro sua humanitate meique animi candore gratum habere velit, meque iam inde commendatissimum habeat. — Deus Opt. Max. D. V. diu seruet incolumem. Ex Louanio, 13 Aprilis 1534.

Daniel MAUCH, born at Ulm on January 27, 1504, studied at Heidelberg, Tübingen, Cologne and Erfurt, before entering the service of the Papal Legate Cardinal Campeggio, who, at the Augsburg Diet, in 1530, made him a Palatine Count, and granted him a coat of arms. From February 1531, he served George of Austria, Bishop of Brixen, who allowed him to study in Louvain, where he matriculated between December 1533

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11-13, xi, 2960, 11, 2961, 3, *sq* : in this third passage, he announces the receipt of 20 florins sent to him by Decius and of 30 ducats received through him from Bishop John Dantiscus : and he thus brings light to the puzzling phrase in the letter of Decius to Dantiscus of Aug. 16, 1533 (before, p 180). Cp. DE, 336, *pr*.

<sup>1)</sup> OlaE, 487-88.

<sup>2)</sup> Viz., Gilinus.

<sup>3)</sup> Probably one of his recent publications.

and June 1534 (*LibRecI*, 113, v). As an admirer of Erasmus, he frequented the *Trilingue*, and, passing by Spires in the autumn of 1536, he obtained from Viglius on December 17, 1536 a letter to Goclenius (*VigIEB*, 34). His father, also called Daniel, was a renowned carver, who settled near Liège, where at Dalhem is still preserved one of his works, a statue of Our Lady, with his son's coat of arms, ordered by Pascal Berselius, who died in 1540. Daniel followed his master to Italy, where he became D. V. J. in Pavia in 1536, and, when George of Austria was made Archbishop of Valencia, he accompanied him to Spain, where he visited more universities, which, in all, reached the number of twenty-two <sup>1</sup>). On the appointment of the Archbishop as coadjutor of Corneille de Berghes, Bishop of Liège, they started the return journey, and were kept prisoners in France. Daniel got free long before his master, and became advocate at the Imperial Court of Spires in 1542 : he soon took orders, and was placed at the head of the Chapter School of Worms, where he gave shelter to Wicelius. He finally became his Bishop's Vicar-General in 1554, and died on May 19, 1567. Cp. *Cran.*, 169, s, 177, 5, 281, b, 288, b ; Allen, vi, 1633, *pr* & *p* xxiii ; SonnE, 30 ; Keussen, iii, 115 ; *MatriMarb.*, 104, 272 ; *BerghAutr.*, 69 ; *HTL*, ii, 550, 555, *sq*, iii, 364-65, 558, 564, 598, 609.

On April 16, 1534, Daniel Mauch, of Ulm, Secretary of the Bishop of Brixen George of Austria, writes from Hamburg <sup>2</sup>) that, being sent to John a Werdt, or von Werden, consul of Danzig and Royal Legate, they talk of Dantiscus, and that at his last visit in Louvain, where he intended studying jurisprudence, it was related that Dantiscus had died, — which greatly afflicted Goclenius and Gemma ; it was suggested that the news had originated from de Schepper. Mauch felt indignant that some men think themselves gods. His master soon returned to Brussels, and he to Louvain, where he could relate more happy facts about the Bishop of Culm. He mentions that Queen Mary was a little suffering, and he adds news of the Anabaptists.

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<sup>1</sup>) Not only did 'studies' go *most fast* in those days, even academic titles were granted with a swiftness that now seems hardly conceivable : such was the promotion to Doctor of Theology of John Cochläus, at work at Bologna, in Ferrara on 4 days, including those taken up by the travelling : on March 26, 1517, he journeyed from Bologna to Ferrara ; he requested to receive the doctorate on Friday, March 27 ; he was actually promoted to Doctor of Divinity on Saturday, March 28 ; and was back in Bologna on Sunday, March 29 ! Cp. *CochlHum.*, 96.

<sup>2</sup>) DE, 286 : Upm, 154, 132 : it reached its destination on April 18.



On April 24, 1534, Olah wrote to de Schepper from Brussels <sup>1)</sup> wishing that his journey would be prosperous and satisfactory. He is disappointed about what happened to Ibrahim, who might have been helpful, and he is anxious on account of the disappearance of Gritti. 'Your wife and your family, he assures, are still quite right, but the Dean of Bruges <sup>2)</sup> had to be attended to at Antwerp for an old illness, which now is already almost cured. I thank you for the care you are once more going to take of our affairs, and, before all, I wish you a safe return. I can announce that the *financiarii* have put every thing in order <sup>3)</sup>. I deeply regret that dissensions and ridiculous quarrels prevent availing the Christians of the occasion to remove the whole Turkish strength out of Europe !'

Mention is made before <sup>4)</sup>, and in this and other following letters *de Matrimonio Anglicano*. The first symptom of the dismal event was the change in Cardinal Wolsey's policy, severing England from Spain to join France : indeed, Charles V had, on two occasions, failed to help him in realizing his great dream of becoming Pope. It was felt by the Spanish erudite John Louis Vives, who had been teaching Latin in Richard Fox's *Corpus Christi College*, Oxford, since the spring of 1523 : as in February 1526, he was late in reaching England, Wolsey had him replaced at once <sup>5)</sup>. Still, as a countryman of the Queen, he was entrusted with the teaching of the Princess, and he even collaborated with the King in view of a pamphlet against Luther, as results from his letter dated from Bruges, July 13, 1527 <sup>6)</sup>. When, in the following October, he returned to London, he found the Queen in trouble, and he encouraged her, which caused him to be taken into custody by Wolsey, along with the Spanish ambassador Inigo de Mendoza ; he was ordered to write down what the Queen had confided to him, and what he had advised. Along with the ambassador, he was only liberated on condition of leaving England at once : he arrived in Bruges on April 7, 1528 : the question *de Jove et Junone* had then fully started <sup>7)</sup>.

Meanwhile it became known that the King wanted to be freed from Queen Catherine ; she had been married to his elder brother, who, a sickly boy, had died before he had even touched her maritally. The

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<sup>1)</sup> OlaE, 493.

<sup>2)</sup> Mark Laurin : cp. pp 85-86.

<sup>3)</sup> Viz., Haller and his men : cp. before p 192, &c.

<sup>4)</sup> Cp. pp 168, 176.

<sup>5)</sup> *MonHL*, 7, sq, 21, sq.

<sup>6)</sup> *MonHL*, 23-27.

<sup>7)</sup> *MonHL*, 28 33. The *status questionis* and the highly repulsive character of Henry VIII has often been sketched, — and criticized, as e. g. in *Melanch.*, 325-30.

union with Henry himself had been duly regularized by all the necessary dispensations, and it had even been most happy in the first years when it was blessed by three boys and two girls, who unfortunately, all died, with the only exception of Princess Mary <sup>1)</sup>. The King then started a lawless life, and had connections, such as that with Elizabeth, the sister of Lord Mountjoy, who bore him the Duke of Richmond; as well as with Mary Boleyn, who seems to have been treated rather in an off-hand manner after the evil was done. On that account, when Henry made offers to her sister Anne, the latter, most obstinately, stood upon her decision not to satisfy him except in marriage. Wolsey did not know of that connection, but did his best to find a French Princess to serve both his pro-French policy and the King. It brought forward the suit of having the first marriage annulled on account of relationship, — whereas Henry VIII tried to obtain, not only the declaration of nullity of his first marriage, but, — unknown to Wolsey — also, at the same time, the necessary absolution of the impediment created by his past connections with Anne's sister, Mary Boleyn. As there was no possibility of invalidating the first marriage with Catherine, the Pope wished to gain time, in the hope that Henry's whim might change; after many tergiversations, he allowed the question to be examined by Cardinal Wolsey and Cardinal Lorenzo Campeggio in London. Help was apparently granted to the Queen: Henry allowed her to make use of the assistance of Giles de la Blocquerie, provost of Tongres, and that of Louis de Schore, member of Mechlin Parliament, as well as of their common friend Vives. The latter, however, understood perfectly well that the trial was only a pretence, designed to satisfy an indignant nation; rather than taking part in the sinister comedy, he advised the Queen to desist from every defence, so as not to admit even the possibility of a doubt. At the time, the advice highly displeased her <sup>2)</sup>; yet, before long, she realized that her great friend had seen clear; so she, too, accepted his views and appealed — though in vain — to Clement VII in Rome. It was not granted by Henry, although the London trial brought no result; so the Pope, soon after, gave an apodictic and decisively negative solution <sup>3)</sup>. Meanwhile Vives, in his deep sympathy with King and Queen, had written a letter on January 13, 1531 <sup>4)</sup>, in which he mentions that, although deprived from the old pensions granted to him, he wishes to see them joined again in deep, real affection, and, probably, then wrote the anonymous memoir, dedicated to Eustace Chapuys, Charles V's ambassador at the English Court, printed 'Lvnembvrgæ anno m. d. xxxii. Mens. Sept., under the title: *Non esse neque divino, neque natvæ ivre prohibitom, Quin Summus Pontifex dispensare possit, vt frater demortui sine liberis fratris uxorem legitimo Matrimonio sibi possit adiungere, aduersus aliquot Academicarum*

<sup>1)</sup> Cp. *Dormer*, 73, sq, 77, sq.

<sup>2)</sup> *MonHL*, 35-36; cp. *Dormer*, 74, sq.

<sup>3)</sup> Cp. *DE*, 287, p 216.

<sup>4)</sup> *MonHL*, 36, sq.

*Censuras* <sup>1)</sup>, *Tumultuaria, ac perbrevis Apologia, sive Confutatio*. Lege lector cum iudicio : non dubito quin illustrissimæ Reginæ tam modis omnibus vincibili caussæ, vtroque favebis pollice <sup>2)</sup>). That pamphlet was written evidently at Bruges <sup>3)</sup>.

Wolsey died in the Abbey of Leicester on his way to his prison, on November 30, 1530 <sup>4)</sup>; he had been replaced as royal secretary by Thomas Cromwell; whereas Archbishop Warham died in 1532, insistently protesting up to the last against whatever measures had been taken in opposition to the Papal authority <sup>5)</sup>. He was succeeded in 1533 by Cranmer, who frankly declared the marriage with Catherine to be invalid; he pronounced the King's union with Anne Boleyn perfectly lawful; he moreover maintained Henry's claim to be the Supreme Head of the Church of England and had Anne crowned publicly as Queen <sup>6)</sup>.

It was as the beginning of quite a different policy: all Roman jurisdiction and revenues were abolished in England, which caused the Pope to excommunicate Henry <sup>7)</sup>; the latter had the Act of Succession voted in 1534, which compelled all subjects to acknowledge Anne Boleyn's issue as heir to the crown. It led to the imprisonment of Bishop Fisher and of Thomas More, who, although willing to admit the right of succession to Anne's children, protested against the preamble of the declaration requested, which implied the repudiation of the Pope's authority, as well as the nullity of Henry VIII's first marriage <sup>8)</sup>. Whilst

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<sup>1)</sup> Seven Universities had, at the price of high sums, given a favourable advice, pronouncing the nullity of Henry's first marriage: *Cordatus*, 199, sq.

<sup>2)</sup> A copy of that rare tract belonged to J. F. van de Velde, Louvain professor (1743-1823), and reposes now in the British Museum as *Grenville*, 1234.

<sup>3)</sup> The letter of Allen, x, 2777, ascribed to March 10, 1533, cannot have been written entirely at that date: the first seventeen lines can; but the part where Vives says: '*diligunt principes ac favent, idque re ostendunt. Sed mihi certum est ad mensem Iunium in Flandriam redire*' was certainly written eight years earlier: it is, indeed, impossible to connect that *dilectio* and *favor* with the King and Anne Boleyn, or Catherine of Aragon in 1533. The only possible conclusion is that the letter reproduces two half folio leaves: the first, the beginning, being probably dated September 1533, from Bruges to Gilbert Cousin; the second, the end, on March 10, 1525, from Oxford to Claud Cantiuncula; apparently, the two halves being in the same hand, they were considered as belonging to one letter, — which proves impossible: *MonHL*, 43-58.

<sup>4)</sup> Taunton, 166-206.

<sup>5)</sup> DNB.

<sup>6)</sup> Pastor, iv, ii, 483-516; *Wolsey*, 150-210; Ehse; Bémont; *SchismAngR*; *SchismAngC*; Köstlin, II, 373, sq, &c; *Dormer*, 76, sq.

<sup>7)</sup> Cp. DE, 315, — and, before, pp 176 and 168.

<sup>8)</sup> *ActaMori*, 11-12; *Dormer*, 74, sq.

they were in prison, the Acts of Succession and of the Supremacy of Henry were given the force of law, which had as sequel that several Friars Observant were executed, as well as some Carthusians <sup>1)</sup> besides Bishop Fisher <sup>2)</sup>; on the morning of July 6, 1535, a general emotion was felt throughout the country at the cruel death of Thomas More <sup>3)</sup>. — The high favour of Anne Boleyn did not last long <sup>4)</sup>: already on May 19, 1536, she was beheaded, with some of her relatives <sup>5)</sup>; and, before the news was stale, Henry married Jane Seymour <sup>6)</sup>. He crushed the 'Rising of the North', and continued the suppressing of monasteries — which had been started by Wolsey to found a College in Oxford; whereas, since the rich plunder only served to secure adherents to all that iniquity, it made the restoration of those alienated goods impossible under Queen Mary, and thus practically prevented the return of many families to the Old Church <sup>7)</sup>. — Some of the latter letters of this collection refer to Henry's courtship to Princess Christina of Denmark <sup>8)</sup>, and to his short-lived marriage with the Princess of Cleves <sup>9)</sup>, as well as to other excesses of the 'multigamus' <sup>10)</sup>, leaving the deep, but sad, regret that a fine nation has had to suffer already for centuries from the wild vagaries of that moral monster, who got persuaded that the sole purpose of the existence of the power of State and Church was exclusively the satisfaction of his own fickle pleasures.

On April 28, 1534, Joannes Secundus Hagiensis wrote from Toledo to John Dantiscus <sup>11)</sup>: 'S. P. Amplissime Præsul et Domine merito mihi obseruatissime. Quemadmodum in maximis fortunæ naturæque bonis habeo in eorum hominum amicitiam incidere posse, quibus ad suauitatem morum aliqua in republica dignitas, copiæque satis amplæ quidam vitæ splendor accedunt, vt non voluptati tantum esse possint amicis, sed & ornamento, ita sollicitus esse soleo, vt si quas eiusmodi nactus essem amicitias (in quo satis propitiam mihi fortunam experior) summo eas studio fouere conarer, & si ita vel locorum vel temporum ratio ferret. Vt cum aliquo etiam incremento id facere non possem, proximum mihi fuit adniti ne quam omnino atteri aut consenescere viderem. Ac equidem, si non prius illud hoc quidem perfecto posterius in amicitia

<sup>1)</sup> DE, 308.

<sup>2)</sup> Olæ, 554; DE, 312, 317, 342.

<sup>3)</sup> *Acta Mori*, 13; DE, 312, 317, 342; Jusserand, II, 186-87.

<sup>4)</sup> Cp. DE, 331, 471.

<sup>5)</sup> Cp. *Dormer*, 76, sq, 81, sq.

<sup>6)</sup> DE, 318; cp. even *Dormer*, 79.

<sup>7)</sup> DE, 322, 371; — cp. for Mary, *Dormer*, 60-66, 80-84.

<sup>8)</sup> Cp. DE, 300, *ad*.

<sup>9)</sup> DE, 417, 407, 421<sup>bis</sup>.

<sup>10)</sup> DE, 374, 322, 371.

<sup>11)</sup> DE, 287; Knm, 230, 301-03. Cp. *HTL*, II, 445, sq; *JSecO*, 169.

tua assecutum hactenus me spero, tametsi semel tantum post discessum tuum a Belgis, literas e Biturgis, ad quos studiorum gratia profectus eram, ad te miserim, sed hoc sufficere apud te arbitratus sum, quem etiam sine meis literis memoriam nostri retinere velle confido : ea est proculdubio tua, non mihi, sed tuis omnibus, sed vniuerso pene orbi nostro probata humanitas. Quod si forte nec literas meas accepisti, interiectumque inter dulcissimam illam Bruxellæ consuetudinem nostram non exiguum profecto tempus effecit, vt paulatim euanescere ex animo tuo cœperimus, doleo equidem diligentior me in scribendo non fuisse. Oroque vt hoc ita mihi condones si singulis posthac mensibus epistolam ad te prolixam dabo, plenam omni garrulitate, nugisque, & versiculis meis. Quid quæris? horribiles & sacros libellos, vt Catullus noster ait, accipies. Ac vt eiusmodi molestiæ assuefacere te nunc incipiam, aliquid tale mitto : præparatoriæ potionis loco : exiguum, & quod tribus nauseis deuorare possis.

Ego cum Nicolao fratre, Cæsaris secretario, annum fere apud Hispanos in Aula versor, vbi tametsi non iniucunda mihi vita sit, iucundior tamen multo foret si aliquot tui similes, aut te potius ipsum, veteri legatione fungentem, haberet. — Obiecta nobis erat nuper nescio ex quo rumore spes eiusmodi. Dii boni ! qui tum erant amicorum hic tuorum plausus ! qui vultus ! Crede mihi, non est quisquam qui non ad solam tui mentionem exultet ! Cum nuper in Aragonia, in vico Almogna tibi noto, degeremus, excurrebat ad nos sæpenumero ex Montissonio iucundissi. nr. amicus Corn. Scepperus, cum quo, adhibito D. Godscalco Erico, conuiuium poeticum sæpe solemus efficere. Accidit die quodam, ita cœnantibus nobis, vt literæ abs te ad Cornelium ac Godscalcum adferrentur, earum nobis magnam partem vterque communem fecit, ac tametsi tristia quædam continerent, tamen ita in tui memoria lætati sumus vt cœna quæ antea quidem omni hilaritate abundabat, tristis tamen eo vsque & severa fuisse videretur.

Nouarum hic rerum quod literis committendum sit, parum habemus. Ad Cæsarem ab Indis magna vis auri allata est : mirum ni ex liberali in prodigum euasurus sit. Januenses nescio quid contra Cæsaris Neptunum, — *Andream Doria* <sup>1)</sup>, —

<sup>1)</sup> MS And. De Aoria.

moliri dicuntur ; sed frustra. De Gallorum ac aliorum quorundam fide varie sentitur. In matrimonio Anglicano pronunciatum est : Deus faxit ne frustra.

Hilarius noster Lugduni peste correptus cum tota familia decessit <sup>1)</sup>. Dij faxint vt in Campis Elysijs in coetum poeticum recipiatur, sed longe ab eo loco collocetur, qui Brassicano <sup>2)</sup> destinatus est : ne rixentur.

Cupio scire num statua, quam ex luto tibi finxeram, salua isthuc aduecta est. Carmen quod ad te mitto, totam querelam de morte optimi ac tui studiosiss. viri patris nostri habet, quam eo libentius ad te mitto quod antehac audierim te magno studio undequaque colligere quæ ad illustrium viro- rum memoriam ab interitu vindicandam pertinent <sup>3)</sup>. Bene vale, vir ornatiss. Et nos vt soles amare perge. D. Godscalcus tibi ac D. Campensi, cui & ego commendatus sum opere cupio, salutem ascribi iubebat. Toleti, quarto Cal. Maias. R<sup>de</sup> D. V. humillimus Cliens, Joannes Secundus Hagiensis.

On April 28, 1534, Nicolas Nicolai Grudius announces from Toledo to Dantiscus <sup>4)</sup>, that, although two years in the Court, he now only finds as letter-carrier, Dantiscus' old servant. 'My brother Secundus, he says, is writing 'prolixius', and sending *Querelam de optimi Patris nostri Morte* ; you know what man he was, nor will posterity ignore it, if, what is often said, you are going to edit the epitaphs of great men collected undique : I pray for a place for this one of my father. Two years earlier, 'aulæ iussu epitaphium Margaretæ nostræ Austriacæ scripsi, sed præcipitanter, et pene biduo, quum iam esset in Burgundiam avehendum cadauer : quo minus etiam mihi semper placuit. Id his adiunxi, ut si non ob aliud quicquam, certe ob historiæ fidem ; si ita tibi uideretur, posses tuæ farragini inserere. Ac ne semper tibi cum mortuis res sit, neue semper lugeas, mitto et amœnioris generis quiddam,

<sup>1)</sup> Hilarius Bertulphus : cp. before, pp 54-55.

<sup>2)</sup> Brassicanus, cp. before, p 57 ; FG, 308-9.

<sup>3)</sup> Dantiscus namely intended preparing a collection of the epitaphs of his contemporaries — as is also implied in the next letter.

<sup>4)</sup> DE, 288 : Fbm, 3, 100, sq ; it reached Dantiscus, along with the preceding one, on September 23.

*Narcissum* uidelicet, *Eclogam* nuper a me Almoniaë, prope Montissonum, in Cingæ ripis, lusam, rem sane Theologiæ plenam, sed uetustioris, et a Campensis noua Theologia multum diuersa<sup>1)</sup>, quam tamen ille sine aliquo hæresis metu legere ac relegere possit, præsertim quoties illum in Venerem stimulat natura. Aliud [tibi] mitto carmen quod in Monte Serrato cecini, magis conforme Theologiæ nostræ. Accipies una cum his Nicolaum tuum plumbeum<sup>2)</sup>, a fratre meo Jo. Secundo efformatum, et quidem ad summam similitudinem : quem, ut inter addictissimorum tibi hominum imagines colloques, uehementer oro. Longe uero impensius abs te contendo, ut si quid est in quo operam meam cuiquam tuorum usui esse posse existimas, — tuæ enim amplitudini *quomodo* mea exiguitas seruire posse non uideo, — libere tuo jure imperes. Jd ego summi in me beneficii loco sum habiturus, neque quicquam prætermisurus, quod ad fidele ac diligens hominis tui studiosissimi officium pro quo modo pertinebit. R<sup>me</sup> D<sup>ne</sup> Deum Opt. Max. precor ut te quam diutissime felicem atque incolumem tueatur. Toleti, 4 Calendas Maijas 1534. — Cornelius Scepperus, amicus communis, iterum Constantinopolim ablegatus est : faxit Deus, ut Christiano orbi felix sit ac faustum, ipseque incolumis breui reuertatur. V. R. D. deditissimus servitor Nicolaus Nicolai Grudius, Cæs<sup>æ</sup> Ma<sup>ti</sup>s Secretarius Belgicus.

On May 10, 1534, Nicolas Olah wrote from Brussels to de Schepper<sup>3)</sup> : Quid multa a me expectas ? Tui omnes sunt sani. Tuum reditum felicem desiderant ; fac igitur, ut rebus omnibus ex sententia Cæsaris et Regis istic confectis, reuertare cum triumpho : measque res non negliges. De aliis rebus nunc non scribo, quia dum redieris ad aulam Regis, singula intelliges. Mitto ad te cum præsentibus, litteras uxoris tuæ. Bene vale, et mei sis memor.

On June 2, 1534, de Schepper wrote to Olah<sup>4)</sup> : Ego hodie valedixi cæsari Turcarum, a quo mira cum benignitate sum

<sup>1)</sup> The allusion to Campensis probably refers to some joke, which had passed about him in the conversation which the sons of the Mechlin President had had with Dantiscus.

<sup>2)</sup> The first of the two fine medals of Nicolas Everardi by his son Janus Secundus, is described and represented in Simonis, 47-49, *Pl.* II.

<sup>3)</sup> OlaE, 496-97.

<sup>4)</sup> OlaE, 503-04.

dimissus. Venio per Vlachos, ut aiunt, per regnum Hungariæ. Iussum est capitaneis omnibus et Sansacho Samandriæ, ut me saluum et lætum deducant ad Strigonium. Neque de vita sua securi sint, donec a me litteras habuerint, quibus significem me sanum eo peruenisse. Ipse Turcarum cæsar ore proprio dixit : Etiam si mihi esses mortalis hostes, ego te inter brachia servorum meorum faciam portari lætum et ridentem usque in Strigonium ; quia tu es servitor domini tui, et facis ea, quæ tibi sunt commissa. Egi ipsius maiestati gratias. Neque parum est, quod mihi contigit, Deo sit laus et gloria. Illustris dominus Aloysius Gritti valedixit similiter magno cæsari, venitque per Transsylvaniam Budam, deinde ad Serenissimum Regem Ferdinandum. Abiturus est eo, quo ego tempore. Ista, quæ anno superiore magnus cæsar promisit de restituenda scilicet dote serenissimæ Reginæ Mariæ, iterum nunc me admonente, bis confirmavit. Rei D. V. non oblitus sum, nec obliuiscar. Ampliora habituri estis ex me cum in Germaniam peruenero. Nam haud satis scio per quorum manus hæ sunt pertransituræ. Commenda me dominis et amicis omnibus, qui isthic sunt, et Maiestati Reginali imprimis, Domino Duci Darscoth, Archiepiscopo Panormitano, aliisque. Commendo itidem D. V. familiam meam, ut eam consoleris. Et bene vale. Datum Constantinopoli, quæ et Bizantium. Die 2<sup>a</sup> mensis Junii 1534.

About that time John van Campen earnestly contemplated paying the long desired visit <sup>1)</sup> to the leading Hebraist Eliah ben Ascher ha-Levi, called, on account of his works, *Bachur* and *Tischby*, *Aschkenasi*, and, by the Christians, ELIAS LEVITA ; he was born at Neustadt, on the Aisch, near Nuremberg, in 1472. He studied in Germany and Italy, where he taught Hebrew in Padua, 1504-1509, and in Venice, 1509-1512. He made the acquaintance of Cardinal Peter Egidio Canisio, of Viterbo, General of the Augustine Hermits (Pastor, iv, i, 141, sq), a friend of Reuchlin, who took him up in his house in Rome, and who taught him Greek and other sciences. Having lost all he possessed in the Sacco of 1527, Eliah settled in Venice, where, with the exception of a few years from 1541, which he spent with Paul Fagius at Isny, he worked and resided until he died in 1549. He taught Hebrew to the Christians, and had, amongst

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<sup>1)</sup> Even when on his nomination as *Trilingue* Professor at the end of December 1519, John Campensis requested to be allowed to go and study Hebrew in Germany, he had designed to hear Levita : *HTL*, i, 505, ii, 119, sq, iii, 161, &c.



his disciples, Cochläus <sup>1)</sup>); being excellent as grammarian, one of his great pupils, Sebastian Münster <sup>2)</sup>), translated his works into Latin : *Composita Verborum et Nominum Hebraicorum* : Basle, 1525, and *Accentuum Liber Unus : item Liber Traditionum* : Basle, 1539. Campensis acknowledged his indebtedness to Elias' works in his Grammar of 1528 and in *De Natura Litterarum et Punctorum Hebraicorum, aliisque ad exactam grammaticen, Christianis et neotericis Judæis incognitam necessariis, ex variis opusculis Eliæ Judæi, Grammaticorum facile principis* : Cracow, M. Scharffenberg, 20 April, 1534 <sup>3)</sup>. — Cp. *HebStud.*, 30, 55-65, 88, 124-26, 133, 138-39; *MasE*, 4; *CorpCath.*, xiii, xxxix, xli, 46, 60, 65, 67, 75; *HTL*, II, 119-20, III, 160-62, 177, sq, 184, 196, sq, 199, 201, 207, 284, 604; *NèveMém.*, 238-42.

On July 24, 1534, Conrad Goclenius wrote to Dantiscus from Louvain <sup>4)</sup>), answering the greeting communicated by Daniel Mauch, of Ulm, secretary to the Bishop of Brixen, George of Austria, who had asked for a letter in reply. 'I am sorry, he writes, that I let slip such a long time after such great signs of benevolence of so great a man : still I did not know where to write to, nor how to see that the letter was despatched. I hope to be forgiven on that account, and I am pleased now to find a way to correspond with your Excellence, who has been so kind to me that I will feel it my whole life. 'Siquidem nominatione Imperiali ad Præpositum *Hugardensem*, quam tuæ unius Celsitudini debere confiteor <sup>5)</sup>), adeptus sum sacerdotium Canonicum non minoris census in absentia, — quod nos homines scholastici magis expetimus, — quam sit Canonicatus Antverpiensis. I will therefore be eternally thankful', Goclenius continues, 'and will be most happy to render any service. De rebus publicis nihil ad te scribere audeo, for you, Dantiscus, have not men who know things from hearsay, but from having taken part in them : 'maxime cum habeas hic D. Brixinensem <sup>6)</sup>), ut æquum est inter optimos

<sup>1)</sup> *CochlSpahn*, 30; *CochlHum.*, 101.

<sup>2)</sup> Cp. p 220.

<sup>3)</sup> The book is dedicated to Peter Tomicki, Bishop of Cracow : *HebStud.*, 56, sq.

<sup>4)</sup> DE, 290 : Fbm, 3, 49 & Ccm, 284, 233 : it reached Dantiscus on September 23, 1534. Cp. *Hipler*, 508. <sup>5)</sup> Cp. before, p 126.

<sup>6)</sup> The 'D. Brixinensis' is in all probability Bishop George of Austria, whose acquaintance Dantiscus must have made whilst he was at the Emperor's court : there are a few letters which attest that there was some correspondence, and a most hearty connection, between them : cp. DE, 279, p 202.

tui amantissimum. — In rebus privatis illud novi est : Gemmam tuum duxisse hic vxorem lepidissimam, eo corporis habitu, ut facile ter denis Gemmis videatur suffectura, nisi simul esset pudicissima <sup>1)</sup>. Ex qua, favente Lucina, non nisi meros Vniones et Margaritas putatur geniturus. Item Campensem nostrum initio proximi mensis pervenisse Venetias, ad Hieronymum Aleandrum, Archiepiscopum Brindusiensem et quemdam Judæum Eliam <sup>2)</sup>, cuius desiderio iam multis annis probe contabuit, tanta sit iam per nouem dies extincta. Tanto enim spatio temporis hæsit Venetijs, cum significaret se satis esse assecutum illa quæ ab Elia expectarat, et quorum cupiditate tot annos flagrasset : jamque ad nos parare reditum. Qui certe nobis erit exoptatissimus. Quod si veterem conditionem requirat, non deerit illi nostra opera. — D. Erasmus hactenus frustra expectavimus, toties pollicitum Reginæ sese esse in procinctu ad nos <sup>3)</sup>. Voluntati tamen eius nihil puto obstitisse præter bellum Wirtembergense, quo principes et civitates prope omnes erant in armis. Quidquid porro accidat, efficiam ne tua R<sup>ma</sup> D. ignoret, cui me toto pectore commendo. Lovanii. Nono Calendas Augusti Anno 1534. E. R. D. addictissimus Conradus Goclenius.

Sebastian MÜNSTER, Munster, was born at Ingelheim in 1489, and went to study in Tübingen, where, by 1505, he entered the Franciscan Order. He continued his intellectual development there, and in Heidelberg, where he was appointed as professor of Hebrew, which language he had tried to learn from Matthew Adriani, the ‘difficilis præceptor’, who later on taught in the *Trilingue* <sup>4)</sup>, and of his pupil Pellican, as well as of Reuchlin, who professed in Tübingen in 1521-22, and, of some others, who, in one way or another, had enjoyed, or were enjoying, Elias Levita’s teaching, — if he did not enjoy it himself <sup>5)</sup>. Münster may even have taught the sacred language, along with Reuchlin and G. Amman to John van Campen, by 1519-21, before the latter took up the lectures in the *Trilingue* <sup>6)</sup>. At any rate, he was himself soon appointed in Basle as Professor of Hebrew, which, as it was said,

<sup>1)</sup> Cp. further, DE, 291, &c.

<sup>2)</sup> Cp. further, DE, 298, and the notice on Elias Levita on p 218; that on the other famous Hebraist, Sebastian Münster, follows here.

<sup>3)</sup> Cp. letters of April 27 & May 4, 1533 (pp 175-77) and DE, 336, *pr*.

<sup>4)</sup> Cp. HTL, I, 241-55, 334-39, 369-75, 534-42.

<sup>5)</sup> Cp. before, pp 67-68; *HebStud.*, 55.

<sup>6)</sup> Cp. HTL, I, 505.

nobody knew better than he in Germany <sup>1)</sup>). He wrote there several most remarkable books, such as that at which he worked thirty years, proving that, notwithstanding injuries and calumnies, Christ is the *Messias Christianorum et Judeorum* (1539); he edited a *Dictionarium Hebraicum*; also other works <sup>2)</sup>), either translations: such as the *Logica Sapientis Rabi Simeonis* (Basle, 1527), which he dedicated 'Joanni Campensi, Sacrae Hebrae Linguae eximio apud Lovanium Professore, November 1, 1526 <sup>3)</sup>); also Latin renderings of Levita's works, and commented translations, like those of the *Kokeleth*, of the Psalms, and of the Old Testament (Basle, 1534). He further provided a Hebrew Grammar (1527, 1542), as well as a Hebrew Calendar (1529). Meanwhile he had become an adherent to the Zwinglian belief by 1529 <sup>4)</sup>), probably on account of the difficulties created at Basle in the latter twenties, although his creed never seems to have interfered with his studies. He worked on incessantly, and died on May 23, 1552, as a victim of the plague <sup>5)</sup>).

Besides Hebrew, other oriental languages interested Münster: in fact, he published the first Chaldaic grammar and lexicon, in 1527 <sup>6)</sup>), which made him acquainted with the *Trilinguist* Andrew Maes, Masius, who actually corresponded with him in Hebrew ever since 1539, and who wrote a preface to his *Sphaera Mundi* in 1546. Masius was then Secretary of the Bishop of Constance, John de Weze, and during a stay in Rome with the latter's nephew <sup>7)</sup>), he made the acquaintance of several Jews and foreigners that lived in the great metropolis. That old student of Louvain, who praised the Basle scholar as late as 1569, thus fitly closed the link that connected Münster with the Brabant University, where he had had friends like 'Adriani' and Campensis, and where his works had even been reprinted in the latter twenties by Thierry Martens <sup>8)</sup>). An excellent use was thus made there of his erudition and his scholar-like example.

With all that, Münster was highly interested in Cosmography; he issued a work by Ptolemy in 1540, and, after a long study and many researches, he edited his famous *Cosmographia Universalis* in 1544, which gave a description of the world. He inserted in it the novel way of making maps, which Gemma Phrysius had invented, and had

<sup>1)</sup> *HebStud.*, 77.

<sup>2)</sup> *HebStud.*, 77-80.

<sup>3)</sup> *HTL*, II, 122, III, 207; *HebStud.*, 81-87.

<sup>4)</sup> Hoyneck, II, I, 396; Enders, II, 355, 360.

<sup>5)</sup> In the Basle University Library, MS C. VIa. 71. i, f 295, are names of students helped to some subsidy founded by Erasmus, *uf furbit Seb. Munsteri*, on the intercession of Seb. Munster (± 1550).

<sup>6)</sup> *HebStud.*, 133-39.

<sup>7)</sup> Cp. before, p 180, 2.

<sup>8)</sup> Cp. Iseghem, 315.

proposed in 1533 <sup>1)</sup>; — yet according to his mean habit, it seems <sup>2)</sup>, — Münster did not indicate the clever inventor of the novel method. Moreover, for some countries he unfortunately used unreliable instructors : for Spain, Portugal and their Colonies, he accepted the description of Michael Servet, who had been disqualified and banished from Spain. Therefore Münster's report naturally highly displeased Damian a Goes, who, on that account, wrote sounder, more substantial, and fully reliable descriptions of those parts of the world : *MonHL*, 621 ; *Era-Spain*, 716, 766, 772, 783, 840-42 ; *HTL*, I, 243, 382, 386, II, 119-20, 367, III, 64, *sq.*, 161, 284 ; *PortHum.*, 179, *sq.*, 173, 181, 189 ; *SchelAL*, x, 1020 ; *PlantE*, III, 52, 64, v, 7, 12 ; *VulcE*, 247. Further information about Münster is offered by *HebStud.*, 74-88, 111, & *passim* ; *MasE*, 4, 17, 20, 427, 435 444, 481 ; *HTL*, I, 243, 382, 386, II, 119-20, III, 161-284 ; *SaxOnom.*, 142, 171, 603 ; *DébAgMod.*, 296 ; *Janssen*, I, 579, II, 306 ; *Lefranc*, 92 ; *CochlSpahn*, 235 ; *Lauchert*, 444, 566.

In the next letter GEMMA PHRYSIUS, FRISIUS, explains that he did not follow Dantiscus on his return home : he had wished to see his own people before leaving, and he most probably was afraid that his infirm constitution could not have stood the long and painful exertion. His stay in his native country lasted longer than he had foreseen, so that the companion on the journey had not waited for him. To that came rumours of Dantiscus' premature decease, — whereas all the time the mind and the heart of the young scholar were longing to find the solution of several absorbing questions. Thus, about that time, he was most actively engaged in the constructing and the constant correcting of terrestrial and celestial globes, provided with movable parts, and enriched with the result of the very latest discoveries <sup>3)</sup>, which most remarkable novelty was soon in eager demand in nearly all countries. He also had published about that time his issue of Peter Apianus' *Cosmographicus Liber... studiosè correctus ac erroribus vindicatus*, which was an admirable accomplishment for a young man, who had hardly entered the twenties <sup>4)</sup> : it did great honour to his master John Driedo, the theologian <sup>5)</sup>. The book has been often reprinted <sup>6)</sup>, and to one of the first issues Phrysius added the booklet, communicating his

<sup>1)</sup> Cp. pp 73, 223 ; *GemFriskus*, 58, 323, *sq.*

<sup>2)</sup> In his *Cosmographia* (Basle, 1544) Münster reproduces, — for example, — Damian a Goes' descriptions of Northern Europe, *Deploratio Lappiæ Gentis*, along with the customs and habits of the Lapps, and a sketch of the reindeer, — without indicating his source, as is pointed out in *PortHum.*, 173 !

<sup>3)</sup> *HTL*, II, 537, 542-65 ; *GemFriskus*, 143-64.

<sup>4)</sup> Antwerp, February, 1529 : Roland Bollaert : *NijKron.*, I, 121 ; *HTL*, II, 544, *sq.* ; *GemFriskus*, 165-67.

<sup>5)</sup> Cp. further, p 224.

<sup>6)</sup> *NijKron.*, I, 122-27 ; *GemFriskus*, 167-189.

recent find : *Libellus de Locorum describendorum Ratione et de eorum Distancijs inveniendis, nunquam ante hac visus* : 1533. It was dedicated to Thomas Bombelli, of Antwerp, on January 31, 1533 <sup>1)</sup>. Its importance can hardly be gauged : for it revealed the final, definite way of representing any country with its towns and all its accidents, comparative amongst themselves and connected with longitude and latitude ; it was made out by means of a series of triangles, with one common basis which could be measured with preciseness, so that it led to accurate distances and became the beginning of actual 'geography' ; subsequent times have only been able to add to it more facilities in the checking and the registering of the various elements <sup>2)</sup>.



Meanwhile Gemma had published in October 1530, at van Zassen's, in Louvain, his *De Principiis Astronomiæ & Cosmographiæ, Deque Usu Globi... Item de Orbis Divisione, & Insulis, rebusque nuper inuentis*. Besides a large amount of most interesting information, this book revealed in *De Usu Globi*, a means to determine the longitude of a place by means of a watch, — which method has ever since been used in navigation, and still is, being based on the difference of the solar hour at various longitudes <sup>3)</sup>.

<sup>1)</sup> HTL, II, 553, sq ; *GemFrisius*, 57-61, 168-70 ; *NijKron.*, I, 122.

<sup>2)</sup> On account of his bodily weakness, Gemma could not possibly work out the description of the country : he left it to his friend and fellow-student Mercator, who, in a few years, drew the final map of Flanders and the Netherlands, and invented the *Projectio Mercatoris*.

<sup>3)</sup> HTL, II, 546, sq ; *GemFrisius*, 66-69, 189-91 ; *NijKron.*, I, 971 ; Quetelet, 80-82.

In the following year, Phrysius availed himself of a reissue of his *Cosmographicus Liber* to add to it the *Usus Annuli Astronomici*, a booklet dedicated on February 1, 1534 to John Khreutter, secretary to Queen Mary of Hungary. By it he revealed most important improvements brought about in the *Annulus Astronomicus*, which Apianus and his contemporaries were still using <sup>1)</sup>.

Whilst those writings were reproduced in an interminable list of various editions, Gemma rendered a most appreciable service to science by his *Arithmeticae practicae Methodus facilis*, introducing several changes and methods: it was printed at Antwerp in 1540, and dedicated from Louvain, December 28, 1539, to William Rhetius, Prior of St. Michael's Abbey, at Antwerp <sup>2)</sup>. It has some laudatory verses by the Portuguese poet Didacus Pyrrhus <sup>3)</sup>. Like his other works, this book by Gemma Phrysius was heartily hailed by all those connected with that study, on account of the most happy innovations it provided, besides the magnificent example of the wonderful way of treating some questions. And yet, his time was then for a large part taken up by his work as medical doctor: his efficiency was such, that even the Emperor Charles applied to his aptitude, and this very correspondence refers to the admirable patience which made him spend days at the bedside of some of the great men of the day <sup>4)</sup>. Yet, all the same, he found the time and the occasion to produce his wonderful writings, based on his vast knowledge, in which he used the help of all the *cognoscibilia*, even to that of the *Regula Falsi*. He thus explained and illustrated the *Radius Astronomicus & Geometricus*, which was issued at Antwerp in 1545 <sup>5)</sup>, whilst his last days were still taken up by his *De Astrolabo Catholico Liber*, which he did not finish, but which he left to be issued by his son <sup>6)</sup>. A choice of references has been given before, on p 74. To them might be added Paquot, I, 177, III, 28, xv, 7; *MouvScienc.*, I, 288, 291, 300; *RevQSci.*, 1927, 19-27, 57; Hessels, II, 44, 417; PlantE, I, 128, 264, v, 115, vi, 173, 263; FG, 317-8.

The master of Gemma Phrysius for astronomy was John DRIEDO, professor of divinity. He was properly called NIJS, but he was given the popular name *Déridon*[k], or *Drido*, of his native hamlet DARISDONCK, then belonging to Turnhout. Born about 1480, he studied in Louvain in the Falcon, and was proclaimed the first in philosophy in 1499, — which fact is still at present recalled by the name of a stretch of heath,

<sup>1)</sup> HTL, II, 554, sq; *GemFrissius*, 36-37, 60-61, 171-75, 195, 221.

<sup>2)</sup> HTL, II, 557, sq; *GemFrissius*, 68-74, 189-91; *NijKron.*, I, 970.

<sup>3)</sup> He had studied in Louvain, and was well acquainted with Gemma and many other great men: HTL, III, 415, 419-21, 429, 535, II, 557, 563, IV, 518.

<sup>4)</sup> Namely Louis de Praet: DE, 444; *GemFrissius*, 25, 37.

<sup>5)</sup> *GemFrissius*, 74; HTL, II, 554-62.

<sup>6)</sup> *GemFrissius*, 75; HTL, II, 554, sq.

'*tPrimusheiken*', situated in the very corner of the country where he first saw the light. Whilst studying theology, he taught philosophy in his Pedagogy, and was most proficient in astronomy. 'Mathematicis... artibus', he relates, 'de cœlorum velocitatibus, de siderum accessibus et recessibus, de multiplicibus planetarum cursibus, de veris et mediis eorum motibus, de statione et directione ac retrogradatione ipsorum, de concentricis et excentricis circulis atque epicycliis, strenuam dedi operam, neque quiescere poterat animus donec intelligeret quod investigabat, delectatus solius veritatis cognitione' <sup>1)</sup>). At the death of his friend Henry de Houterlee, January 2, 1511, he became for ten years the president of the college the latter had founded in his house in Cow Street. His master and friend, Adrian of Utrecht, earnestly insisted with Driedo on the continuing of his studies in theology, in so far that, on August 17, 1512, he became doctor of divinity, and priest by April 28, 1515. He meanwhile had accepted some ecclesiastical dignities, most important amongst them being that of parish priest of St. James's, Louvain. When Luther attacked points of the old belief, Driedo at once became its full-hearted, yet most prudent, defensor; he wrote polemic works about '*De Ecclesiasticis Scripturis & Dogmatibus*'; '*De Captivitate & Redemptione Generis humani*'; '*De Concordia Liberi Arbitrij & Prædestinationis*'; about '*De Gratia*', and about '*De Libertate Christiana*'; they were highly praised by Erasmus <sup>2)</sup>); he had most advanced ideas about the Immaculate Conception, even at that time; and his opinions were such that, several of them, were taken over in his own words, amongst the decrees of the Council of Trent <sup>3)</sup>). Having thus prepared in his humble, but most efficient activity what Andreas describes as 'universam fere studiorum encyclopediam', he died on August 4, 1535, and was buried in St. James's, in front of the altar of the Blessed Sacrament. Cp. Mol., 512; Vern., 208, 271-72; VAnd., 100, 302; *BibBelg.*, 494; PF, I, 59, v, sq; BaxH, II, 181-82; Gestel, I, 152; ULAnn., 1859, 241-58; Paquot, II, 175, 181, xvi, 191, xviii, 39; BN; ULDoc., I, 263-65, IV, 392; de Jongh, 156-59; Turnhout, 230-31; *Corsendonca*, 48; *TurnJans.*, II, 117-18; J. Jansen, *Turnhout en de Kempen*: Turn., 1946: 112-13; *Cran.*, xxxv, 62, d, 97, a; *MonHL*, 344-45, 412; *ActaMori*, 9; *HTL*, I, 278, 327, &c, II, 505-07, 543, &c, III, 164, 372, &c, IV, 452, &c; *Turn.-Lov.*, I, 5, 6, 7, 10; *Auw.*, 405; *PighE*, I, 186; &c.

On July 26, 1534, Gemma Phrysius wrote from Louvain to Dantiscus <sup>4)</sup>): Since I left you, I went to visit my 'parentes' whom I had not seen since seven years; also my friends; on which I returned to Brabant: to Antwerp first, and then,

<sup>1)</sup> ULAnn., 1859, 250.

<sup>2)</sup> Allen, III, 1163, 10, 1164, 1167, 1173.

<sup>3)</sup> DraDrie., 836-54.

<sup>4)</sup> DE, 291: Ccm, 240, 161, sq: it reached Dantiscus on September 23. Cp. HTL, III, 555, sq.

‘antiquas sedes revisens, Lovanii consedi’. I had been invited by you to Poland, which I should have liked to accept; still two things prevented me from executing that plan: first, the very companion with whom you wished me to go upon the journey, — duci, — and by whom I was to be taken to Poland, left before I came back from home; moreover, I could not walk to Poland ‘nisi exuta corporis huius gravitate: neque nunc lubet vulnus antiquum refricare’. I thus wished to expect an opportunity, when, repeatedly, the news spread of your death. As that information was confirmed instead of contradicted, and as I did not wish at all to enter the service of any other *aulicus*, nor ‘perpetuo Mathematicum agere, cum hæ artes, gratæ quamvis, nullius tamen sunt apud nos momenti, — hoc est, emolumenti’, — I threw myself into the slavery of slaveries, ‘servitutem servitutem’<sup>1</sup>). Still the wife I took, makes that slavery into a joy by her ‘colloquiis et gratissima consuetudine’. I will study ‘annum unum vel alterum Medicinam’, which I have had in mind since eight years, but in which I had been interrupted. And there then comes from Saxony, whilst I was still grieving for your decease, Daniel Mauch, the secretary of the Bishop of Brixen, who shows a letter from you, mentioning me. It gives me great joy indeed. Still I cannot re-enter your service on account of my wife. I rejoice that you are still ‘summus Mæcenæ et Studiorum Pater’. As to the news, ‘nihil adeo boni: indies interficiuntur hæretici Lutherani; there is no war: yet we dread being attacked from all sides. ‘Goclenius, Rescius, amicus Servatius’<sup>2</sup>), Gravius’<sup>3</sup>), omnes satis recte valent’, and send their greetings: I recommend them and myself, and I add my best wishes for your health and prosperity. I will write again, for I now just am only jotting down my ideas *ex tempore*. Louanij, 7<sup>a</sup> Kalendarum Augusti.

R<sup>o</sup> J. Dantisco, Ep<sup>o</sup> Culm, Administratori Pomezanien.’<sup>4</sup>).

<sup>1</sup>) Cp. Goclenius’ letter of July 24, 1534: DE, 290 (before p 219), and that of Mauch, July 26: DE, 292 (further, p 227).

<sup>2</sup>) Viz., Servatius van Zassen, Sassenus, the printer-editor: cp. p 103.

<sup>3</sup>) Viz., Bartholomew de Grave, Gravius, printer, and, for a time, Rescius’ associate: cp. p 64.

<sup>4</sup>) The title of *Administrator Pomesaniensis*, which Dantiscus takes or is given in this and other letters, e. g., DE, 275, 292, 296, 333, 341,



On the same day, July 26, 1534, Daniel Mauch, secretary of the Bishop of Brixen, who had returned to Louvain and announced there that Dantiscus was still alive, and sent him this letter along with both those of Goclenius and Gemma <sup>1)</sup>: 'Sub finem Maii, he wrote, my master was appointed as legate to Denmark; still, owing to the intrigues of Lübeck, little success could be reached. On his return, I received your letter, and was going to reply, when your 'cubicularius' left before I could write. I am not going to keep silent, though; your letter has given great joy, and I thank you for your message to Joh. de Werden <sup>2)</sup>, whom I greatly admire. All hope on Denmark's recovery is lost, although Copenhagen is still in the power of King Christian II's companion and *consanguineus*, the Count of Oldenburg <sup>3)</sup>. In Louvain 'Goclenius et Gemma statim post meum reditum me salutavere'. They, however, are very busy, and have not been able to write before now. 'Gemma paulo ante meum discessum abhinc, uxorem duxerat, presbyteri filiam, juvenem, mediocriter formosam et parum dotatam: sibi autem mirifice placentem: cui tam strenuam nunc dat operam vt ipsum præter illam nihil oblectet. Vtriusque tamen literas tandem mihi traditas <sup>4)</sup> R<sup>e</sup> D. V. mitto: quam oro vt pro singulari sua humanitate, jnanes meas literas boni consulere dignetur. Lovanij, 7. Kal. Aug. 1534'. — Ep<sup>o</sup> Culm<sup>t</sup> & Pom. Administr.

Christopher of OLDENBURG <sup>5)</sup> was a relative of King Christian II of Denmark; at the death of Frederic I, April 10, 1533, he was at the head

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refers to the old '*diœcesis Pomesantiensis*', which extended in West-Prussia to the east of the Vistula, from Marienburg down to Graudenz; that district is even nowadays indicated by that name. It was a diocese up to the xiv<sup>th</sup> century, when it seems to have become part of the diocese of Culm, probably enjoying still a proper administration, entrusted to the Bishop of Culm.

<sup>1)</sup> DE, 292: Fbm, 4, 21, sq: it reached Dantiscus with the two others, on September 23. Cp. *HTL*, II, 555, sq.

<sup>2)</sup> He was a councillor of Danzig, who is often referred to in these letters.

<sup>3)</sup> Christopher of Oldenburg had become master at Copenhagen and Zealand in June 1534, and kept it in his power for some months. Cp. pp 153-54.

<sup>4)</sup> DE, 290 and 291, pp 219 & 225.

<sup>5)</sup> Cp. *DanHist.*, I, Table Généal., I.

of the Lübeck forces. He wished to gain back the estates which his relative had lost, and he thus managed to land with an army at Skovshoved on June 1534, and to become master, first of Zealand, then of Fünen, of Scania with Malmö, and of the neighbouring islands, in the name of Christian II, the captive King. Evidently the nobility and the clergy were against him, and they managed to take possession of Jutland, which they offered to the son of the deceased King, Christian III. The latter had an excellent army-leader, John Ranzau, who managed to conquer the islands, so that Oldenburg was soon left only with Malmö, which surrendered on April 11, 1536, and with Copenhagen. Although Charles V, to please his niece Dorothy, married to the Count Palatine, wished to interfere, so as to enter again into possession of Denmark, his efforts came too late, as only one town had not been conquered by Ranzau, namely Copenhagen, and, as already mentioned before, it had to surrender on July 29, 1536. It ended the *Grevefeiden* <sup>1)</sup>.

Jerome A LASCO, LASKI, LASKY, LASCI, mentioned in the next letter as helping de Schepper, has been referred to before as ambassador in Turkey <sup>2)</sup>, as suspected of causing the Turks to enter Austria <sup>3)</sup> and as favouring de Schepper <sup>4)</sup>. Born at Lask on September 27, 1496, he belonged to the important family, of which a member was then Archbishop of Gnesen. Jerome, the latter's nephew, along with a younger brother John <sup>5)</sup>, studied in Rome and Bologna; by 1520, he greeted Charles V in Brussels on his return from Spain, and made Erasmus' acquaintance. He was sent on embassy to Francis I in May 1524, and stayed for a time in Basle with the great erudite, who dedicated to him his *Modus Orandi Deum*, 1524. He served his country, and actively helped as orator to secure Hungary to John Zapolya, against Ferdinand, with whom he, when he saw some advantage, intrigued more than once, for he was *celer et vigilans*. Still he made himself distrusted by both sides; he even got imprisoned by the Sultan in 1540; when, released in 1541, he returned to his country, it was only to die on December 22, 1541. Cp. *Lasco*, 34, 90, 122, 141, 149, 163, 304; *Lasciana*, 16, 287-8; FG, 379; RhenE, 462; OlaE, 137, 146, 270, 287, 305, &c; Allen, iv, 1242, 25.

On July 30, 1534, Cornelius de Schepper announced to Olah from Prague <sup>6)</sup>, that leaving Turkey, he had been stopped near Belgrade, where they wanted him to sail up the Danube accompanied by the whole fleet, but on the advice of Jerome Lasky, they let him continue quietly his journey to Buda,

<sup>1)</sup> Cp. *DanHist.*, i, 311-14.

<sup>2)</sup> Cp. before, pp 84 and 99.

<sup>3)</sup> February 1532 : cp. p 131.

<sup>4)</sup> Cp. p 169.

<sup>5)</sup> Cp. further, especially letter of July 14, 1544.

<sup>6)</sup> OlaE, 517-19.

where he called on John the Vaivode, who was expecting Aloys Gritti. He gives his opinion about the miserable country, which is already bitterly regretting its present state : ' iugi Turcici incipit pudere Hungaros ! — De rebus tuis ', he writes to Olah, desine sollicitus esse ; nam video magnam mutationem fore...Post quam mutationem non possum non ingens bonum, et id breui, sperare ! ' He further relates the good assurances given : ' cæsar Turcarum his ore proprio confirmavit dotem serenissimæ Reginæ, iussitque Gritto, ut eam restitueret : superest solum ut id exequatur '.

On August 1, Olah sent to de Schepper the expression of his pleasure at the news about his reaching 'Posonium', Pressburg, on July 15 ; he also mentioned the good health of his wife and his family <sup>1)</sup>. Meanwhile Olah was informed that his friend was staying for some time in Bohemia, as his health had greatly suffered from the return journey, as well as from the fatigues of his second sojourn in Constantinople. By September 19, he had returned to the Netherlands, and he had met his family, when a 'hulcus' started, probably one more outcome of his weeks and weeks of trouble and hardships <sup>2)</sup>.

That was the end of de Schepper's two embassies which, — especially in Spain and the Netherlands, — were not represented with their proper aim and meaning, for as far as Charles V was concerned, except to the most intimate friends, like Ericksen or Olah and Queen Mary of Hungary. Thus, for the second embassy was given as reason, as de Schepper announced on February 13, 1534 <sup>3)</sup>, the affairs of 'Jhope' and of the 'Joannitæ', which had been fully prepared in Spain, probably by the financiers with the exclusion of Ehinger. The question of the 'Joannitæ', no doubt, was represented as that of the Knights of St. John, or of the Holy Sepulchre, who recently had lost Rhodes, and had found a shelter in Malta, — which might have caused some interview about arrangements with the Sultan. As to the second interest which de Schepper had to defend in Constantinople, the 'Jhope', it was probably not as historical, but seems to have been a fiction invented to hide any intention that was not to be communicated on any account. The word occurs in a passage of the third *Carmen* to George Sabinus by Dantiscus — about 1547 : 'patrocinio tuo', so the poet addresses Sabinus,

<sup>1)</sup> OlaE, 519-20.

<sup>2)</sup> OlaE, 523-24.

<sup>3)</sup> Cp. before p 196.

‘Indignus fuit ille sordidatus,  
 Pro quo tot precibus simul profusis  
 Exposcis veniam, licet sit usto  
 Dignus stigmatē, contumax Iopas,  
 Qui tangens fidibus chelyn malignis  
 Infames voluit meos fideles  
 Clives reddere’<sup>1)</sup>.

That name — to which the editor of the last issue of Dantiscus’ *Carmina*, adds the note : *Quis hic Iopas fuerit, neque ex Dantisci, nec Sabini versibus erui potest*, — seems to have served, like that of the ‘*Joannitæ*’, as a pretence mentioned to the large body of employees, courtiers and correspondents, so as to hide for the time de Schepper’s actual message on his visit to the very seat of the Secular Enemy.

No doubt, Cornelius de Schepper had come back to the Netherlands in August 1534 : on the 21<sup>st</sup> of that month, Nicolas Perrenot, writing from Palencia<sup>3)</sup>, sends him his hearty congratulations along with the remembrance of his old friendship. He also adds the news of the Court and repeats the declaration of his readiness to do for him whatever he might require. Before he received that letter<sup>4)</sup>, de Schepper had taken up his work : already on October 4, he had left his family and his native country again, to go and meet the Emperor in Spain : on his way, he wrote to Olah from Cambrai, mentioning his wish of being better paid, and communicating his sad impression of the muddling state of the affairs in Hungary<sup>5)</sup>. In his reply of October 11<sup>6)</sup>, Olah sends him quite a high encomium of all his labours : ‘*Te nec rebus, nec fortunæ, nec periculis, nec vitæ, si ita casus tulisset, in rebus Principum nostrorum pepercisse, non magna persuasione adducor, ut credam ! Nam naturam tuam noui, ingenium non alteri, quam fidei erga Principes et integritati deditum ; quæ tuæ virtutes facile te stimularent, ut ea faceres, quæ fecisti ; non priuatarum rerum, aut commodi causa, sed publicarum, sed Christianarum rerum, sed Principum ! Te nullis aut gloriæ cupiditatibus, quæ certe vanæ sunt, ac mundanæ ; aut metu, aut minis induci deinceps posse, ut*

<sup>1)</sup> *DantCar.*, 215, ll 18-26.

<sup>2)</sup> *DantCar.*, 215, n 23.

<sup>3)</sup> DE, 295 : Fbm, 67, 260.

<sup>4)</sup> It reached him only on November 30, having probably been sent after him to Spain, where he had gone to when it came to the Netherlands.

<sup>5)</sup> OlaE, 524-26.

<sup>6)</sup> OlaE, 528-31.

temere te tuosque periculis opponas, et gaudeo, et lætor, et præterea consulo. Nam infidam gentis illius, apud quam egisti, societatem, quis magis te ipso nouit? Postrema profectioe Dei auxilio utcunque euasisse videris illorum artes et venena ! <sup>1)</sup>)

On November 5, 1534, de Schepper wrote from Spain, 'Madricio', to Dantiscus a letter, of which only the latter part is preserved <sup>2)</sup>) : it starts : 'Welzeri novam classem cum 500 viris, duce Nicolao Federman miserunt in Indiam', since the Indians killed Ambrosius Delfiner, who had discovered some gold mines. He refers to Cortés <sup>3)</sup>), who is still alive, 'sed nulli ad eum, vel ab eo, nuncij : sibi uiuit, transigitque inglorius æuum. — Elegiam tuam cum Epitaphio legimus hic, amici tui, Grudii fratres et ego, magna cum voluptate, venitque nobis in mentem Hercules qui moriens apud Ovidium res a se præclare gestas recenset. Nolumus tamen semel tantum eas, sed crebro vt recenseas' <sup>4)</sup>). He refers to Moschou, which the Polish King nearly obtained. He requests that letters should be sent to Vienna, or to Flanders, and he greets Dantiscus as well as his friends and his people : 'Dº J. Dantisco, Ep. Culm., administratori Pomesaniensi in Prussia.'.

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<sup>1)</sup> OlaE, 529 ; cp. further, DE, 317. — It was thought that on the second embassy, efforts had been made to poison de Schepper, who had been ill several days on his return.

<sup>2)</sup> DE, 296 : Fbm, 3, 101, *sq* ; it reached Dantiscus on February 16.

<sup>3)</sup> Hernán Cortés, born in 1485 in Estramadura, was the one who undertook and completed the conquest of Cuba and Mexico, and who managed to subdue the Aztecs, — although counteracted by enemies amongst the Spaniards, who, by 1528, compelled him to return to Europe. He went back in 1530, but felt that he had lost all influence, and undertook the discovery of Lower California in a discrete and almost ignored way. He was again in Europe by 1540, and followed Charles V to Algeria in 1541. He later on lived in retirement at Sevilla, and died there in 1547. No doubt de Schepper and Dantiscus knew of his activity, if they did not actually count him amongst their friends. Cp. Altamira, III, 46-51 ; A. Helps, *Life of Cortes* : London, 1871 ; Ober, *Hernando Cortés* : New York, 1905.

<sup>4)</sup> Probably a humorous glorification by Dantiscus of his own career as ambassador.

## LETTERS TO AND FROM ERASMUS

quoted or mentioned in this study  
and not referred to in Allen's Edition

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Letter from Dantiscus to Erasmus : end of October 1531 *pp* 104-10

»	»	Erasmus to Decius : beginning of 1533	179
»	»	Dantiscus to Erasmus : August 1533	180
»	»	Erasmus to Cochläus : November 24, 1535	259
»	»	Erasmus to Decius : May 26, 1536	270
»	»	Erasmus to Cochläus : May 25, 1536	280

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## CORRIGENDA

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On p 44	<i>l</i> 7 from below	instead of	1536	read	1526
86	<i>l</i> 14 from top	» »	and	»	an
96	note 2	» »	Cartusian	»	Carthusian
143	<i>l</i> 2	» »	<i>Marcellum</i>	»	<i>Marcellinum</i>
161	note 6	» »	D	»	DE
189	<i>l</i> 6 from top	» »	but which	»	but of which
189	<i>l</i> 7 from top	» »	to of which	»	to which
211	<i>l</i> 16 from top	» »	sympton	»	symptom
241	<i>l</i> 4 from top	» »	26	»	24
281	<i>l</i> 6 from below	» »	1535	»	1536
353	<i>l</i> 18 from top	» »	friends	»	friend
359	<i>l</i> 23	» »	Louvain.	»	Louvain,
363	<i>l</i> 24	» »	Emdem	»	Emden
416	<i>n</i> 3, <i>l</i> 2	» »	<i>xxxvii</i>	»	<i>xxxii</i>

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## CULM 1535

On January 31, 1535, John de Weze, Archbishop-elect of Lund, writes from Vienna to Dantiscus <sup>1)</sup>, sending him news from his missions, and letters from Cornelius de Schepper, who had just returned from Spain, and had gone back to Brussels : he complained of nervous weakness, caused by the long and difficult journeys. He says that he now wants to return home, and become a simple councillor. News is provided about Cæsar, about the Pope, and about the Landgrave of Hessen ; also about wars and treaties.

On February 4, 1535, John Campensis wrote a letter to Dantiscus from Venice <sup>2)</sup>. He mentions that he received a missive from Löbau on August 4, and that he left Cracow, provided by the Bishop with a horse and an ' *honestum viaticum* '. The Archbishop-elect of Lund, whom he had expected to meet in Vienna, had left for Flanders, which was a contretemps ; for Campensis would have liked to remain a few months with him, so as not to have to get to Italy in the great heat. He stayed a few days at the request of Bishop Faber, who gave him a letter to Cardinal Aleander. He reached Venice on Whit Monday : it *was* hot. Aleander took him into his house most kindly ; still ' *hoc unum* ', he wrote, ' *mihi visum est incivilissimum : non permisit mihi usum ullius librorum suorum* ' : it annoyed Campensis so much the more since, besides the price of the horse, he had no money left ; yet he had to pay his Hebrew master Elias Judæus <sup>3)</sup> at the rate of two ducats a month and had to look out for clothes. At any rate, Aleander did not give him even a penny besides his food. So he could not possibly stay long there. ' *Inveni* ', he tells Dantiscus, ' *hominem esse talem qualem tu mihi eum sæpe descripseras, in quo nihil esset præter cerebro vacuum caput ! Doleo libellum meum infami*

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<sup>1)</sup> DE, 297 : Fbm, 67, 326 ; it reached Dantiscus on April 16.

<sup>2)</sup> DE, 298 : Fbm, 3, 102-03 ; it reached Dantiscus on April 10 ; cp. HTL, II, 67, 435.

<sup>3)</sup> Cp. before, pp 218-19.

illius nomine conspurcatum <sup>1)</sup>. — So I am now with the learned Englishman Reginald Pole <sup>2)</sup>, qui de rege suo idem iudicat quod tu : hoc est, unam hanc stultitiam obscurare universas illius dotes'. Pole treats me well ; he reads Isaïas with me, so I am going to stay with him a few months more, 'donec reseccaverim crassiores ex prophetæ nodos'. — My *Psalterium* is edited here 'triennio plus tricies' by Gasparo Contarini, your friend, who treats me well. — 'Lovanienses miserunt mihi honorificum studiorum meorum testimonium ; *Psalterium* tuum nescio quis in linguam Flandricam vertit' <sup>3)</sup>. Having forwarded my *Comment. in 2 Epist. Sti. Pauli* to Nicolas de Granvelle, he sends a letter of thanks, et 'hortatur ut pergam in eo studiorum genere ; meminit Schepperum', who arrived safely in Spain, as well as 'filii Nicolai nostri, Præsidis Mechliniensis' <sup>4)</sup>, who are now secretaries to the Emperor. I should like to answer Philip [Melanchthon] <sup>5)</sup>, so that this, my study on St. Paul, should be known everywhere : I therefore request to be informed whether Philip, or any other, should oppose my views : I declare 'coram Deo omnipotenti et Jesu Christo, nulla me alia causa fuisse ad scribendum in Paulum adductum quam ut possem, si forte D. O. M. visum fuerit, paci et publicæ tranquillitati aliqua ex parte consulere. Adhuc mihi videre videor certissimam illam in Paulino contextu perpetuitatem plane Paulinam libris sacris sic consonam, ut <ne> syllabam quidem ullam adduci posse putem quæ perf<ecto> illo et divino plane tenori non sit per omnia cons<ona> ! Si mihi cum Philippo daretur venire in colloquium, <certus sum> me posse illi ostendere rem ita se habere, nec posse aliter <sup>6)</sup>. Interim si hic erro, qui annis plus viginti sex mihi eam rem tamquam scopum proposui <sup>7)</sup>, in quem alia omnia mea dirigerem, nusquam mihi fidem adhibendum posthac puta'.

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<sup>1)</sup> His *Commentariolus in duas Divi Pauli Epistolas* (Cracow, M. Scharffenberg, 1534) is dedicated by a preface to : Rev. et trium Linguarum peritissimum P. H. Aleandrum, Arch. Brind. : February 17, 1534.

<sup>2)</sup> Reginald Pole : cp. p 234, sq.

<sup>3)</sup> Cp. before, p 142, sq.

<sup>4)</sup> Nicolas Everardi, Everts, father of Grudius, Marius and Janus Secundus : cp. before, pp 122-23.

<sup>5)</sup> Cp. before, p 90.

<sup>6)</sup> Cp. *MelaVers.*, 20, sq.

<sup>7)</sup> *HTL*, I, 503.



He refers to the new Pope : by his first nominations ‘fecit cardinales duos cognatos <sup>1)</sup>, alterum sedecim, alterum ut dicunt annorum quindecim ! Illos ipse vocat suos pavones, quibus desint adhuc caudæ : servat <ergo> sacerdotia omnia opimiora illis in caudarum ornamenta ! Nulla est spes de illo major quam quod brevi moriturus putetur !’ — News is added from Italy, Hungary, Naples, of the Turks and the Sophi. ‘In Flandria veteres amici omnes recte valent, præter Petrum Ægidium et fratrem illius, Canonicum et Cantorem Antverpiensem <sup>2)</sup>, qui anno superiore ambo mortui sunt. Quod [*Dominatio tua*] Brixio <sup>3)</sup> facit, non aliter gratum est quam si ex me prognatus esset ; cuperem illum eo usque in literis promovere ut Germanice et Polonice legeret’. I am sending *Theologiam Pasquilli Romani* <sup>4)</sup>, not as our friend Niptzytch did, *along with* his letter, but *inside* it, so that the ‘charta’ should not go astray, as his had done’ : — it probably referred to the newly discovered countries in which Dantiscus was as highly interested as he was himself. — Campensis closes with greetings to the Vaivode of Culm, to ‘D. Vladislaviensem & D. Castellenum Gedanensem’ (cp. p 194), who had been very kind to him during his ‘iter’.

Reginald POLE, a relative of King Henry VIII, born in 1500, was sent by him after his studies at Charterhouse and Magdalen College, Oxford, to Italy in 1521, where he studied in Padua, and visited Rome. He

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<sup>1)</sup> Elected as Pope on October 13, 1534, Paul III promoted as Cardinals on December 18 following, his own two grandsons Alessandro Farnese, who had entered his fifteenth year, and Guido Ascanio Sforza, who was sixteen ; though generous and able in their administrative functions, they did not live an exemplary life at all : Pastor, v, 99-101.

<sup>2)</sup> Peter Gilles, Ægidii, (cp. before, pp 204-05) died on November 11, 1533. His brother was cantor and canon in Our Lady’s, Antwerp ; he is probably the Giles Gilles, who died soon after Peter : *Gran.*, 159, a-f ; *MonHL*, 358-60, &c ; *HTL*, I, 155-56, 225-26, &c, II, 66-67, 81-2, &c, III, 599-600, &c, IV, 513 ; Allen, I, 184, *pr*, III, 715, *pr*, VI, 1740, 28, X, 2896, 24, XI, 3019, 14-15 ; FG, 289 ; &c.

<sup>3)</sup> Brixiolus seems to have been a servant boy of Dantiscus, in whom Campensis took an interest, and whom he would have liked to be taught reading German and Polish.

<sup>4)</sup> Pasquilli &c : no doubt a squib, or at any rate, a critical drawing, sent *inside* the letter, not apart, as Niptzytch’s —, which consequently got lost.

disapproved of the royal supremacy and divorce, but was allowed to return to Padua in 1532. Being requested by the King in 1536 to express his views on the two questions, he wrote *Pro Ecclesiastica Unitatis Defensione*. He consequently refused to return to England, and, having been made a priest, and even, in December 1536, a Cardinal, he was invited to enter the Committee set up by Paul III to scheme a reforming of the discipline of the Church. He accepted to form a league of Christian Princes against Henry VIII, which came to no good, on account of the jealousy between Charles V and Francis I; the latter even, requested by the irate English King, wanted to get him into prison, which caused Pole's flight to Belgium and to the diocese of Liège: unfortunately, it also had as result the arresting and the horrid fate of his mother and of his eldest brother in England. Reginald tried in vain to revive Catholicity under Edward VI, and only came to England under Mary's reign in November 1554. He helped the Queen in the question of the restoration of the Faith, which was made most difficult on account of the enormous amount of Church property and religious spoil, which the holders were unwilling to return, as it had been made as the basis of their recently acquired fortune. Even in his efforts of reconciling the realm with Rome, Pole suffered at the accession of Paul IV, in so far that he became suspect as heretic. He died at Lambeth Palace on November 17, 1558, in the evening of the day of Queen Mary's decease <sup>1)</sup>. His life had been animated by one single purpose: namely the restoration of the ecclesiastical system which Henry VIII had shattered; and, as to the lack of severity which Paul IV blamed in him, it has been found that he had even a deeper sense of piety than Cardinal Sadolet, with whom he was then compared. In fact, of the two Humanists, Pole was for certain the sounder in his zeal for the welfare of the souls, being inclined to kindness rather than to rigour. Cp. Pastor, v, 116-17, &c, vi, 12-22, 185-193, 203-13, and *passim*; LaemKirch., 115, sq; SadolE, 557-81, 708, 862-72; DNB; Stone, *passim*; Dormer, 64, 80; A. Zimmermann, *Kardinal Pole*: Ratisbon, 1893; Gough, 613, b, sq.

The thorough desire which he shared with Cardinal Gasparo Contarini, of getting a sounder and stronger foundation for his faith, made Pole apply for instruction in exegesis to John Campensis.

On February 8, 1535, Cornelius de Schepper writes from Linz, where King Ferdinand had just arrived <sup>2)</sup>, to Queen Mary of Hungary to thank her for her letter of January 14; he assures her of his readiness to serve her: 'nihil mihi optatius evenire posse existimem, quam occasionem, qua id fida diligentique opera aliquando testificer'. He also expresses his gratitude for the help provided thereto by Nicolas Olah. 'Itaque fidelissimi et constantissimi viri, et mihi multis

<sup>1)</sup> Dormer, 71.

<sup>2)</sup> OlaE, 545-46.

nominibus observandi, eo apud me loco res erunt, ut, quicquid illis decesserit, arbitraturus sim mihi decedi'. He will take care of his interests, and advise him in time. 'A quo etiam petii, ut captata temporis opportunitate, auribus sacræ Maiestatis Vestræ insinualet. Cuius ego pedibus obuolutus, me eidem humillime commendo, dedicoque, atque eandem diu felicissime regnare exopto. Ex Lincio, die viii. Februarii Anno MDXXXV.

From Barcelona Charles V gave, on April 10, 1535, an order to George of Austria, Bishop of Brixen, and to Charles of Breda, Knight <sup>1)</sup>, both councillors and 'oratores', to go and prepare the marriage between Prince Frederic Palatine of the Rhine, and Dorothea, the first-born daughter of King Christian II of Denmark, Sweden and Norway, his most beloved niece: 'fides indubitata' should be given by Frederic and by all others to those two, and to either of them.

Princess DOROTHEA, the elder daughter of Christian II of Denmark and of Isabella of Austria, born on November 10, 1520, was soon asked in marriage on account of her bright and gay character. By May 18, 1535, she accepted the Elector Palatine Count Frederic II, born in 1483. The marriage, decided on in Brussels, was solemnized only on September 9, 1535 at Heidelberg by the Bishop of Spire. The prospect of recovering Denmark was fallacious; yet their union was a most happy one, and lasted until the Count's death, at Alzey, on February 26, 1556 <sup>2)</sup>. Dorothea survived him a few years, dying herself suddenly at Neuburg in 1562: she was buried by her husband's side in the Church of the Holy Ghost of Heidelberg <sup>3)</sup>.

The younger daughter of Christian II of Denmark and Isabella of Austria, Princess CHRISTINA, born in February 1522 <sup>4)</sup>, was educated mostly in Brussels. She was soon requested in marriage by the Duke Francesco II Sforza, of Milan, born in 1495; by June 10, 1533, a contract was made accepting him as husband, on condition he paid his debt of £ 1000 to the Emperor: in so far that 'Dower getteth he none' <sup>5)</sup>. The Princess, who was hardly eleven, enjoyed riding and hunting, joining

<sup>1)</sup> DE, 300: Fbm, 5, 109 (copy).

<sup>2)</sup> Cartwright, 105, sq, 402, sq; AltRel., 162, 168, 241, 287, 293, 297-99, 316-18, 436.

<sup>3)</sup> Cartwright, 469; AltRel., 476; PhilHessen, 362.

<sup>4)</sup> Cartwright, 32; AltRel., 162.

<sup>5)</sup> Cartwright, 74-78; AltRel., 287, 298, 383.

to her aunt's intelligence her mother's sweetness of disposition ; unfortunately her husband was half-paralysed, and old enough to be her father. Since the marriage was decided on by September 1533 <sup>1)</sup>, she was taken to Italy under the lead of the Lord of Praet. She made her state entry into Milan, where she married on May 4, 1534, sending her best wishes to her Aunt Mary by Camillo Ghilino, when he journeyed northward <sup>2)</sup>. Unfortunately, the happy union did not last long, as Duke Francesco died on November 2, 1535 <sup>3)</sup>.

Duchess Christina returned to her aunt in Brussels, where she was sought in marriage by several suitors. One of them was no less a person than Henry VIII ; by February 1538, he made his request, hardly a few days after Jane Seymour was buried. Through the ambassadors Hutton and Wriotesley, her portrait was ordered and painted by Holbein, which gave much pleasure, and inspired the hope of Henry who, by the end of March 1538, wished the marriage to be arranged without delay. Unfortunately the difficulties included the necessity of a Papal dispensation, owing to Christina's relationship with Catherine of Aragon ; it was a most anguishing desideratum ; it even suggested to Henry a change in the choice, in favour of the French princess Anna of Lorraine ; yet, instead of solving the difficulty, it made the plan of marrying Christina more tantalizing <sup>4)</sup>. Various solutions of the Papal dispensation were proposed, but little progress was made, although Henry, in his anxiety, offered to give the Duchess as large a dowry as ever any Queen of England had enjoyed <sup>5)</sup>. Still no advance was made, and the insistence of the English ambassadors, urged on by Henry's impatience, was such that Queen Mary sent her trusty messenger, Cornelius de Schepper, to Spain in February 1539 <sup>6)</sup>, to beg for an immediate decision. — Meanwhile Paul III had issued in January 1539 the long-delayed Bull of Excommunication. It precipitated matters, and on February 15, 1539, Charles V told Wyatt that it was impossible for the marriage to take place without the necessary dispensation by the Pope, as the King's dispensation in his own case would never suffice : to the Duchess herself, or to any of her relations, it was sure to cause endless inconvenience, if children were born of the union <sup>7)</sup>. A few weeks later, all marriage negotiations with the imperial Court were broken off, and Henry decided on looking elsewhere for a wife <sup>8)</sup>. Some modern English historians are as great simpletons as the King himself was, when

<sup>1)</sup> Cartwright, 81, *sq.*

<sup>2)</sup> Cartwright, 94, 97 ; *OlaE*, 483, 522, &c.

<sup>3)</sup> Cartwright, 101.

<sup>4)</sup> *PollHen.*, 370, 371, 384.

<sup>5)</sup> Cartwright, 188.

<sup>6)</sup> Cartwright, 190 : that mission is neither described, nor even recorded in this collection.

<sup>7)</sup> Cartwright, 197 : it was almost as a practical proof that any evil carries in itself its natural and unavoidable chastisement ; the result on Henry VIII is sketched by Cartwright, 198.

<sup>8)</sup> Cartwright, 204 ; *cp.* for the whole courtship, Cartwright, 144-206.

fancying that any young lady in her senses should accept a man like Henry VIII as husband, even in case of avoiding a greater evil <sup>1)</sup>!

In the first days of January 1541, the Emperor, with his sister and his niece, were joined at Namur by the Duke of Lorraine, and by his son Francis I, then Marquis of Pont-à-Mousson. On the feast of the Three-Kings, the marriage of Christine and Francis was celebrated to everybody's great joy <sup>2)</sup>: they had several children. Unfortunately, Duke Francis fell ill, and died on June 12, 1545, before his twenty-eighth birthday, leaving a desolate widow <sup>3)</sup>. Still she took up her duty with courage, and continued the work of her husband; she was happy with her children during a long life: she died on August 10, 1590 <sup>4)</sup>.

From Dresden on April 16, 1535, John Cochläus sends a letter to Dantiscus <sup>5)</sup>: he reminds him that he had offered some *libelli* to him at Ratisbon in the preceding year: so he now sends three of them, and even wants to add a fourth, *de Matrimonio Regis Angliæ*; as the latter is too big, it will be forwarded through Nicolas Wolrab, of Leipzig, a brother of Dantiscus' servant <sup>6)</sup>. He adds news about the Anabaptists, and about France; he mentions a Pole who died as a heretic at Leipzig. He also adds that Dantiscus' King is right 'in deterrendis Polis a Wittenbergæ Academia'.

John DOBNECK, born about 1479 at Wendelstein, studied from 1504 in Cologne, where he got the name COCHLÆUS given by his fellow-student Remacle d'Ardenne <sup>7)</sup>, and obtained the degree of B. A., as well as some work as tutor from the University <sup>8)</sup>. After teaching a time at Nuremberg from 1510, he went in 1515 with some students to Bologna <sup>9)</sup>; on

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<sup>1)</sup> Cartwright, 274. — A. F. Pollard, in his *Henry VIII* (PollHen., 371) declares: 'There is no good authority for the alleged reply of the young duchess herself, that, if she had two heads, she would willingly place one of them at His Majesty's disposal': yet she hardly could have been less decided: for judgments on Henry, like that in *Melanch.*, 325, sq, 329, and in so many other places, must have been quite obvious.

<sup>2)</sup> Cartwright, 244-46; *AltRel.*, 436.

<sup>3)</sup> Cartwright, 297.

<sup>4)</sup> Cartwright, 509-510; *GMH*, II, 87.

<sup>5)</sup> DE, 301: Upm, 154, 134: it reached Dantiscus on May 20. — On v. Cal. Maii (April 27) 1534, Cochläus had dedicated from Dresden to Bishop John Dantiscus, of Culm, his *XXI Articuli Anabaptistarum Monasteriensium... confutati, adiuncta ostensione originis, ex qua defluerunt* (Leipzig, N. Faber, 1534): *CochlSpahn*, 357, 170.

<sup>6)</sup> Cp. further, DE, 318, *pr.*

<sup>7)</sup> Cp. before, p 8.

<sup>8)</sup> Keussen, 462, 20, 481, 85; *UniKöln*, 511.

<sup>9)</sup> Knod, 259, 602.

March 28, 1517, he promoted Doctor of Divinity in Ferrara : cp. p 210. He learned Hebrew under Elias Levita (cp. p 219) and further studied in Rome ; at first he disapproved of Eck and the Cologne professors, for he felt for Luther, until that former friend started exposing his ruthless errors. By 1519 he left Rome, and began the struggle against him, being dean of St. Mary's at Frankfort on the Main. In 1525 he had to leave, and he was for a time at Cologne, then at Mayence, until he settled as canon at Breslau, where, after a most active life as controversialist, he died at his desk in the night between January 10 and 11, 1552. He was a friend of More and Fisher, of Tunstall and of many more outstanding English personages. Cp. ContarE, 108, *sq*, 116, *sq*, 122, 124, 145 ; *CochlSpahn* ; *CochlOtto* ; *CochlHerte* ; Allen, vii, 1863, *pr* ; A. Krieg, *Charakteristik J. Sleidan's* : Zehlendorf, 1907 : 7-20, 27 ; Krafft, 181, 187, 205 ; *Gratius*, 82, 102 ; Gough, 217 ; FG, 328-29 ; *Cran.*, 9, 17, 97, i, 261, c ; *MonHL*, 23, *sq*, 36, 41, 195, 252, 293, 618 ; *ActaMori*, 10, 27, 34, 87 ; *HTL*, i, 468-69, ii, 492-93, 574, 584, &c, iii, 203-04, 450, *sq*, &c, iv, 285 ; *Busl.*, 85, 219, 398 ; *SadolE*, 734-743.

On May 30, 1535, Camillo Ghilino wrote from Milan to Nicolas Olah <sup>1)</sup> : 'Iam aliquot dies sunt ex quo nullas tuas litteras accepimus, quod puto negligentia tua factum esse. Nam tu, qui in ocio es, quid est quod omnes ferme tabellarios abhinc duos menses ad nos venientes, præteristi sine litteris tuis ? Noli, amabo, Olæ charissime, hac mecum taciturnitate uti, et de rebus vestris fac me, et de statu rerum tuarum frequenter certiozem. — Ex literis Urbanis intelleximus Pontificem vi. cardinales designasse, inter quos habetis Episcopum Roffensem, vir sane bonus et intelligens, quem rex Anglus in carceribus habet <sup>2)</sup>. Reliqui, — excepto Contareno, Patricio Veneto, philosopho et theologo, vitæ integritate cum paucis conferendo <sup>3)</sup>, — ab consueto cardinalium cœtu non degenerant. In Gallorum gratiam elegit episcopum Parisiensem Lutheranum <sup>4)</sup> ; cætera nosti. — Classis Cæsaris cccxxx nauium erit, apparatus ingens. Res Turcicas intelliges de Lucretia <sup>5)</sup> nostra. Tu vale, Scepperoque nostro me commenda'.

Camillo GHILINO, GILINUS, was the secretary of Duke Fr. Sforza of Milan, who had been dispossessed by Francis I after a brief reign of three

<sup>1)</sup> OlaE, 554.

<sup>2)</sup> Pastor, v, 101, 102, 680-81, 735.

<sup>3)</sup> Pastor, v, 101 : Gasparo Contarini : also 104-06, 299-337, 473 (his decease), and DE, 325.

<sup>4)</sup> John du Bellay : Pastor, v, 101, *sq*, &c.

<sup>5)</sup> Lucretia : cp. further, p 242.

years, and had afterwards been once more deprived unduly of his State through the intrigues of his Chancellor Morone, at least until 1529, when Charles V pardoned him, and promised to grant him the investiture of Milan at the payment of a large sum of money, which the Duke courageously managed to collect; he wished to obtain moreover the hand of Christina of Denmark, whom his ambassador Camillo Ghilino had asked for as early as January 1532, and obtained finally <sup>1)</sup>. On March 11, 1534, he himself was one of the party led by the Lord de Praet that accompanied Christina to Milan <sup>2)</sup>. — At the victory of Tunis in 1535, Ghilino was sent from Milan to congratulate the Emperor: and Pope Paul III wanted to promote him on that occasion to Cardinal, as had already been Clement VII's intention: unfortunately he fell ill in Sicily, and died at Palermo in September 1535. He left a book, *Annali di Alessandria*, which was printed at Milan in 1666. He had interested himself most intensely in arts and sciences, as they were then actively cultivated in Belgium: he often refers to them in his letters to Olah. He particularly gloried in having acquired a terrestrial globe, with *annuli*, made under Gemma Phrysius' direction, who had promised the 'libellum, quo pacto utendus sit globus' <sup>4)</sup>. In his last letter are mentioned details about the expedition against Tunis <sup>5)</sup>. A third letter, which in Olah's collection follows, was written 'Mediolani, X. kalend. Januarii, anno xxxv': the editor should have placed it, not on p 564, but under December 23, 1534: at any rate, before the letter of Milan, 21 January 1535, which expresses thanks for the information *de Anglicis ac Cimbricis* which is requested in the missive dated from December 23, 1534; it also refers to details about Pope Paul III's reign, which had happened certainly before; — moreover, there is the indubitable announcement of his decease in September 1535, and even of the death of his employer Duke Francesco Sforza, an November 2 following <sup>6)</sup>.

Amongst the Cardinals that were promoted by Paul III on May 21, 1535, was the holy Bishop John FISHER (1459-1535), Chancellor of Cambridge University, who had been wisely ruling Rochester diocese since 1504. He invited Erasmus to Cambridge, and he himself wrote against Luther, 1523-25. He opposed all Church Reform from the outside, and since he denied the validity of Henry VIII's divorce, and his supremacy on the Church of England, he was committed to the Tower, where his nomination to Cardinal precipitated, it seems, his death as a Martyr: cp. *Fisher*; *ActaMori, passim*; *Dormer*, 74, 78; *DNB*; *Allen*, 1, 229, *pr.*

<sup>1)</sup> Cartwright, 73, *sq*; *OlaE*, 486 (April 3, 1534).

<sup>2)</sup> Cartwright, 84, 85.

<sup>3)</sup> Cartwright, 106, 107, 498, 530.

<sup>4)</sup> Cp. *OlaE*, 554-56: May 31 - July 4, 1535; Gemma's *Libellus* with explanations is referred to there on pp 556 and 562.

<sup>5)</sup> That last letter, of Aug. 31, 1535, relates and already announces Charles V's victory, for which he had been sent to Sicily, where death overtook him: *OlaE*, 562.

<sup>6)</sup> *CMH*, 11, 69, 232.

Besides the saintly Fisher, Paul III appointed also as Cardinal the excellent Gasparo CONTARINI, remarkable for doing his utmost best to realize all the good he could do to the Church and to Germany, where he was sent to act as Legate; he died on August 26, 1542 <sup>1)</sup>. — Amongst the other new Cardinals, there were two more Italians, but, seemingly to please as much Germany as France, there was also Nicolas von Schönberg, as well as the Paris Bishop John du Bellay <sup>2)</sup>. The latter had been sent before to felicitate the Pope on his election, and to communicate Francis I's promise to promote a General Council, which His Highness was to convoke wherever he liked <sup>3)</sup>: unfortunately, that promise was not held on the pretext that the Emperor had influenced the choice of the town. With his brothers, du Bellay had been helping Margaret of Angoulême in bringing about an understanding with the German Protestants, — which explains the hint in this letter. At any rate, he was French before being a Cardinal, and even before being a Christian; and it was on account of the opposition — to say the least — of France and Venice, inspired, or, for certain, favoured by him, that no union could be realized amongst the Catholics to remove the Turks out of Europe on those very days that they were losing their hold on all their possessions in Asia <sup>4)</sup>.

On May 31, 1535 the same Ghilino wrote from Milan to Olah <sup>5)</sup>: Tandem aliquando negociator iste Mediolanensis globum mihi reddidit, affabre quidem factum; sed dum vector commodo suo magis studuit, circulos quosdam minutulos confregit; sed spero hic aliquem me inuenturum, qui omnia in pristinam faciem restituat. Gemma Phrisius <sup>6)</sup> mihi isthinc recedenti pollicitus est, una cum globo missurum libellum suum, docentem quo pacto utendus sit globus. Te etiam atque etiam rogo, des operam, ut quamprimum rationem istam Gemmæ et sic annulorum habeam; credo iam excusos typis libellos esse. — De rebus publicis non est quod addere possim hesternis litteris meis, præterquam quod ex curia Cæsaris intelleximus, in præsentī expeditione ad septingentos nobiles equestris ordinis Hispanos Cæsarem sequuturos marie suo. — Addunt præterea duces comites, marchiones VII, et

<sup>1)</sup> Pastor, v, 299-337, 473, &c; cp. further, DE, 325, *pf.*

<sup>2)</sup> Pastor, v, 100-101.

<sup>3)</sup> Pastor, v, 52, *sq.*

<sup>4)</sup> Pastor, v, 194, 596, 631, 654, 668-9, 671; *MargAng.*, I, 181-83, 201, 211, &c; *Givry*, II, 38, 42, 247-50, 333, &c.

<sup>5)</sup> OlaE, 554-55; he mentions de Schepper in his three following letters: June 14, 30 and July 4: OlaE, 555-56.

<sup>6)</sup> Cp. for Gemma Phrysius, DE, 118, *pp* 72-74, and 291, *pp* 222-224.



multos comites. Vale, Olahe amantissime, et Sceppero nostro, item eius coniugi, me plurimum commenda. Electissimam virginem Lucretiam saluebis meo nomine.

The Lucretia, mentioned at the end of this letter and of the one preceding, was Lucretia CAVALLA, or Caballa, an Hungarian young lady, who had been adopted by Alexius Turzo, of Pressburg : OlaE, 317, 516 ; her service had been accepted by Queen Mary of Hungary already in her native country, as results from the letters which Thomas Szalaházy, Bishop of Erlau, and Chancellor, wrote to her from Buda, June 29, 1529, from Pressburg, on February 13, 1530 and later (OlaE, 11, 34, 211, 361, 384, 431). Although the Bishop wanted her to marry in her native country, she came with Mary of Hungary to the Netherlands in the year 1531, where she heard from some friends, like the Baron John Antony de Burg, Orator of Clement VII in England, or Dr Matthias Auctus, of Breslau, who calls her ' pudicissimam & solertem ' (OlaE, 211, 243, 302). On his visits to Mechlin, Cornelius de Schepper made her acquaintance, and that of other Ladies on attendance at Mary of Hungary's Court, like the ' Domina de Bailleul ', the ' Domina de Souvastre ', and the Countess of Salm ; he, consequently, repeatedly sent greetings to Lucretia and to those ladies from Vienna, St. Vito, Gabela, Monzon and Dole, from April 2, 1533 to January 22, 1534 (OlaE, 346-447). Lucretia made the acquaintance, too, of Camillo Ghilino, who, on his return to Milan, sent, from July 31, 1534, regularly greetings to the ' virgo rarissima ', and offered occasionally some ' monstrum ' to be shown to the Queen, or descriptions of *Res Turcicæ*, or *de Regulo Tuneti*, or *de Classe Doriæ*, telling his correspondents to apply to her for more details about those topics, until a few weeks before he went to congratulate Charles V landing in Sicily after the Tunis victory, from which mission he did not return (OlaE, 502-564, *passim*).

The following letter was written to Dantiscus by Adolphus de Scornaco, a native of Flanders, who had been engaged as *bacalarius* by de Schepper, and had followed him to Spain. He there entered the service of the Emperor Charles V, and served him until 1533, when he returned to his family. In the summer of 1534, he went to Rome, residing in the *Domus Ordinis Teutonicorum*, — from where he writes the present letter. He apparently availed himself of the opportunity to promote doctor and to become a priest : in June 1546, he had been appointed as canon at Maastricht : DE, 471.

On June 3, 1535, Adolphus de Scornaco — for as far as can be made out from the strangely quaint writing <sup>1)</sup>, — avails himself in Rome of the opportunity of a messenger to write

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<sup>1)</sup> Possibly Schoornakker, judging by the evidently Flemish name.

to Dantiscus <sup>1)</sup>) about his former master Cornelius de Schepper : ' I announce you ', he writes, ' Dominum meum ac patronum singularem, dominum Cornelium Scepperum, iam variis legationibus, eisdemque periculosus, defunctum, quas terra ac marj passim obiuit, quasi ex dubia tempestate sese in tutum portum contulisse. Vivit enim Bruxellis apud Reginam, a consilijs Secretj Concilij, ut vocant, summæ autoritatis apud omnes. Nullum tractatur consilium ad quod non vocetur; præterea in financijs plurimum illius opera vtuntur. Interim sese intra suos penates cum vxore et familia oblectat. Invisit illum nonnunquam Decanus Marcus Laurinus <sup>2)</sup>), summa omnium applausu et congratulatione. Hæc scribit mihi Liuinus Panagathus, meus contubernalis quondam <sup>3)</sup>), nunc familiaris Regineus <sup>4)</sup>). — Habui diebus proximis literas ex Barchinona a Petro ' Mirabili ', servitore Patern. Vestr., sending news about the Emperor's taking to sea : with names and numbers of ships, and details about those who accompany <sup>5)</sup>). I here also communicate information about the newly created Cardinals of Paul III <sup>6)</sup>). From Brussels, on May 17, 1535, I heard about the siege of Münster, about Friesland and about the Anabaptists. — Quod ad me attinet, reliqui Cæsarem in Hispania ante duos annos : vno anno vixi apud meos apud Flandros ; secundo, contuli me Romam, quo omine vivo apud Dm. Pptum Hoetfilter et Theodricum de Rheden, in domo Ordinis Teutonicorum, alias Marchionum Brandeburgensium, qui me nomine veteris amicitiae iam annum domj sue humanissime ac liberalissime aluerunt. Expecto interim redemptionem per nostrum Messir. Carolum Quintum, cuius Curiae magis assueui quam ad hanc Rhomanam. Si quid est in quo Pat. Vestr. possim inseruire, inueniet me ad quiduis paratissimum. Fama est Frederico Bavariae nuptui datam irj Principem Dacie natu maiorem <sup>7)</sup>). Adolphus de Scornaco.

<sup>1)</sup> DE, 303 : Fbm, 5, 117, sq ; it reached Dantiscus on July 22.

<sup>2)</sup> Cp. before, pp 85-86.

<sup>3)</sup> Like Scornacus, native of Flanders & de Schepper's ex-servant.

<sup>4)</sup> Cp. before, p 53.

<sup>5)</sup> Peter de Monteregali : cp. DE, 378, pr : also DE, 374, 391, &c.

<sup>6)</sup> Cp. OlaE, 554, and before, p 239.

<sup>7)</sup> Viz., Dorothea, princess of Denmark : cp. before, p 236 ; also Cartwright, 104, sq.

On July 4, 1535, Ghilino wrote from Milan to Olah <sup>1)</sup> : 'Hodie, bene mane, binas tuas litteras accepi : alteras xiii, alteras xx Junii datas : ex quibus Princeps meus <sup>2)</sup> valde lætatus est : cupiebat enim summe intelligere, quid isthic Gallus et Anglus molirentur. Item res Cymbricas et Monasteriensem famem <sup>3)</sup>, quod a te expectabant, optime absoluisti. Reliquum est ut in hac consueta scriptione perseueres, quippe et Principibus meis et mihi rem maxime gratam facturum es. — Exitum rerum Africanarum breui expectamus, qui Cæsari nostro non homini, sed Deo felicissimus erit. Res Turcica in summo naufragio est, quod ex quibusdam exemplis litterarum nuper nobis allatis intelliges. Ea serenissimæ Reginæ mittuntur. — De libello Gemmæ tibi gratias ago, et cum globi canones habueris, operam dabis ut quamprimum habeam. — Duces te resalutant, et te diligunt ; tu meis verbis Sceppero et eius uxori plurimam salutem adscribes. Vale, optime Olæ, et me ut facis ama.

One of the great — if not the very best — of Charles V's army-leaders, was Antonio de LEYVA, born in Navarra in 1480. He illustrated himself in the campaign against France in Italy, and had already been fully at work when, from August 17 to 19, 1522, Adrian of Utrecht passed through the then miserable Genoa, and was greeted by him <sup>4)</sup>. Two years later, Francis I was victorious in Northern Italy, and things looked hopeless for the Imperialists : so he decided besieging and taking Pavia ; yet Antonio defended it in such a way that Pescara is recorded to have exclaimed : We were vanquished : we shall soon be victorious <sup>5)</sup> ! In fact, Leyva had a very large part in the victory that made Francis I a prisoner, which, however, was not an occasion of popular favour : most of Italy's inhabitants were even intent on finding the means to prevent every extension of Spanish power <sup>6)</sup>. During the following years, Leyva did whatever was possible to save what could be saved for the sake of peace and welfare <sup>7)</sup>, and when, by 1529, things were again becoming favourable for Francis I, who had thrown to the

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<sup>1)</sup> OlaE, 556 : further news was announced by Ghilino on August 10 and 22 : OlaE, 561-62.

<sup>2)</sup> Francesco Sforza, Duke of Milan : cp. before pp 236-7, 239-40.

<sup>3)</sup> Viz., the trouble in the Baltic Sea and at Münster.

<sup>4)</sup> Pastor, iv, ii, 44 ; *IsadEste*, ii, 199 ; *CMH*, ii, 44 ; *AdriBurm*, 187 ; *AdriHöf.*, 185 ; *GeldColl.*, 115.

<sup>5)</sup> Pastor, iv, ii, 183 ; *IsadEste*, ii, 238.

<sup>6)</sup> Pastor, iv, ii, 197.

<sup>7)</sup> Pastor, iv, ii, 248, 294, 310 ; *CMH*, ii, 48, 50-51, 53, 58.

winds all promises through which he had bought his liberty, de Leyva, by the complete destruction of St. Pol's army at Landriano, on June 21, 1529, gained the entrance into Bologna in November 1529, having hastened the signing of the glorious *Paix des Dames* <sup>1)</sup>.

In return for his services, Pavia was granted to Leyva for life <sup>2)</sup>, and he was given an ample share in the governing of Northern Italy. Unfortunately, although a fine robust man, he had become a cripple through gout, so that he had to be carried in a chair, as well in the campaigns as at the feasts that followed. Thus, in the first days of May 1534, when Christina of Denmark made her entrance as bride and duchess in Milan through her marriage with Duke Francesco, Leyva took an ample share in the festivities <sup>3)</sup>. He had to attend Duke Francesco's burial, for he died on November 2, 1535 <sup>4)</sup>, and was to replace him as Viceroy of Milan, — at least for a few months, for he, who passed for 'the redoubtable Commander-in-Chief', died in 1536, and was buried in St. Eustorgio's at Milan <sup>5)</sup>.

On July 4, 1535, Cornelius de Schepper wrote from Brussels to Nicolas Olah <sup>6)</sup> about Camillo Ghilino, the Milan envoy <sup>7)</sup>. 'Mitto', he writes, 'ad magnificentiam vestram orationem seu epistolam cuius illius Mediolanensis, ut illam legat, et postea ostendat Reginali Maiestati, ad quam de eodem epistolam scribo. Vult illam occultam esse, neque refert magnopere ut edatur, nisi quod arbitror instinctu et admonitionibus D. Antonii de Layna <sup>8)</sup>, marchionis Modœciæ, ipsum inductum ut scriberet. In summa nullus liber tam malus, quin prosit; vide tamen ne cum Regina eum legerit perdatur: iudicium siquidem ea de re meum ad ipsum suum authorem transcribitur. Et quia dominus Ulricus Eytzinger <sup>9)</sup> aduenit, et reue-

<sup>1)</sup> Pastor, iv, ii, 364; *IsadEste*, II, 293, 298; *CMH*, II, 58, sq; Altamira, III, 36-42.

<sup>2)</sup> *IsadEste*, II, 310.

<sup>3)</sup> Cartwright, 89, 90, 94; GoesO, Z, ij, r; *IsadEste*, II, 302, 334-35: cp. before, pp 236-37.

<sup>4)</sup> Cartwright, 109-12.

<sup>5)</sup> Cartwright, 118-119; Brom, II, 217.

<sup>6)</sup> OlaE, 556-57.

<sup>7)</sup> Camillo Ghilino was then at Milan with the Duchess Christina: cp. p 240: he probably had sent at least the manuscript of a biography of the new Duchess on the advice of Antonio de Leyva.

<sup>8)</sup> Antonio de Layna: evidently Antonio de Leyva (cp. pp 244, sq) is meant here; I am not able to account for the title *marchionis Modœciæ*.

<sup>9)</sup> 'Ulricus Eytzinger' seems to be merely a wrong spelling of the name of the international financial agent Ulric Ehinger.

rendissimus Lundensis ad me scripsit, se quasdam vestes meas in illius archam locasse, huc ferendas, una cum ipsius suppellectili, quæret ab eo M. V. an de illis iisdem vestibus aliquid sciat. Et me eidem commendabit. Nouis sponsis <sup>1)</sup> precor felicitatem. Bene vale. Bruxellæ. IIII. Julii xvcxxxv.

On July 9, 1535, John Magnus, Archbishop of Uppsala, writing from Danzig to Dantiscus <sup>2)</sup>, sends some news from Sweden and thanks for Dantiscus' letter, for his *Oratio prodigi Filii*, and for a poem about his friendship with Cornelius de Schepper, to which he wishes to be the third party, recalling the occasion when he made his acquaintance.

John RHEYNECK, Rheyneckius, a native of Hamburg, was established as a jurisprudent at Königsberg. He married Anna, Hannowscha, sister of Dantiscus, as Dameraw announced to him on May 28, 1532 : DE, 217 : cp. before, p 147. He was highly interested in literature and science as well as in history, as the present letter suggests ; unfortunately, he had only a very poor health : he died after a ~~long~~ illness, in November, 1535, as the Bishop of Culm announced to de Schepper on December 23, 1535 : DE, 317, to which he added, in his letter of February 24, 1536, that a Protestant *concionator* of Königsberg, Poliander, had composed an epitaph on him : DE, 319.

On July 22, 1535, John Rheyneckius writes to his brother-in-law Dantiscus from Königsberg <sup>3)</sup>, regretting that, to a preceding letter, he had received no reply, nor for himself, nor for his wife or children. He acknowledges the receipt of the fine elegy *de Lobaviano Incendio*, in which, thanks to God, no lives were lost <sup>4)</sup>. He mentions the apparition of a comet with a *cauda* towards the south, between south and west. — News of the war which Lübeck is preparing against the Dutch. — The King of England killed *viros probos*, who did not share his faith : — most probably the Carthusian Fathers <sup>5)</sup>.

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<sup>1)</sup> Evidently Christina and Francesco, Duchess and Duke of Milan : cp. before, p 237.

<sup>2)</sup> DE, 304 : Fbm, 3, 110 ; it reached Dantiscus on July 18.

<sup>3)</sup> DE, 308 : Ccm, 49, 543.

<sup>4)</sup> Cp. before, DE, 261, pp 185 and 188-89.

<sup>5)</sup> *Dormer*, 21-37.

On August 7, 1535, Joannes Cochläus, newly appointed canon in Meissen, writes from there to Dantiscus <sup>1)</sup>; he regrets the absence of any reply to his preceding letter, DE, 301, accompanying some books. He recalls their meetings at Ratisbon, and sends other compositions : one being dedicated to 'juniori Regi Poloniæ'. He regrets not to have heard since long about John Campensis, who accompanied Dantiscus, except that his Psalter has been re-edited in Poland : so he concludes that he has been there. He sends a list of his own writings, and mentions that Münster is taken.

When staying for the first time in Ghent, Dantiscus engaged into his service the nephew of Arend Sturm, under-bailiff, evidently through the bailiff or *prætor*, who for some time was his host. That nephew Michael de VRIEND, or Vrients, Amicus, seemed to have highly pleased his master, as results from mentions in several letters : DE, 175, Oct. 29 (cp. p 113), 179, Nov. 28, 1531 (p 116), 198, February 23, 1532 (p 133). On Sept. 4, 1531 he paid a visit to a relative in the Enghien Charterhouse (DE, 158 : p 96). In a letter of May 6, 1545, DE, 454, Livinus Algoet relates that de Vriend had followed Dantiscus to Ratisbon, and had been requested — probably on his journey back home — to pay to Algoet *decem coronatos* for a *charta marina uniuersalis*, made for his master. In later messages, Dantiscus does not refer any more to *Michaellem Gandensem Cubicularium suum* : but de Schepper, when recalling Dantiscus' old friends of Ghent, mentions Michael here in this letter, and in those of Dec. 23, 1535 and June 12, 1546 : DE, 317, 471 (& 475).

On September 16, 1535, Cornelius de Schepper writes to Dantiscus from Bruges <sup>2)</sup>; he first mentions that the rumour had spread that he had died : fortunately certainty of the contrary was produced by Fabian <sup>3)</sup>. He refers to the visit of Mary of Hungary and of Dorothea of Denmark to Eleanor, Queen of France, which allowed him to go to Bruges : still, he was soon called back to work, and has been sent out again on embassies. Saxo Carolus has been very poorly. Fabian is in Spain, possibly even in Tunis ; he did not write yet : 'non dubito tamen quin de Ysipe tua <sup>4)</sup> disposuerit ; si contigerit

<sup>1)</sup> DE, 309 : Upm, 154, 135 ; it reached Dantiscus on September 20.

<sup>2)</sup> DE, 310 : Upm, 154, 137-41 ; Dantiscus received it on December 22.

<sup>3)</sup> No doubt Fabian Dameraw Wojanowski, Dantiscus' successor as ambassador.

<sup>4)</sup> Viz., Isabella Delgada : cp. further, DE, 345, *pr.*

ad hoc littus appellere filiam tuam ' <sup>1)</sup> ), she will be treated by myself and by my wife as our own child. My wife greets you with her sister and daughter, and so does Ascanius the Garrulus <sup>2)</sup> ), as well as the bailiff, or prætor, of Ghent <sup>3)</sup> ), and Michael <sup>4)</sup> ), and the Lord of Heulle <sup>5)</sup> ), who all thought that you had died.' News is added of Denmark and Lübeck, of Holstein <sup>6)</sup> ), and of the Polish expedition against Moscou, of which he heard from Lasky; he further made reference to his own two legacies in Turkey <sup>7)</sup> ). — Of Campensis he has not had any news: he is not surprised at all that he cannot hit it with Aleander: their characters are quite different. — As to the author of the Latin version added to Campensis' Psalms, it seems to be Zwingli; the copies are sold out here, and it appears as if they are reprinting at Lyons. He thanks Dantiscus for his letter ex 'Helicone'. — Granvelle's wife has gone to Burgundy, as her husband is now with the Emperor in Africa. The Grudii brothers, unable to stand the Spanish climate, have returned to Belgium: Nicolas has become a member of the Privy Council <sup>8)</sup> ). — News is given from the Indies <sup>9)</sup> ), as well as about the dissension between Jerome Sayler and Ulric Ehinger. The Marchioness of Zenete has come from Spain these days: her husband, Henry of Nassau <sup>10)</sup> ) left Court, and is building a castle at Breda, thanks to the 44 brass cannon he ordered in Augsburg. He is the second, after Queen Mary, who is in poor health; the Duke of Aarschot being the third <sup>11)</sup> ). — The Lynken of Brussels whom you know, often inquires after you: she sent word to

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<sup>1)</sup> Viz., in the case she would come to the Netherlands.

<sup>2)</sup> Ascanius was — in history, — the son of the great traveller Æneas; here evidently the name is used for the recently-born son of Æneas-de Schepper, who is enjoying his garrulous period: cp. further, DE, 317, of December 23, 1535, — when, besides *garrulus*, he has also become *grassulus*.

<sup>3)</sup> Cp. before, p 94, where his wife and daughters, Jodoca and Linkin, are mentioned.

<sup>4)</sup> Michael de Vriend, Amicus: cp. *pr.*

<sup>5)</sup> Lord of Heulle: cp. Hellin, I, 347, II, 262.

<sup>6)</sup> AltRel., 334-35.

<sup>7)</sup> Cp. before, pp 174, sq, 196, sq.

<sup>8)</sup> Cp. HTL, II, 451.

<sup>9)</sup> Cp. DE, 296: p 231.

<sup>10)</sup> Cp. p 13, and for the Marchioness, p 14.

<sup>11)</sup> Duke Philip of Aarschot, cp. PighE, 105, sq, 108; Auw., 519.

you : you can write to her through me, as she is my neighbour <sup>1)</sup>). There is a further acquaintance in my vicinity, the *nutrix de Bailleul*, whose son is in your service : she gave me the letter to him <sup>2)</sup>). De Schepper closes with greetings to Dantiscus' mother, to Bernard, — who was his *commilito* at Burgos, — and his other brother George.

The news of the execution of FISHER <sup>3)</sup> and MORE <sup>4)</sup> was announced from England in the Netherlands to Goclenius by one Thomas Theobaldus, or Tebold <sup>5)</sup>, who seems to have been sent to Germany as political agent in the guise of a University student. He saw Goclenius, and told him that Thomas Bedillus had been entrusted with the sending of the pension due to Erasmus, — which proved to be an ἀνεμώλιον <sup>6)</sup>. He moreover related the death of Thomas More on July 6, and mentioned the beheading of Bishop Fisher as a sinister retort to being offered the Cardinal's hat. Goclenius at once sent what news he had heard of, to Erasmus by a young man, who was to become his amanuensis, Lambertus Coomans <sup>7)</sup>, relating what had happened, or what was said to have happened about the heads of the martyrs exposed on the tops of lances on London Bridge.

Erasmus was also informed of the death of his great English friends by a letter from Tielmann Gravius, dated Cologne, August 17, 1535, who had it from his friend 'Arnold Birckmannus, qui, dum hæc gesta sunt, in Anglia fuit, et partim vidit' <sup>8)</sup>. It was also announced from Antwerp on August 17, 1535, by Erasmus Schets : he first wrote : 'Non tam male erat Rufensi et Moro ex relatu Maruffi Genuen., qui, proficiscens ex Anglia, patriamque petens, te visit ; — still he had to add — quin longe peius his successerat. Vterque nam postea ex regis ira securi percussus est : quam culpam habuerunt, adhuc non sum edoctus ; nec est qui scribat ex Anglia, vel audeat scribere... Dominus ferat sibi talium hominum innocentiam et patientiam acceptam' <sup>9)</sup>.

<sup>1)</sup> Cp. DE, 317, p 256.

<sup>2)</sup> Cp. further, p 256 : Queen Mary patronized her.

<sup>3)</sup> Cp. Fr. van Ortroy, *Vie du Bienheureux Martyr Jean Fisher* ; Allen, I, 229, *pr*, III, 936, 60-76 ; *ActaMori*, 19-24, 58, 170, *sq*, &c ; *MonHL*, 3, 10, 23, &c, *passim* ; *Busl.*, 38, 438, 457 ; *HTL*, I, 382, *sq*, 429, *sq*, II, 360, 365, &c, III, 204, 474, 598 ; FG, 354 ; *Spillm.*, 18, 79, 124, *sq*.

<sup>4)</sup> Cp. Stapleton ; Allen, I, 114, *pr* ; *Cran.*, 115, *a-g*, &c ; *ActaMori* ; *MonHL*, 154-59, 370, *sq*, 375, *sq*, 489, *sq* ; *Busl.*, 63-65, 80-5, 155, 463, 468-72 ; *HTL*, I, *passim*, II, 292, 442, 451, III, 406, 551-54, 600, *sq*, IV, 423-27, 433 ; *Auw.*, 327, 458, 467, *sq* ; *PighE*, 76 ; FG, 395 ; *Spillm.*, 35-56, 79-97, 144-66.

<sup>5)</sup> *ActaMori*, 23-24, 34, 57, 88.

<sup>6)</sup> Allen, XI, 3037, 114, *sq*.

<sup>8)</sup> Allen, XI, 3040, 161-170.

<sup>7)</sup> Allen, XI, 3037, 34.

<sup>9)</sup> Allen, XI, 3042, 10-16.



When the news reached Erasmus, he was writing the Preface to his *Ecclesiastes sive de Ratione Concionandi Libri IV* <sup>1)</sup>: so Conrad Goclenius' letter evidently forced him to dedicate the book, intended to be offered to Bishop Fisher, to another man in authority, Christopher, the Bishop of Augsburg. The date, August 6, was left unchanged, and so was the long congratulation to Fisher for his encouragement of study and erudition, and for the three Colleges he founded, or, at least, helped to be founded, in Cambridge by Lady Margaret Tudor. To that praise, which takes up ll 63 to 92, Erasmus just refers, in a list of great Churchmen, who recently died in England, to 'nuper... Episcopo Roffensi, et Thoma Moro, qui fuit eius regni supremus iudex, cui pectus erat omni niue candidius, ingenium quale Anglia nec habuit vnquam, nec habitura est, alioqui nequaquam infelicium ingeniorum parens;... dolorem leni[t]... dum cogito nos breui felicius apud Christum iungendos esse...' <sup>2)</sup> It was reported to Cromwell that Erasmus had written a book against the king's highness for the death of More, although he had recently sent a gift of twelve angels to Erasmus, — which surprized that erudite, who rightly judged that his preface had not reached England then. — 'For a man', Allen remarks, 'deriving two pensions from England, the Preface might well seem to say too much. Yet some of his friends felt that he said too little' <sup>3)</sup>. — Damian a Goes, in fact, affirmed it plainly: 'mentionem in prologo Ecclesiastis... dignam non esse tantis viris' <sup>4)</sup>; and Christopher of Stadion certainly meant as much, where he added: 'Non dubito quin coronam martirum receperint' <sup>5)</sup>.

A trustworthy report of the sad event, composed apparently by a nephew of More, the young lawyer William Rastell, who had attended the condemnation <sup>6)</sup>, was sent to the Netherlands, and communicated through Olah and Goclenius to Erasmus: the latter made the relation of the martyrdom of his dear 'alter ego' as represented in that report into an *Expositio Fidelis*, which was distributed amongst friends in October 1535. By a happy accident, a Latin translation of the original English report, entitled '*Ordo Condemnationis Thomæ Mori*', was recently found <sup>7)</sup>; it had been made at the time, probably in Louvain, by a man who understood English, but had evidently never set foot in Great Britain, as abundantly shows by the strange name he gives to the best known building in the country, the 'Tower', and by other particularities of his translation. That text, of which the contents, and even the existence had been ignored for more than four centuries, illustrates the history of that other report of St. Thomas' martyrdom, which, meanwhile, had been in current use under the title of *Expositio Fidelis*. It thus proves without doubt that that *Expositio* was made by

<sup>1)</sup> Basle, J. Froben & N. Episcopius: mense Augusto 1535: fol; cp. *EraBib.*, I, 78.

<sup>2)</sup> Allen, XI, 3036, 101-106.

<sup>3)</sup> Allen, XI, 3036, *pr*, p 190.

<sup>4)</sup> Allen, XI, 3085, 17-24.

<sup>5)</sup> Allen, XI, 3073, 11-20.

<sup>6)</sup> *ActaMori*, 106-15, 123-38, &c.

<sup>7)</sup> *ActaMori*, 99-163.

Erasmus, and it explains two anomalies : one of them is that, on account of the yearly gifts he received from Henry VIII and from some of the great men in his realm, he represents the facts with as much benevolent indulgence and with as lenient colours as ever was possible. — The other is that the *Ordo* points out clearly that More was charged with three accusations, which, in the actual lawsuit, he answers apodictically : — proving, namely, that he had never spoken or acted against the king's second marriage, except in reply to the king himself when he answered what he considered to be the truth ; otherwise he kept silent, — which cannot be taken amiss juridically <sup>1)</sup>. To the second accusation, viz., that he did not consider the king as supreme head of the church, he replied that, when that declaration was requested, he was as good as dead to the world, condemned in his prison, and that the decree did not concern him any longer : moreover, even, in that respect, ‘ *Leges et edicta... poenam non sanciunt nisi ob aliquod male dictum aut factum* ’ <sup>2)</sup>. A third accusation was that he had corresponded with Fisher : he assured that, interrogated, he had replied by telling what he considered the exact truth. As to the reference to the decree as resembling a double-edged sword, attributed both to Fisher and More, the latter pointed out that the same idea produces a similar expression, and, moreover, that he uses the figure of the *gladius anceps* only ‘ *sub conditione ad hunc modum, si tale aliquod decretum tanquam gladius anceps esset* ’ ; — insisting that he only spoke that which, before his conscience, he was convinced to be the exact truth <sup>3)</sup>. — The *Expositio*, on the contrary, neglects the three accusations, on which was laid as the chief weight of the action, and introduced, instead, various assertions and arguments which are hardly pertinent, as they go as far as to make More declare, that he replied to Fisher about the ‘ *constitutio* ’ : *Ad id nihil aliud rescripsi, nisi me iam meam composuisse conscientiam ; ipse componeret suam* ’ <sup>4)</sup>. — At any rate the ‘ *luce clarior* ’ defence of the clever jurist that he was, showing More as wholly innocent of the three charges formulated against him, which, in the *Ordo*, makes his condemnation appear as of monstrous iniquity, is not only left out of the *Expositio*, but seems to have been hardly noticed <sup>5)</sup> !

That pamphlet *Expositio*, destined evidently to men who were not familiarized with casuistry, was wanted everywhere, and, consequently, repeatedly reprinted and translated ; by the end of 1535, it was considerably enlarged with the narration of the death of Fisher, and with an additional series of remarks. It was attributed originally to the Gilbert Cognatus Nozerenus, who was in Erasmus' employ : he addresses it to a French colleague, just then leaving for Paris, Philip Dumont, or de la Montaigne, — when it was found that it betrayed far too evidently its connection with Erasmus, who thus might lose all help from the English king and from his most influential councillors.

<sup>1)</sup> *ActaMori*, 149.

<sup>2)</sup> *ActaMori*, 149, 151.

<sup>3)</sup> *ActaMori*, 153, 155.

<sup>4)</sup> *ActaMori*, 152.

<sup>5)</sup> It results from a comparison of the two texts.

On that account, the dedicatory letter was dated from Paris, July 23, 1535, and attributed to Philip Montanus, addressing a Cologne erudite called Gaspar : ' P. M. Caspari Agrip. ' <sup>1)</sup>. That change of names, and the fact of having it printed in Paris, were soon found out to be mere deceit. Indeed, those who knew a little about the pretended authors of the pamphlet, were convinced that neither Cognatus, nor certainly Montanus, understood any English, or had the least acquaintance with England or London, where they never had put a foot <sup>2)</sup>. Moreover, the hiding of Erasmus, whose name, up to then, had been always, and naturally, coupled with More's, was quite inefficient; in fact, the more one considers the report, the stronger the impression grows that the cruel martyrdom of the two splendid characters is here purposely trivialized so as to excuse and alleviate the glaring injustice of the king in the treatment of his lifelong benefactors and his finest subjects, — just for the fear of losing a few miserable guilders <sup>3)</sup>!

On October 27, 1535, Cornelius de Schepper wrote to Dantiscus from Lüneburg <sup>4)</sup>; he had journeyed from Bruges to Dordrecht; there he met Godschalk Ericksen, who was still poorly. With him he sailed to Harlingen and Emden, where they called on the Count Eunon, who had been with Dantiscus in Bologna, and on John, who had been met in Brussels. After staying some days with them, both he and Ericksen continued to Lübeck and managed to put an end to the dissension with that town, and, also to that with the Danes. Cornelius sends news from Germany and about Christina of Denmark. A meeting was convened at Hamburg, but no agreement could be reached with Frederic of Holstein. He adds news about the Anabaptists; also about king Henry VIII of England, who murdered Fisher and More, ' quorum capita perlicis affixa mœstum populo in ponte Londoniense specta-

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<sup>1)</sup> That change of names happened whilst the document was on the press : when in 1563 Erasmus' writings were reprinted at Basle, the original names : ' Gvlielmvs Covrinvs Nvcerinvs Philippo Montano S. D. ', were reproduced from Erasmus' manuscript, and they still were in the 1702 Leyden edition : EOO, III, 1763, c.

<sup>2)</sup> Philip de la Montaigne, Montanus, went to study in the French capital in 1535/36, and was afterwards one of the first professors of Douai University : cp. *ActaMori*, 61-71, 85, 105, 142; *HTL*, II, 466; *FG*, 393-94.

<sup>3)</sup> *MonHL*, 489-90; *ActaMori*, 21-138.

<sup>4)</sup> *DE*, 312 : Upm, 154, 142-44 : it reached Dantiscus on December 22.

culum præbuere <sup>1)</sup>). Causa mortis : quod nollent eum fateri caput esse ecclesiæ Anglicanæ et pontificem maximum regni illius : simul quod incestas ipsius nuptias detestarentur. Agit ibidem adhuc Eustathius noster [Chapuys], quem Vulpeculam nosti dictum esse, Oratorem nomine Cæsaris, magna cum gratia ordinum omnium, et summa cum prudentia <sup>2)</sup>). Ex cuius ad me literis de morte Roffensis et Mori et aliorum factus sum certior <sup>3)</sup>). — News from France, England, and the *Cæsarea Majestas*. He and Godschalk Ericksen are ordered to visit the towns of the 'Wendels', as Brunswick is ill. They are leaving to-morrow. De Schepper hopes to spend the winter at Mary's Court, Ericksen, at that of Emperor Charles ; he sends a few sheets about the African war. Gotschalcus Sassenkerle adds, in postscript, his best wishes to Dantiscus.

On November 10, *feria quarta, profesto Martini*, 1535 <sup>4)</sup>), Eobanus Hessus writes to Dantiscus from Marburg <sup>5)</sup>) : he excuses his long silence by the great distance and the few *tabellarii*, especially since he is not as big a *princeps* as Dantiscus is. He commends to his humanity his great friend, the D. V. J. John Rudelius, who is sent by his 'princeps' to that of Dantiscus. He dedicated his *Homer* to Dantiscus, as he had promised most solemnly at Ratisbon. He is surprised that Dantiscus has not seen yet Hessus' rendering in Latin verses of the '*Ecclesiasten nostri Campensis*', which also is 'inscriptum nomini clarissimo Dantisci. Quo vero abiit Campensis?' he asks, and requests news about what Dantiscus does in his 'regno : ego certe in meo valde regie uiuo, hoc est &c : reliqua intelligis'.

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<sup>1)</sup> Cp. *ActaMori*, 14-25, 26-34, and references indicated ; *Dormer*, 78-79 ; also before, p 145, n 3, referring to Chapuys' informing his friend de Schepper ; also Creighton, 103-5, 190.

<sup>2)</sup> Cp. DE, 417, *ad*.

<sup>3)</sup> Cp. *ActaMori*, 26, *sq*, and, as just mentioned, before, p 145, n 3.

<sup>4)</sup> Only in 1535, the 10<sup>th</sup> of November was a Wednesday about that period : it suggests the year date which for this letter is missing.

<sup>5)</sup> DE, 313 : Ccm, 240, 165 ; it reached Dantiscus on December 27 in Cracow.

On December 6, 1535, Cornelius de Schepper writes from Brussels to Dantiscus <sup>1)</sup>, mentioning that he sent two letters from Lüneburg through Nicolas Bromse, the Lübeck Burgo-master. With Ericksen he afterwards went to Westphalia, and saw the dire punishment of the Anabaptists at Münster; they then arrived at Antwerp at Veyt Herle's house, who asked after Dantiscus. He left his companion Godschalk there, and he himself, after visiting Mary of Hungary's Court, resorted to Bruges, where he found his wife and his son and Mark Laurin, in excellent health. He mentions the death of the Duke of Milan, and his will. He then gives the news of the Pope and of the Council; also that from India <sup>2)</sup>, and he refers to Henry VIII's excommunication. He further writes about Denmark, 'Holsatia' and Schleswig; he regrets Christian's obstinacy in settling the question, which is quite unfortunate for his daughters. For de Schepper feels certain to be able to induce Frederic <sup>3)</sup> to propose good conditions, whereas now Christian does nothing but drink and violate the right of people. What does Dantiscus think of it? — The Count of Nassau, now Marchio de Zenete, suffers from podagra. News from France, Switzerland and Gelderland; Erasmus' *Ratio Concionandi*, or *Ecclesiastes*, has just come out; the Pope grants him three bishoprics, besides most of the prebends which had been acquired by John Ingenwinckel <sup>4)</sup>, who recently died in Rome; he further offers him the Cardinal's hat, all of which, however, he *strenue* refuses <sup>5)</sup>. — The writer, Cornelius, finishes his letter with greetings to Dantiscus, to his mother, his brothers Bernard and George, to his sisters and *affines*; there further is a boy with him whose mother is de Schepper's neighbour: she sends to him the enclosed letter <sup>6)</sup>.

<sup>1)</sup> DE, 315: Upm, 154, 146-49; it reached Dantiscus on January 18, 1536.

<sup>2)</sup> Cp. for Sforza, p 237; for India, p 231.

<sup>3)</sup> Most probably Count Frederic II, Elector Palatine, who had married Princess Dorothea on September 9, 1535, and who repeatedly tried to recuperate at least part of his father-in-law's estates: cp. bef. pp 154, 236; Cartwright, 104, sq.

<sup>4)</sup> A list of the prebends and benefices of John Ingenwinckel, born in 1469, who died as datary in 1535, takes up pp 289-306 of Schulte, I.

<sup>5)</sup> Cp. further, DE, 336, *pr*, and 319 (p 261); Erasmus announced it to Goclenius on Sept. 2, 1535; cp. Allen, xi, 3033, 3034, 3047, 1-36, 3052, 31-35.

<sup>6)</sup> Cp. before, p 249.

On December 23, 1535, Dantiscus, recalling his fiftieth birthday, wrote 'Ex castro Lubauiensis' to Cornelius de Schepper<sup>1)</sup>: 'I, a man alive, have heard with great pleasure that you are alive; I sent my letter to the Danzig magistrature, and I wrote about you to the Archbishop-elect of Lund<sup>2)</sup>. I once more declare my deep affection, so that each of us should know what the other thinks, even if there should be silence 'vel per vastam locorum 'intrapedinem', vel ob temporum incommoditates. I always think of death: I was afraid of the danger to which you were exposed<sup>3)</sup>, and so I now answer your letter. Do not stand on giving me titles: simple affection pleases me most. I also received your letter of November 5, 1534, along with the others. I heard of the meeting of Mary of Hungary and of Eleanor of France, and I thank you for your counsel about my 'calumniatores'<sup>4)</sup>. I also thank you for the letters from Belgrade given through Lasky. I felicitate Frederic, Palatine Count, for marrying Princess Dorothea<sup>5)</sup>. — De Fabiano<sup>6)</sup> et Isipe ex scheda cognosces. Thanks for what you wrote about your wife. I hear with pleasure that my host, the Ghent bailiff, with his family and Michael Vrients, Amicus<sup>7)</sup>, are well. I am pleased that Dominus de Heulle remembers me: I send greetings to all'. — He then refers to Denmark, its king and its misery and gives his opinion of a monarch not knowing his people, nor their language<sup>8)</sup>; also about countries, where kings have to be elected, like Poland. 'I praise', he continues, 'what is done by Mary of Hungary to finish the war, which is ruinous for our, — Dantiscus', — people, who have their granaries full, expecting the Dutch. — I hear with pleasure that D. Lasky wrote to de Schepper about his Moscou journey, mentioning Hungary's ingratitude to him'. He then refers to

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<sup>1)</sup> DE, 317: Ccm, 244, 43-51; cp. before, p 6; — its text is copied in Czartoryskich MS, Cracow, 53, pp 437-65, with the wrong year 1525; also in Knm, 230, 154-64 and Olm, 151, 128-32.

<sup>2)</sup> John de Weze.

<sup>3)</sup> Cp. OlaE, 529 (before, p 230), referring to the danger of the visits to Turkey.

<sup>4)</sup> Cp. before, pp 189-90, 206.

<sup>5)</sup> Cp. before, p 236.

<sup>6)</sup> Cp. before, p 44.

<sup>7)</sup> Cp. before, DE, 310, pr: p 247.

<sup>8)</sup> This probably refers to Christian III.

the marriage, on August 29, 1535 at Cracow, of Hedwige of Poland to the elector Joachim, Marquis of Brandenburg <sup>1)</sup>. — ‘ De Campense nostro ’, he writes, ‘ quod nihil audierim, nescio quid ominari debeam <sup>2)</sup> : oblectabar hic eius eruditione et iucundis moribus non parum, minimeque mihi onerosus fuisset, si mecum vivere, et illis, quæ ei impartiri potui, diutius vti voluisset. — Jam versionis illius succinctæ *Psalterij* Zwinglijum autorem fuisse, ex alijs editis sub eius nomine libellis cognoui <sup>3)</sup> : estque per quendam, qui præliminarem adscripsit Epistolam ; in bello a tuis occubuerit, et tantam fecem malorum hominum congeriem, qui Corpus Christi oppugnant, post se reliquerit <sup>4)</sup> ; [*opus*] non est ut aliæ ejusmodi exemplaria ad me transmittas. — De laudatis illis Biblijs in Gallia nuper excusis, velim exemplar vnum mihi mitti, et præmium et gratiam non vulgarem a me habiturum. — Quod epistola mea cum versiculis tibi et amicis non displicuerit, pro tuo in me facis amore, qui illam emulsit... — Senium..., post quinquagesimum annum prima novembris transacti novissime, me infestare cœpit : labantes, vt scis, facit pedes, caligantesque fenestras ’. — He then comments on the return of the Grudii fratres, and the Count of Nassau’s retirement from the Court ; he sends them his greetings, as well as to the Count of Buren. Reference is made to the Indies and to Cortés <sup>5)</sup>. He has got displeased with the usurious Welsers. — ‘ De Lynken ad schedam te remitto ; est apud me frater eius, who sends a letter to his parents and to the Dnus. Bailleul : ‘ is pueris meis præest, et semper in eodem mecum dormit cubile, adolescens ingenuus ’ <sup>6)</sup> : he was recommended

<sup>1)</sup> Cp. before p 190.

<sup>2)</sup> The last letter from Campensis was dated February 4, 1535 : DE, 298 ; the praise of the absent friend is most cordial, and his silence may have to be explained by the Hebraist’s movements : cp. p 232.

<sup>3)</sup> Cp. Herminjard, III, 75 : it is said there that Zwingli’s *Psalter* with Campensis’ paraphrase, was edited at Lyons by Gryphius.

<sup>4)</sup> He probably refers to Ulric Zwingli, who in 1531 was killed in a war against the Forest Cantons.

<sup>5)</sup> Cp. before, p 231.

<sup>6)</sup> That Lynken is referred to on pp 248-49, 254 ; she seems, — from what is said here — to be a daughter of the nutrix in D. de Bailleul’s service, and her brother is the chief of Dantiscus’ *pueri*, even to taking care of him in the night : in DE, 319, p 262, he is called Charles.

to me by Queen Mary, to whom I also would like to express my greetings. Præterea et puer ille Joannes, filius cytharedæ Bruxellensis, quem nosti : in organis tangendis institutus apud me, habetur futurus aliquando non imperitus musicus : velim idipsum salute dicta parentibus eius indices <sup>1)</sup>). Commilito tuus Bernardus, Capitaneus meus a Lubauieñ, alter Georgius <sup>2)</sup>), quum jam extra domum rei familiari et familiæ præest : they greet you cyathis musto plenis.' — Dantiscus' mother and his two sisters also greet de Schepper : the third has joined him since a few days, as her husband, Doctor Joannes Reyneccius, died in the preceding month from a long illness <sup>3)</sup>). That answers the letter from Bruges <sup>4)</sup>).

The one from Lüneburg, October 27 <sup>5)</sup>), was most pleasing : he hears with great joy of the recovery of Saxo Carolus ; he greets Wolfgang von Affenstein, and offers his help for all affairs with Danzig. He expresses his opinions about Denmark : what right can a daughter have, whose father made a bad use of his power through cruel tyranny <sup>6)</sup>) ? 'As to the girl herself, I wish her the whole of France, and England into the bargain. I am afraid that a war might result from the endeavours to restore her to the throne, such as Hungary now witnesses. — Please, do see that there should be finally peace at sea <sup>7)</sup>) ! I thank you for the news about John of Leyden <sup>8)</sup>). — Miserandum interitum Thomæ Mori & Fisher quis non perhorrescat ac doleat <sup>9)</sup>) ! Contingit illis hoc quod multis prius sanctis et bonis viris pro veritate varijs supplicijs et necibus affectis ! Atqui tyrannus iste Dei judicium et justiciam non, imprime cum pellice et adultera, suisque complicitibus, euadet ! Quæ in his Pontifex Regi meo scripsit, mitto tibi exemplum. Dominus Deus dabit Carolo Cæsari nostro flagellum contra hunc publicum adulterium, et opti-

<sup>1)</sup> Evidently a second Brussels boy engaged by Dantiscus.

<sup>2)</sup> No doubt Dantiscus' two brothers Bernard and George.

<sup>3)</sup> John Rheyneck, who married Dantiscus' sister Anna, in 1532 (p 147).

<sup>4)</sup> Cp. p 247 : DE, 310 : the letter was sent from Bruges on September 16, 1535.

<sup>5)</sup> Cp. p 252.

<sup>6)</sup> Dantiscus evidently regrets the sad result of the wild life of Christian II, and thinks before all of the welfare of the people.

<sup>7)</sup> Viz., the freedom of navigation on the Baltic Sea.

<sup>8)</sup> Cp. CMH, II, 227.

<sup>9)</sup> Cp. pp 249, sq.



morum virorum truculentissimum occisorem' ! — News from Poland, Vilna, Lithuania, Moscou. On August 29, were married at Cracow our Princess and Brandenburg <sup>1)</sup>. — He describes the state of the Kingdom with the Russian and Vallachian question. I greet 'conjugi et filiolo Ascaniolo, garrulo, grassulo... <sup>2)</sup> Ex Castro meo Lubauieñ. xxij. Decembris 1535'.

Those epistles to and from de Schepper were most significant in Dantiscus' mind : in a missive to a *Reverendissimus Dominus*, — apparently the Chancellor, — replying to one of St. Nicolas' day 1535, he sends him his friend's letter written from Bruges, along with that of him and Ericksen from Lüneburg, referring to the Kingdom of Denmark : of December 31, 1535 : Ccm, 244, 53 <sup>3)</sup>. — In another, to the Bishop of Ermland, of January 1, 1536, Dantiscus says that he joins to it an extract from de Schepper's letter which he had already communicated to the Chancellor : Knm, 230, 167. — Finally, in a message to an 'in Christo Patre', dated January 28, 1536, he particularly refers to the letter of de Schepper of Brussels, December 6, 1535 (cp. before, p 254), which he received on January 18, 1536 : Knm, 230, 63.

On the same day, December 23, 1535, Dantiscus wrote, along with his letter to de Schepper, a short note to Godschalk Ericksen <sup>4)</sup> to thank him for what he added to their friend's letter ; it shows, he said, the affection 'qua mihi vix ulla fuit gratior'. So he returns that feeling and offers his best thanks.

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<sup>1)</sup> Cp. before, DE, 317, p 256 ; — in this very same letter Dantiscus announces the marriage of Hedwige of Poland to Elector Joachim Marquis of Brandenburg, also assigning it to August 29 : cp. p 190.

<sup>2)</sup> Evidently the young son Ascanius, or Ascaniolus, of the great sea- and landfarer Æneas-de Schepper : he was said to resemble Dantiscus and for certain was born in the same month as he was : cp. DE, 310. The names *garrulo* and *grassulo* are quite descriptive : cp. p 248.

<sup>3)</sup> The second part of DE, 317, is as a reply to de Schepper's letter from Lüneburg, October 27 ; it was partly written and largely inspired by Ericksen who, as old chancellor of Denmark and faithful adherent to the unfortunate King, may have had many a most interesting piece of news about what had happened since some years.

<sup>4)</sup> DE, 316 : Ccm, 244, 51-52.

One of Dantiscus' servants was a Matthias Wolrab, of Leipzig, who is referred to in the next, and in several other, letters : e. g., DE, 322. His brother Nicolas married a niece of Cochläus, who, by 1535, wanted to establish a permanent way of defence of his views about faith and religion. He thus installed Nicolas in Leipzig as printer, at an immense sacrifice, justified by the excellent work, for it proved as exact and as attractive as that produced by Froben or Koberger. Still the difficulties were too heavy for the printer, who even, by the last thirties, was condemned and put into prison for debt ; by 1539, Francis Behem, who had married a sister of John Cochläus, acquired part of the type, and settled in Mayence, at least up to 1552 : Cp. *CochlSpahn*, 249, 258, *sq.*, 271, 279, 337 ; *CochlHum.*, 189.

On December 30, 1535, Johannes Cochläus wrote to Dantiscus from Dresden <sup>1)</sup>, to announce that, in his letter to the King of Poland, he had warned for the danger of sending young men to Wittenberg University. He had made the acquaintance of one of Dantiscus' servants, Matthias Wolrab, of Leipzig <sup>2)</sup>, which emboldens him to apply to the Bishop of Culm, as Wolrab's brother, having married Cochläus' niece, has become his 'affinis'. — He wrote to Dantiscus : 'Cum sciam igitur R<sup>mam</sup> D. T. summe amicam et gratiosam esse Clariss. et omnium Doctissimo Viro Dno. Erasmo Roterodamo, significo me hoc die literas ab eo accepisse amicas & lætas, datas ab eo Friburgi 24 Novembris <sup>3)</sup>, in quibus sub finem sic scripsit : Cum Chiragra et Podagra mihi sæpe gravis est collectatio. Multis diebus in totum abstinui a scribendo. Nunc adnitor si quæam *Ecclesiasten* meum absolvere, — qui mihi serio prestandus est ioco promissus. Onus increscit sub manu &c <sup>4)</sup>.

Coloniæ perdidimus nuper doctiss. virum Arnoldum Vuesaliensem <sup>5)</sup>, Can. Majoris Eccl. ', a learned theologian and an

<sup>1)</sup> DE, 318 : Fbm, 3, 114, *sq.* ; the letter reached Dantiscus on March 10. Hipler, 512-14, strangely enough, dates it 1534.

<sup>2)</sup> Nicolas Wolrab started a printing concern in Leipzig by 1535 : cp. the *pr.*

<sup>3)</sup> That letter, which would have to be placed between *Epp* 3075 and 3080, is not in Allen's collection.

<sup>4)</sup> This is quoted — with a wrong date — in *CochlHum.*, 154.

<sup>5)</sup> 'Arnold Halderen, de Wesalia', started studying in Cologne in 1501, became M. A. in 1504 and was active from 1516 in the Faculty of Arts unto 1519, when he became licenciate of theology ; he turned out *doctissimus* in the three languages by 1527 ; in 1531, he became Canon

expert philosopher, using both Greek and Hebrew sources. — Eobanus Hessus translated that year from Greek ‘feliciter’ some poems in Erfurt. He, Cochläus, has started a controversy with Melanchthon, ‘maxime propter Polonos & Scotos, cui alioqui priuatim [vult] optime. — Aduersus nouum Regis Angliæ matrimonium, quod reuera adulterium existimo, acriter scribere cœpi ad defendendum Reginæ coniugium & filiæ legitimam procreationem; sed heri ex Moguntia literas accepi quæ nunciant Regem Angliæ cum Cæsarea Maiestate inijsse concordiam & recepissee uxorem veterem, filiamque despondisse Regi Scotiæ, adolescenti summæ spei, quantum ex literis et ex nuncio meo qui in Scotia fuit, cognoscere potui <sup>1)</sup>. — Scripsi per æstatem historiam Hussitarum Bohemiæ ex vetustis codicibus, quæ in XII. libros excreuit. — Ferunt Lutherum nunc parturire nescio quæ Penthei tonitrua aduersus Ecclesiam Catholicam, ut a Papa sectam suam trahat Ecclesiam, et Catholicum orbi terrarum eripiat, ut angulo Wittenbergensi transcribat & ita cogat in angustum hereditatem Christi, ut nemo sit Christi nisi qui est Lutheri. Ego contentionum iamdiu pertæsus, nihil opto vehementius quam ut Deus per nouum Papam det nobis Vniuersale Concilium, quod rebus perturbatis & medelam afferat, et cum pace, quietem. — Si commode poterit, frater Mathiæ, affinis meus <sup>2)</sup>, iussu meo mittet e Lipsia ad R. D. T. quosdam ex libellis meis hoc anno editis. De Joanne Campensi nihil prorsus audiui ab eo tempore quo Cracouiæ denuo edidit *Paraphrasim*

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of the Dome, ‘ratione lectionis Moralis’, but died on September 30, 1534. He edited *Macrobius*, 1527, and *Procopius*, 1531, and worked with Cochläus at the *De quadruplici Concordiæ Ratione... super Confessione Augustana*, and at the *De Vera Ecclesia Christi*; he also wrote other books, which were edited after his decease. Cp. *UniKöln*, 511; Bianco, I, 385, 480; *BibBelg.*, 87-88, 858; Keussen, 450, 89; Paquot, VIII, 167-70; *CochlSpahn*, 153-57, 187, 284, 298, 339; Krafft, 190-91; *WiedVarr.*, 59.

<sup>1)</sup> Evidently that piece of news was fictitious. — Cp. *CochlSpahn*, 250, sq. — On March 9, 1526, he had dedicated to Henry VIII his edition of *Ruperti Abbatis Tuitiensis Commentariorum in Apocalypsim Johannis Lb XII* (Cologne, 1526): *CochlSpahn*, 348; *CochlHum.*, 160, sq. Cochläus was in friendly connection with Fisher and More, Tunstall and Bp. Nicolas West: *CochlSpahn*, 108, 123-24, 140-45, 187, 199, 215, 258, 336; *CochlHum.*, 111, 149, 165, 171-72.

<sup>2)</sup> Viz., Nicolas Wolrab: cp. *pr.*

suam in *Psalmos*, non absque laude plurimorum in Slesia, Lusatio, aliisque vicinis regni vestri prouincijs. At sors mea ita fert ut his temporibus ultra onus laboris ferre cogar, et impensarum non leue onus in excudendis exemplaribus. Faxit Deus ut desinat suspecta et molesta nobis esse Wittenberga ! Illustriss. Princeps Dux Saxoniae Georgius <sup>1)</sup>, etsi cum Duce Electore concordiam in temporalibus iniuit, in fide tamen Catholica constantissime semper eodem tenore permanet per singularem gratiam Dei, qui per hunc Principem multos homines in fide Ecclesiae retinet. — Joannes Cochlaeus, qui Ratisponae R<sup>mam</sup> D. T. vidit et allocutus est.

Episcopo Culmensi.

### CULM 1536

On February 24, 1536, John Dantiscus replies from Löbau to de Schepper's letter of Brussels of November 6 <sup>2)</sup> : he refers to the Anabaptists in Münster <sup>3)</sup>, and is glad that his friend returned from there with Ericksen to Antwerp. He greets his wife and Mark Laurin. Then he mentions the res 'Angliae, Daciae, Holsatiae ac Lubecae'. He feels sad for Fisher and More's death, and expects the punishment of God. He considers the ways of the Kings of Denmark Frederic I and Christian III, and praises Mary, Queen of Hungary, for her offer to settle the difficulty between the King and his opponents. He mentions Charles V, whose policy veered on account of the attempts of the husband of his niece, the Prince Elector Frederic, Palatine Count, and his position towards the Danish question ; a few years later, in 1542, it extended to France and Gelderland, whose armies invaded the peaceful Netherlands <sup>4)</sup>.

As to King Christian's imprisonment, Dantiscus asks whether, after all, he was not better at Lier, although being poor, and an actual *ludibrium*, unable to pay fifty florins in

<sup>1)</sup> Georg of Saxony : cp. *CochlSpahn*, 247-50, 262, 265, 268-72, &c.

<sup>2)</sup> DE, 319 : Upm, 155, 197-208 ; the letter was sent on March 9, to John de Weze.

<sup>3)</sup> Cp. before, pp 252, 254 ; DE, 312, 315.

<sup>4)</sup> Cp. *DanHist.*, II, 12, sq.

Brussels; he insisted on going to war with an 'exercitus' that was *acephalus*. It would have been much wiser if he had got decent conditions for a settlement. — Once during a hunt, Dantiscus' brother George had had a talk with Albert, Duke of Prussia, from whom he learned that he was ready to arrange matters with Christian of Denmark, and also, it seems, with the Palatine Count; so it is sure, that something could be done that way; he, too, tried to bring about through his brother some satisfactory settlement with the help of the Emperor. Would it not be better that an end should come to wars? Dantiscus could suggest even a solution to the intricate question. — He sends his greetings to the Count of Nassau, who suffers from podagra, an evil of which he is free as yet, thanks to the Lord. He has been very pleased to hear all the news about France, Switzerland and Gelderland, and especially about Erasmus, whom he admires for working at his age; he fully approves of his refusing the bishoprics offered <sup>1)</sup>! — He requests de Schepper to send him the *Ratio Concionandi seu Ecclesiastes*. He, Dantiscus, is not surprised to hear that Zwingli's *Psalterium* is read: he should have behaved better in many other things as well: he therefore has got his due. — He has greeted in de Schepper's name his sisters and brothers, and he would be so happy to see him again. As to Charles, the son of de Schepper's neighbour, he is quite well: he lives with Dantiscus in one room <sup>2)</sup>. Dantiscus has been visited by George Klingenberg <sup>3)</sup>, who came from Madrid. He provides news of the Polish royal family, and of the expedition into Wallachia. He refers to the Bishop of Plock <sup>4)</sup>, John Choiensky. The place of Castellan and of *præfectus rei militaris regni* is given to the Count de Zauchin, whom de Schepper knows. — He should like to hear about the latest events; also about the relations with Turkey, as well as the news about John of Werden <sup>5)</sup> and about all his

<sup>1)</sup> Cp. before, p 254.

<sup>2)</sup> Cp. before, pp 249, 254, 256.

<sup>3)</sup> G. Klingenberg, 'Mumel' captain: *CatCzart.*, II, 253, 255, 258, 305.

<sup>4)</sup> Cp. before, p 194.

<sup>5)</sup> John von Werden was a consul of Danzig, who was on most affectionate terms with Dantiscus and many of his friends — from Rheyneck to Mauch and to the Swedish Bishops: Campensis offered to him a copy of his book on March 28, 1534: DE, 280: p 203.

other friends : such as the Cardinal Erard de la Marck <sup>1)</sup> and the Count of Nassau <sup>2)</sup> ; about Maximilian of Egmont <sup>3)</sup>, his Brussels host, and the treasurer of the Church ; about George of Austria <sup>4)</sup> and John de Carondelet <sup>5)</sup> ; about John Lallemand <sup>6)</sup>, about the ‘ Dominus Curiae Schreyberstorffer ’, (or Ebersdorfer) and others. He further most insistingly inquires about John Campensis <sup>7)</sup>, about the ‘ eruditissimum Goclenium ’ <sup>8)</sup> and the dear Gemma with his wife <sup>9)</sup>. Whenever you see them, please, give them my kindest greetings ! Finally, I wish you would buy me some books and Bibles, for I intend forming a library, as I think of retiring and starting study. Meanwhile, offer my heartiest wishes to Saxum Carlum Godschalcum Ericii <sup>10)</sup>. I am adding epitaphs on the Bishop of Cracow, Peter Tomicki <sup>11)</sup>, as well as one on my sororius, Doctor Reyneccii <sup>12)</sup>, by Poliander, a Protestant concionator of Königsberg <sup>13)</sup>. Vale, amice Corneli et frater animo meo insitissime !’

On May 8, 1536, Johann Cochläeus wrote from Meissen to Dantiscus <sup>14)</sup>, thanking him for his letter of August 6, 1535, in which he described the royal marriage in Cracow : it had reached him on September 10. He apologizes for not having called oftener on him whilst he was at Ratisbon, on account of shyness. — He now is moved by many things, and, foremost, by Henry VIII’s defection. He praises Dantiscus for having managed so well the most difficult embassy for Poland. — He has inquired about the *de Filio Prodigio* and about what Dantiscus’ mentioned, the *Carmen Evangelicum* ; and he lighted on ‘ duas comœdias ’, unam teutonice a

<sup>1)</sup> Cp. p 134.

<sup>2)</sup> Cp. pp 13-14.

<sup>3)</sup> Cp. p 43.

<sup>4)</sup> Cp. p 202.

<sup>5)</sup> Cp. pp 121-22.

<sup>6)</sup> Cp. before, pp 39-40.

<sup>7)</sup> Cp. pp 66-68, 142-44.

<sup>8)</sup> Cp. pp 76-77 ; FG, 361 & 329.

<sup>9)</sup> Cp. pp 72-74.

<sup>10)</sup> Godschalk Ericksen was called Saxon Kerl (or Churl), Saxonus Carolus, or even Carolus.

<sup>11)</sup> He died on October 29, 1535 : cp. before, pp 7-8.

<sup>12)</sup> John Rheyneck, who had married Dantiscus’ sister Anna : cp. before, pp 147, 246.

<sup>13)</sup> Köstlin, I, 656.

<sup>14)</sup> DE, 322 : Fbm, 3, 120 : it reached Dantiscus on June 7, 1536 ; Hipler, 525.

quodam Nurembergensi conscriptam, alteram latine compositam, qua nihil vidi hac ætate in poesi elegantius elucubratum': if you have it not, I will procure it for you. I now am sending through Matthias Wolrab's brother <sup>1)</sup>, two of my editions in Latin, though not of my own work, and 'aliquot conciones Georgii Wicelii' <sup>2)</sup>, who is going to edit some postillæ. I am adding a letter to the former Bishop of Przemisl, now of Plock <sup>3)</sup>, requesting him to forward it. 'De clarissimo viro Dupplicio Scheppero, ut iucundissima mihi fuerunt ac sunt carmina Rev<sup>e</sup> D. T., ita nihil certi de eo rescribere possum'. — In postscript is added that, in those months, he has received from Cracow only four letters in all. He moreover sends a copy, badly written (by his *puer*), of the letter of Pope Paul III to Ferdinand of Austria, July 22, 1535, providing the text of a brief against Henry VIII addressed to the King of France and to the King of the Romans <sup>4)</sup>.

In the thirties of that century there were in Danzig, amongst others, four eminent Swedish exiles, who had been compelled by King Gustavus Vasa to leave the country <sup>5)</sup>, namely the brothers John and Olaus Store, Magnus, one of whom was Bishop of Vesterås, and, later on, Archbishop of Lund; as well as John Brask, Bishop of Linköping, and Magnus Haraldi, Bishop of Skara <sup>6)</sup>.

John STORE, MAGNUS, Magni, was an old student of Louvain, where he had attended the lectures of the *Trilingue* <sup>7)</sup>; he had been appointed as Bishop of Vesterås, and by September 1523, he was chosen as legate to Gustavus Vasa by Pope Adrian VI, whom he had known in Louvain, so as to prevent that the King should dismiss Gustavus Trolle, Archbishop of Uppsala, on account of his pro-Danish propensities. On September 10, 1523, Vasa, hearing of the Pope's request, wrote to him and nominated Magnus at Lund, but threatened to break off all connections with Rome if his nominations were not approved of for this and for all other sees <sup>8)</sup>. Clement VII, who meanwhile had succeeded to

<sup>1)</sup> Cp. DE, 318 : p 259.

<sup>2)</sup> Cp. DE, 404 & 405, *pr.*

<sup>3)</sup> Viz., John Choiensky : p 194.

<sup>4)</sup> DE, 307 : Fb, 3, 121 : July 22, 1535.

<sup>5)</sup> Cp., for references about those four exiles, DE, 264, 304, 305, 324, 327, 328, 336, 340, 436; also *Gleanings*; *CatCzart.*, I, 42 (247).

<sup>6)</sup> On February 3, 1542, Magnus Haraldi announces from Rostock that Bishop John Brask had died recently in Poland : DE, 436 : Upm, 155, 59.

<sup>7)</sup> HTL, II, 22, IV, 513; E. Jørgensen, *Nordiske Studerende i Louvain*, in *Historisk Tidsskrift*, 9, R, III : 387.

<sup>8)</sup> Pastor, IV, II, 103-4.

Adrian VI, tried to come to a satisfactory decision. Still the possessions of the Swedish churches and monasteries were a too powerful incentive, and, by June 1527, Vasa had broken all connection with Rome and Catholicity, in so far that Magnus had to take the road to exile with his brother and other Bishops <sup>1)</sup>.

John Store took up his residence for a time at Danzig and, by 1529, he met there the agent of the King of Portugal at Antwerp, Damian a Goes, who was highly interested in the people living in the Northern parts of Europe. John Store provided him with a wealth of information about the Lapps and their auxiliary, the reindeer, which interested Goes exceedingly, in so far that not only he, but, a little later, even Erasmus wanted to find some means to provide ready assistance in their misery <sup>2)</sup>. In later times Goes wrote down whatever he had learned from Magnus in his *Deploratio Lappianæ Gentis*, which was reproduced by Sebastian Münster, in his *Cosmographia* of 1544, although most unrightly, as no source is indicated <sup>3)</sup>. As in that same book, Spain, Portugal and the Indies are represented most injudiciously, — because Münster had based his descriptions on those of Michel Servet banished from Spain <sup>4)</sup>, — Goes, at once, made better and more reliable accounts of those two countries and of their colonies, to which was joined that of the Ethiopians, which his Louvain friends published in 1544 <sup>5)</sup>. Meanwhile John Store had been invited by Paul III to Rome in view of the Council: he wrote from there to Goes, who mentioned his recent imprisonment in France, from which he had been freed 'non paucis aere' <sup>6)</sup>; unfortunately, John died as early as March 22, 1544.

His brother Olaus, who had been appointed canon in Frauenburg, was invested with his title of Archbishop and replaced him from October 16, 1544 <sup>7)</sup>; he took a large part in the activity of the General Council, and died in Rome on August 1, 1557. Cp. Pastor, v, 535, 693; GoesO, N i, r, sq; MasE, 89, 112, 191, 298-99; Opmeer, i, 488, b; *Cochl-Spahn*, 295; Schulte, i, 153; *MonHL*, 612; *HTL*, iii, 56-57, 22, 63, 70, ii, 22; *GoesCosm.*, 40, sq; Keussen, 523, 31; *Gleanings*.

On May 10, 1536, John Store, Bishop of Vesterås and of Uppsala, writing from Danzig to Dantiscus <sup>8)</sup>, refers to the History of the Goths by Albert Crantzius <sup>9)</sup>, belonging to

<sup>1)</sup> Pastor, iv, ii, 519-22.

<sup>2)</sup> Cp. *HTL*, iii, 63; *GoesCosm.*, 40, 41; GoesO, N ij, v.

<sup>3)</sup> GoesO, N i, r, sq; cp. before, p 222; FG, 362-63; *MonHL*, 611-698; &c.

<sup>4)</sup> Cp. before, p 222, n.

<sup>5)</sup> Cp. before, p 222; *GoesCosm.*, 44-48, 49, sq; GoesO, a i, r, sq, †k ij, v.

<sup>6)</sup> GoesO, † li, v-ii, v: May 21, 1543: the Louvain University, however, refused to indemnify him: *MonHL*, 680, sq.

<sup>7)</sup> He has become famous as author of the *Historia de Gentibus Septemtrionalibus* (Rome, 1555).

<sup>8)</sup> DE, 324: FCm, 5, 60; Hipler, 527.      <sup>9)</sup> Cp. Scherer, 25, 50, 58, 60.



Dantiscus, who lent it to him, and wanted it corrected. — He made a poem on the death of Peter Tomicky, Bishop of Cracow, which he sent along with the greetings of his co-exiles, the Bishops of Linköping and Skara, John Brask and Magnus Haraldi. He requests Dantiscus, in postscript, to remember him to Corn. de Schepper ‘per iucundiorē Musarum genium et jocundissimam præteritæ amicitiae memoriā’; if ever Dantiscus should mention to de Schepper his affair with Queen Mary of Hungary, he wishes him to express his highest thanks, and the assurance that the ‘*Gothus*’ highly esteems the fact showing *Belgicum hominem Sarmatæ preces non vulgariter aestimasse* <sup>1)</sup>.

Gian Matteo GIBERTI, born on September 20, 1495 <sup>2)</sup>, got an employ in the household of Cardinal Julius de’ Medici, the future Clement VII. He entered the Vatican, being already active under Leo X and under Adrian VI, when, fearing the Spanish preponderance over the Church, he sided with the French. He was appointed Datary in the first weeks of Clement VII’s coming into power, and was even said then to be *il cuor del Papa* <sup>3)</sup>. For certain he helped Erasmus, who requested him, on September 2, 1524, to protect the University of Louvain against the scheme of the Bishop of Liège, who wished the Privilege of the Nominations, granted by Leo X and Adrian VI, to be cruelly curtailed in his own favour <sup>4)</sup>. He thus largely helped to secure the welfare and regular life of that University, and was her protector in those difficult years when the aid of her real friends was counteracted by might and main, which made him declare on October 19, 1524, that the Privilege had been granted in consideration of the sound services rendered, as well as a means to favour the regular working order of the Great Louvain School, irrespective of the quality and intentions of her opponents <sup>5)</sup>.

In 1527, Giberti severely suffered from the Sack of Rome, when he nearly lost his life; so he was finally allowed to go and devote all his zeal and time to his diocese of Verona, having been appointed as Bishop in August 1524. As a member of the *Oratory of Divine Love*, he displayed a magnificent and beneficent activity, aiming at being an exemplary prelate and an ideal pastor, influencing as much the laity as the clergy of his diocese, of which the face soon changed entirely.

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<sup>1)</sup> In a letter of June 2, 1536, John Store sends an epitaph on Gattinara; he requests Dantiscus to write to de Schepper for him, offering him his greetings: DE, 328: Fbm, 3, 124: it reached Dantiscus on June 7.

<sup>2)</sup> *AleaJo.*, 39, sq.

<sup>3)</sup> Pastor, iv, i, 324, 342, &c, ii, 177, &c.

<sup>4)</sup> Cp. HTL, II, 248, 267-79, 280-86.

<sup>5)</sup> HTL, II, 300-1, 305-6, 310-16; FG, 34, 5.

He fully understood the immense advantage to be derived from the thorough understanding of the Bible and of its continuous quotations in prayers and offices; he made it into the spiritual nourishment of himself and of his priests. It explains the hearty cordiality with which he hailed Campensis, and valued the beneficent influence of his erudition and of his teaching <sup>1)</sup>. In fact, Giberti based his salutary reform on study and learning, which made him even set up a press in his palace, from which was produced an edition of St. John Chrysostom's writings in Greek. In 1536 he was invited by Paul III to form with Sadolet, Contarini, Pole, Carafa and others, a Commission of Reform, and he accompanied his friend Pole in 1537 to France and to Liège, though he longed to return to his diocese, where he spent his last years in zealous activity, and died on December 29/30, 1543. Cp. Pastor, iv, ii, 177, *sq.*, 353-54, 609-20, v, 116-122, 349-52, &c; *AleaJo.*, 39, 44-51, 68; *AleaE.*, 3, 34, 56-7, &c; *Pole*, 142-155; *BalanR.*, 204, &c; *BalanH.*, 307, 313, 385; *FG.*, 359; *Læmmer.*, 394; *Allen.*, v, 1443a, *pr.*; *Giov. Battista Pighi, Vita de Gianmatteo Giberti, Vescovo di Verona*: Verona, 1900; *MHL.*, 576, *sq.*, 124, 252, 469, 510; *Cran.*, 141, *g.*; *HTL.*, i, 461, ii, 64, 137, 257, 278, 281, 293, *sq.*, 343, 488, iii, 31, 203; *ActaMori.*, 61; *Sadole*, 10-13, 142-49.

Gasparo CONTARINI, born on October 16, 1483 in Venice from a noble family, studied in Padua, and became councillor in his native town; in 1521 he was sent as ambassador to Charles V in Worms, where his nice, aristocratic nature felt quite displeased at Luther. He followed Charles V to England and Spain (*ContarE.*, 9-18). After his return to Venice, he was sent by 1527 to the Papal Court, and was there during the dreadful year (*ContarE.*, 27-73). By 1530 he had returned to Venice and to his studies; and he highly pleased Reginald Pole, who wrote that no matter which man's spirit had found, or which Divine Grace had communicated, was unknown to him. He worked for the good of Church and State with men like Gian Peter Carafa, Gian Matteo Giberti and Gregorio Cortese, until, on May 21, 1535, he was appointed Cardinal <sup>2)</sup>. On January 10, 1541, he was sent as *Legatus a Latere* by Paul III to Ratisbon, with the hope of realizing a religious unification in Germany, so as to make it possible to face the Turkish danger <sup>3)</sup>. When the discussions started there by the end of April, the Legate showed a thorough desire to solve in that way the awkward differences of creed and opinion, in so far that, in the beginning, he was highly praised. Still, when, on May 13, the dogm of Transsubstantiation came under discussion, the opposition became most violent, owing to the irreducible decision of some secular princes, like the Elector of Saxony. Some Catholics even raised suspicions about Contarini's belief in justification, about which matter Albert Pighius, too, had recently enounced a new theory; — still, any formal judgment was then most

<sup>1)</sup> Cp. before, pp 66-68, 154, and further; *HTL.*, iii, 203.

<sup>2)</sup> Cp. before, p 241.

<sup>3)</sup> Cp. *ContarE.*, 231.

premature, since the proper sense of the dogm was only fully decided on at the Council of Trent. An immixtion of the Emperor was so far from reaching the result expected, that all seemed to prove the necessity of that General Council, which Charles V accepted by June 24 (ContarE, 139-241). The deeply disappointed Contarini had to return to Italy : yet his meeting with the Pope, in the beginning of September, 1541, came to him as a well-deserved consolation. In January 1542, he was active as Legate at Bologna, where Death overtook him in his work for the Church and for Truth, on August 24, 1542. Only one of his numerous writings, the treatise *De Immortalitate Animæ*, had been printed in his lifetime (ContarE, 248-52) ; most of his many other works were edited after his decease, and in 1571, they all were issued as *Opera Omnia*. Cp. ContarE, *passim* ; Pastor, v, 101-106, 295-337, 473 ; FG, 329-30 ; Allen, xi, 3066, 26 ; SadolE, 629-647, 851-861 ; Lortz, 60, 128, 170, *sq.*

On May 15, 1536, John van Campen writes from Rome to John Dantiscus <sup>1)</sup> : ' I sent you a letter from Venice through a Jew of Cracow, and now hear from Niptzytch, in Bologna, that you have not received it. I am sorry : for I thus seem ungrateful. — Aleandrum... plane inueni talem, qualem eum mihi sæpe descripseras <sup>2)</sup> : est nunc Romæ, ubi primum locum ambit in futuro Concilio, sed ridetur ab optimis quibusque. Fui apud eum mensibus quinque tanto lædio quanto nusquam unquam. — I then served the excellent Reginald Pole, and when I wanted to leave and return home, the ' Episcopus Veronensis ' [J. M. Giberti] <sup>3)</sup>, asked me to come a way about, and see him. I did, and was well received, so that I stayed nearly the whole winter, and lectured to him and to a few learned men, who are with him ; I explained the Prophets, and St. Paul, entirely ; also Job and the five

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<sup>1)</sup> DE, 325 : Fbm, 3, 118-19 ; it reached Dantiscus on August 8 ; Hipler, 529, *sq.*

<sup>2)</sup> The strange malignant opposition of Aleander against Erasmus has been referred to before on p 116 ; cp. especially *MonHL*, 512-15, where is shown that he communicated his hatred to Hezius, to Alberto Pio and Bishop Erard de la Marck ; it extended to Louvain University when her interests endangered some of the favours which the Liège Bishop enjoyed : cp. *HTL*, II, 269-77, 283, 293-95, 300-311, &c, III, 93-103, 167, 452-53, &c. Most strange of all is his evident ill-will, from which suffered the poor, hard-working and most precious scholar that Campensis was, as follows from some of these letters : DE, 298 (p 232) and 351, besides this one ; as well as from *HTL*, III, 167, 177, 183, 196, 199-202, 204.

<sup>3)</sup> Cp. before, p 266.

books of Moses : all of which I did in five months. Then Cardinal Contarini <sup>1)</sup>, who knew me in Venice before he was a Cardinal, invited me to Rome, 'suggerente ut suspicor Pontifice'. I hesitated, but went there by the end of February 1536. I met there Doctor Longus, who wanted to write through me to you, Dantiscus; I would have done so, had not your former servant assured that you were in Naples with the Emperor, on your way to Rome.' — He further offers news of the Council, of the Emperor, of Francis I, of the Pope, and of their movements. — As postscript Campensis writes : 'Petrum nostrum Mirabilem <sup>2)</sup>, rectissime valentem, hic conveni. Non scribo nunc D<sup>no</sup> Bernardo <sup>3)</sup>, nec amicis, sed scribam... breui. Valeat D. T. cum D. matre, fratribus, sororibus, amicis omnibus. Campensis, in the familia Casparis Contarini, whom you know from Flanders and Spain.'

Dr. John LONGUS, LANGUS, a councillor of King Sigismund, was his deputy to King Ferdinand. On May 15, 1536, when in Rome, he requested Campensis to write for him to Dantiscus : yet he did not execute that request, as popular rumour announced that the Bishop had just then arrived at Naples, and his old servant had even said that he was coming to Rome with the Emperor, — as Campensis wrote to Dantiscus on May 15 <sup>4)</sup>. — A few years later, on March 15, 1545, Longus' arrival at Cracow with Sigismund Baro Liber de Herbersteyn, was announced to Dantiscus <sup>5)</sup>. — On October, 18, 1547, Martin Alexwang, wrote from Petroków to console Bishop Dantiscus for a past illness, and offered him a copy of a poem '*Coelibatus-Contugium ; Fornicatio-Penitentia*, authore Joanne Lango, P[oloniæ] R[egis] Legato' <sup>6)</sup>. — In 1551, 'Ioannes Langus' sent a letter to Bishop Stanislas Hosius <sup>7)</sup>.

On May 26, 1536, Justus Ludovicus Decius writes from Cracow to Dantiscus <sup>8)</sup> : I have no news except that which

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<sup>1)</sup> Cp. p 267.

<sup>2)</sup> He is referred to also on p 243 ; he was a servant of Dantiscus until he left for Poland : cp. DE, 378, *pr.*

<sup>3)</sup> Dantiscus' brother.

<sup>4)</sup> Cp. DE, 325 (Fbm, 3, 118), just summarized.

<sup>5)</sup> Cp. DE, 450<sup>bis</sup> : Fbm, 6, 62 : it reached Dantiscus on March 28.

<sup>6)</sup> Cp. DE, 481 : Fbm, 6, 102, *sq* : it reached Dantiscus on October 26, 1547.

<sup>7)</sup> *CatCzart.*, II, 263 : 1602, 65.

<sup>8)</sup> DE, 326 : Fbm, 3, 123 : it reached Dantiscus on June 7.

‘Erasmus noster proximis mandavit literis <sup>1)</sup>), scilicet, ut R. D. Vestram illius salutare nomine ; multa iam senex suscipit et valetudinis et rerum incommoda <sup>2)</sup>) : sed ea omnia huic ætati toleranda, non tollenda sunt. — I wrote to the Prince of Prussia <sup>3)</sup>), of which letter I sent a copy to your brother, and now one to you, along with the enclosed ‘aliquot Pasquilli versus’. Episcopo Culmensi.

On June 8, 1536, Nicolas Copernic <sup>4)</sup>) writes from Frauenburg the following letter to Dantiscus <sup>5)</sup>) : Reverendissime in Christo Pater et Domine, Domine clementissime : Accepi literas Reverendissimæ Dominationis Vestræ humanitatis plenas et gratiæ, quibus me admonet illius familiaritatis et gratiæ, quam adhuc in iuventute cum Reverendissima Dominatione Vestra contraxi, quam adhuc tamquam florentem apud se durare intelligo. Sicque me inter suos familiares commemorando, invitare dignita est ad nuptias cognatæ suæ. Equidem Reverendissime Domine, obtemperare debebam Reverendissimæ Dominationi Vestræ, et aliquando me præsentare tanto meo Domino et Patrono. Nunc vero in negotio occupatus quod mihi Reverendissimus Dominus Varmiensis iniunxit, abesse nequeo. Quapropter boni consulere dignetur istam absentiam meam, et servare antiquam illam de me opinionem, quamvis absente ; quum plus esse consuevit animorum coniunctio, quam etiam corporum. Reverendissimam Dominationem Vestram in omni felicitate, cui servitia mea commendo, perpetuo valere cupio. Ex Frauenburg, 8 Junii, 1536. R. D. J. Ep. Culmensi... Nicolaus Copernicus.

On June 25, 1536, Cornelius de Schepper wrote from Brussels to King Sigismund I of Poland <sup>6)</sup>), excusing his delay in writing. The Dutch refused to cooperate favourably to the *actio* : finally the ‘*D<sup>nus</sup> de Beveris, maris admiralus*’

<sup>1)</sup> The last letter of Erasmus to Decius in Allen's collection is of August 22, 1534 : Allen, xi, 2961.

<sup>2)</sup> Erasmus was heavily visited by illnesses at the time : Cp. Allen, xi, 3109-3122. <sup>3)</sup> Cp. DE, 362<sup>bis</sup>, 364<sup>bis</sup> : September 1537.

<sup>4)</sup> Cp. before, pp 172-73.

<sup>5)</sup> DE, 329 : Ccm, 54, 311 ; *DantKop.*, xlii, 297 ; Prowe, II, 158.

<sup>6)</sup> DE, 330 : Ccm, 240, 169.

accepted arming 42 vessels against Denmark, on condition to have Godschalk Ericksen and myself as helpers and counsellors : the aim is the liberation of Copenhagen <sup>1</sup>). We hope to leave on July 8 or 10, and we have 42 ships and 9000 soldiers, who are to come from Friesland, where they are besieging Dam, since Meynard von Ham took refuge there. The town cannot resist long, since Groningen has fallen, and the Duke of Gelderland will not get help so easily from France, since the loss of Groningen. Moreover they prepare here to attack France, and people are ready to pay the heavy taxes which the Emperor needs. The Queen sent Godschalk to Friesland to levy soldiers for the Danish expedition to be embarked in Zeeland ; before we leave, I will write again.

On August 1, 1536, Gemma Frisius wrote to Dantiscus <sup>2</sup>) : *R<sup>me</sup> in Christo Pater ac Domine, salutem ac officiorum meorum commendationem. Jamdudum est quod R<sup>ma</sup> D. V. mihi mandauerit, ut frequentius scribam, precipue vero de statu meo, an ne ego vnus sim futurus, quem Matrimonij pœnitudo non ceperit aliquando ; cui sane quod respondeam non habeo aliud, quam quod cecinit ille : ‘Qui fit, Mecænas, ut nemo, quam sibi sortem, seu ratio dederit, seu sors obiecerit, illa contentus vivat ? laudet diversa sequentes ? Nam ut olim solutus uincula hæc summopere et cupiui et sectatus sum, ita nunc contra solui : sensus quidem appetunt, verum ratio aliud dictat. Video enim eam esse nostram imperfectionem, ut nusquam animus acquiescat, quamdiu hoc in corpore detinetur.’ Quam ob causam oro, nisi quod nihil in rerum natura est, quod ante finis sui adeptionem conquiescat. Cum ergo animus noster nunquam, dum hoc carcere clauditur, finem suum consequi quæat, non mirum est, eam tam varia appetere, quærentem scilicet quem non inuenit, finem — et requiem. His consideratis satius videtur tedium hoc vitæ, aut fluctuationem potius, quacunque data conditione æquo ferre animo, quam indies mutatis sortibus novos sentire cruciatus. Quid igitur sentiam, quæris. Sane contentus sum mea sorte,*

<sup>1</sup>) Evidently at the request of the Count Palatine : cp. p 254. — Copenhagen surrendered on July 29, 1536 : cp. p 154.

<sup>2</sup>) DE, 331 : Upm, 154, 150-51 ; *GemFrisius*, 404-406. The letter reached Dantiscus on February 22, 1537. Cp. *HTL*, II, 556.

quia nusquam tranquillitatem inueniri sciam. Tedet rursus ex communi et omnibus innata imperfectione. — Habet *R<sup>ma</sup>* D. *V<sup>ra</sup>* meam de statu meo sententiam, quam pro suo candore interpretari velit.

Gemma Margaritam genuit, quæ iam parentem tatat : istud quidem *R<sup>mæ</sup>* D. V. non fore ingratum arbitratus significare non dubitavi. De bello, cuius hic maximus apparatus est, et maxima fama, nisi existimarem *R<sup>mæ</sup>* D<sup>nt</sup> V. per claros viros significatum esse, scriberem; sed rumores etiam ad nos incerti sunt : quare vno atque altero verbo hec percurram. Cæsar tribus ex partibus Galliam aggreditur. Ipse circa Galliam Narbonensem, quam Delphinatum vocant, maximo exercitu Alpes aut transgressus est, aut conatur indies transgredi. Cepit duo triaue oppidula. Coniunx a Pyreneis montibus instat : de hac nihil ad nos peruenire potest. Nostri circa Hannoniam oppidum obsederunt dictum Guise. Dux est D. de Nassau. Nihil tamen factum adhuc est per nostros, nam indies eorum numerus crescit.

Anglus pro suo arbitrio omnia administrat. Vxorem secundam gladio interemit, cum fratre ac alijs nobilibus : ferunt omnes innoxios illos fuisse et crimine vacasse. Vix elapsis 24 horis aliam duxit. — Hæc sunt quæ mihi scribenda visa sunt, ut omni ex parte *R<sup>ma</sup>* D. V. meam sentiat obedientiam.

Velim oratam D. V. *R<sup>mam</sup>*, ut mihi mittere dignaretur et suam et Regis genituram <sup>1)</sup>), vel saltem tempus, quod mihi sat est. Iuuat enim his rebus nonnunquam tempus fallere. Nam reliquum tempus Medicinæ impartior, in qua iam gradum adeptus sum <sup>1)</sup>), atque deinceps artem peto. — Dominus noster Jesus Christus D<sup>nem</sup> V. *R<sup>mam</sup>* quam diutissime incolumem et prosperum conseruet, cui me quam plurimum commendo, eiusque fratribus D. Georgio ac D. Bernhardo, totique familiæ. Ex Louanio, Kalendis Augusti 1536. *R<sup>me</sup>* D<sup>nts</sup> *V<sup>rae</sup>* Deditissimus famulus Gemma Frisius.

On September 13, 1536, Cornelius de Schepper wrote from Brussels to Dantiscus <sup>3)</sup>) : he explains his long silence by a

<sup>1)</sup> As he already practised medicine, he must have become Licentiate by 1536 : cp. *HTL*, II, 556-57 ; DE, 417. <sup>2)</sup> For horoscopes.

<sup>3)</sup> DE, 333 : Fbm, 3, 125-28 ; it reached Dantiscus on October 16.

journey, during which he once sent his greeting from Vienna by Peter Opolynsky, the Polish ambassador. He has received Dantiscus' letter, which he left in Bruges, and he now answers it as well as he can. He is soon going to France, and as far as Narbonne, to try and make peace. He sends news about Meynhard van Ham <sup>1)</sup>, who, encouraged by the Duke of Gelderland and by that of Holstein, made a revolt in Friesland, fortifying himself at (Appinge)Dam, near Groningen, where George Schenck besieged him. The Duke of Holstein sent troops, which were met by an army under Godschalk Ericksen's lead, who put them to flight, and took many prisoners. Ham is beaten, and he will pay dearly, as he is suspected to be the king of the Anabaptists; so will also Bernard de Hacquevoort, 'landdrost of Gelderland'. — As to the war against France, a fleet, which had been made ready before to help Copenhagen, which that town and Frederic the Palatine requested, did not get off on account of the French war, and the difficulties in Holland and Gelderland <sup>2)</sup>; it is equipped, and, under the lead of the Lord of Beveren, of the Lord of Brederode, of Godschalk Ericksen and of myself, it is now sent against France. — In the war on land, at the siege of Peronne, the weakness of France was shown: the dauphin died, and the Duke of Orleans proved to lack all strength. — The result seems that, on account of the war, there is misery everywhere; moreover, also loss of all faith and of Christian virtue: I myself, de Schepper, see future rather in dark colours, unless the young generation amends things; — you Dantiscus, are most happy in your *ocio*. Besides, I have some further news from Denmark, where Copenhagen is taken <sup>3)</sup>,

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<sup>1)</sup> Meynard van Ham was captain in the Gelderland army up to 1542-43, and then he entered Charles V's service as army leader; he had distinguished himself at Appingedam and Sittard (1536-1543): Henne, III, 62, VI, 147, VIII, 66-78.

<sup>2)</sup> By June 1536, Charles V decided to send some aid to Copenhagen at the request of Frederic the Palatine: cp. DE, 330, pp 270-71; still to prevent the capital to be helped, John Ranzau, the military leader of Christian III, decided on an incursion into East-Friesland which had to be resisted: cp. *DanHist.*, I, 313-14.

<sup>3)</sup> As mentioned before, Copenhagen surrendered on July 29, 1536: *DanHist.*, I, 314.



and where the King has thrown into prison all those who helped him to the throne : maybe so as to prevent another defection. I judge as very sad the state of those countries in which religion has been proscribed, or is neglected : no laws can exist there, and it is better living in Turkey than under such conditions. I am sorry for the exiles, such as those of Sweden, at Danzig, and I consider that the apostasy of the North has created a miserable look-out. — A letter had been brought from Poland along with Dantiscus' missive, addressed to Queen Mary of Hungary, to whom bad language was used on account of the prohibition of sailing, which, after having been allowed in general to everybody, has now been stopped ; it highly displeases the Dutch, who used to enjoy, at least practically, a certain monopoly. A Danzig vessel has even now been chosen to convey the Lords of Beveren and of Brederode with Ericksen and myself, for order has now been given to sail. I hope for victory, considering navy and army are good, and well equipped, and supplied with money, which is necessary for the creation and the supply of excellent weapons ; unfortunately several countries are weighed down with taxes, as is the case with France and German lands under Protestant Princes : we are not as badly off as they are. It would, however, be far better not to wage war : 'Prudentum est non omnino meminisse injuriarum !' — The time is not favourable to despatch books : Dantiscus might arrange a way of sending some with the Fuggers, for, after the expedition, I hope to go and spend the winter at Bruges. I send greetings to you, Dantiscus, and to your mother and family ; my wife is '*proxima partui*' : she and her sister greet you most affectionately ; so does my little daughter, and also Nicolas Olah. Haller is in Austria, and the Archbishop-elect of Lund, in Hungary. I greet Bernard, George, the *familia* and the '*lacquaio*'. — Episcopo Culm., administr. Pomesaniensi <sup>1)</sup>, amico & patri : Lubauiae, in Prussia.

On the next day, September 14, 1536, Cornelius de Schepper sent a short letter to Dantiscus <sup>2)</sup> at the request of Conrad of

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<sup>1)</sup> Cp. DE, 291 : p 226, n 4.

<sup>2)</sup> DE, 334 : Upm, 154, 152 : it also reached Dantiscus on October 16.

Sickingen, who wished to announce that his *fortunæ* are good now. His brother John is at the head of the army of the Imperial Majesty in Luxemburg. Greetings are added from the Count of Buren and from Saxo Carolus, — who, since some time, has been straying through the country, and is looking *irrequietus*.

Stanislas Hosz, Hosius, born on May 5, 1504 in Cracow, studied in the University there from 1519, and became B. A. in 1520. Having attracted the general attention by his *Judicium Astronomicum* for 1522, he was appointed as teacher in a school of the palace by Bishop Tomicki. He wrote about one of the Psalms, and also translated a writing of St. John Chrysostom, in the introduction to which he calls Erasmus: 'Doctissimorum Colophon'. He was sent to study in Bologna in 1529, and became doctor of laws in Padua. On his return in 1535, he was made private secretary to Tomicki; then to his successor John Choiensky, formerly Bishop of Plock, and, in 1538, to the King. He became priest in 1543, then Bishop of Culm in 1549, and of Ermland in 1551, as second successor to his great friend and protector Dantiscus. In 1551, he composed for the meeting of Petroków a Confession of Catholic faith, which became as a beneficent means of comforting union. He was created Cardinal in 1561, and induced King Ferdinand to convoke the closing session of the Council of Trent in 1562, at which he presided. He founded the Braunsberg College in 1564, and having been recalled to Rome by Gregory XIII as Great Penitentiary, he filled that function until his decease on August 5, 1579. His secretary Stanislas Resz, Rescius, who had been with him at Trent and in Rome, wrote his biography: cp. also *ADB*; Lortz; Allen, vii, 1915, 40; *LaemKirch.*, 139-40; Pastor, v, 117, 700, *sq.*, vi, 173-75, 469, &c, vii, 151, 190, 391-92, &c, viii, 116, 506-7, &c; ContarE, 96; *Anima*, 300, 338; *CochlSpahn*, 321 22; *ColGerHun.*, i, 18, 48, 53, 83, *sq.*, 90, *sq.*, 337, 347; *JesRheinA*, 412, 351, 370, &c; Voigt, 64-66; Prowe, i, ii, 350-60, &c, ii, 427, 484, *sq.*; *PaulDom.*, 172, 176, 264; *PaulPrTol.*, 183; Lauchert, 652; MasE, 322, 329, 331, 334, 344, &c; *BeitSchlecht*, 78; *SchelAH*, i, 188, 968; *SchelAL*, ii, 377, xi, 23; *Gran.*, 97, i; *HTL*, ii, 486, iii, 288, iv, 133-34, 161, 196, 392, 397-98; *PighE*, 372-73, 374-76, 391-93, 410-12, &c; Gough, 401.

On September 21, 1536, Stanislas Hosius wrote from Cracow to Dantiscus <sup>1)</sup>: unfortunately the letter is much mutilated, having a large hole in the middle: still it is possible to gather that the young student expresses his great gratitude to the Bishop, and refers to epitaphs — no doubt, of the Bishop of Cracow, Peter Tomicki, — which have not been hung up yet

<sup>1)</sup> DE, 335: Ccm, 240, 240-44.

for his 'optimo et clarissimo' <præsidi>; he sends greetings to Dantiscus and, through him, to the Bishop of Ermland Maurice Ferber, Lossainen's successor <sup>1)</sup>, and to his canon Tiedeman Giese <sup>2)</sup>: Cracoviæ, xi Cal. Octobris 1536.

If the closing years of Erasmus' life were made miserable by his infirmities, as well as by occasional outbursts of hatred and ill-will from his adversaries, there came to him several great proofs of esteem and friendship, which must actually have consoled him. Thus Pope Paul III, who, in vain had offered him the Cardinal's title and most of Ingenwinckel's wealthy benefices <sup>3)</sup>, considering it as a duty 'quo ipsi Erasmo benefacere et gratificari tenemur', praised him as the 'virum, a quo ista natio Germanica tantum recipit ornamentum' <sup>4)</sup>.

Years before, the appreciation of that excellence had made Queen Mary of Hungary long for the return of Erasmus to Brabant as for one of the greatest glories of her estates; she endeavoured to call away from Germany and Rhineland to his dearly beloved Louvain, the great Erudite, who himself expressed his longing, writing in the first days of February 1533: '*Ad patriam aspirat animus*' <sup>5)</sup>. From the early months of 1533, she insisted on having him returning — misso pridem viatico <sup>6)</sup> — and she interested in that design, not only her devoted secretary, Nicolas Olah <sup>7)</sup>, but several of her highest officials, like John de Carondelet <sup>8)</sup>, or the leading intellectual men, like Nicolas Grudius <sup>9)</sup>; and, for certain, her efforts answered the dearest wishes of crowds of others. No doubt, those effective longings of his hearty friends must have given great joy to Erasmus, although his poor health, apparently, prevented him from realizing their desires there and then; and the war in the summer of 1534 in Würtemberg between the nobility and the towns, rendered all travelling impossible to the '*Erasmus frustra expectatum, toties pollicitum Reginæ sese esse in procinctu ad nos*' <sup>10)</sup>. When, finally, in the autumn of 1535, he returned to Basle, he only wished to finish there his last work, *de Ratione Concionandi*, as Boniface Amerbach declares, before migrating thence for good to Brabant <sup>11)</sup>; his health, unfortunately, declined unexpectedly, in so far, that, from worse to worse, it soon led him to his ultimate sigh: *Vtinam Brabantia esset vicinior!* <sup>12)</sup>

<sup>1)</sup> Cp. before, p 6.

<sup>2)</sup> Cp. further the chapter *Culm.* 1537 : p 284.

<sup>3)</sup> Cp. before, DE, 315 (p 254), 319 (p 262); Allen, xi, 3052, 31-35; FG, 345-49.

<sup>4)</sup> Allen, xi, 3034, 8-9, 17-18.

<sup>5)</sup> Allen, x, 2762, 29 : February 7, 1533.

<sup>6)</sup> Cp. Allen, i, p 53, 18.

<sup>7)</sup> Allen, x, 2785, 71-77 (March 29, 1533), 2792, 57-69 (April 19, 1533).

<sup>8)</sup> Allen, x, 2784, 5, sq : March 27, 1533.

<sup>9)</sup> Cp. before, pp 175-77 : April 27 and May 4, 1533.

<sup>10)</sup> That was what Goclenius, too, considered as excuse: July 24, 1534 : DE, 290 : p 220.

<sup>11)</sup> Allen, i, p 53, xi, 3062, 4.

<sup>12)</sup> Allen, xi, 3130, 25-29.

In his trouble, he also must have found no end of consolation in the personal intervention of his friends, all wishing to turn away from him any harm as far as they could. The great Polish magnate Justus Decius<sup>1)</sup> had become his particularly dear and generous patron : nearly all his letters in this collection are as the expression of his admiring love of the Great Man<sup>2)</sup>. He had offered him a pension of twenty gold florins, which was sent regularly to him by one William Weidolt, of Nuremberg<sup>3)</sup>, — whose name is possibly represented as 'Vaydoltusam'<sup>4)</sup>, — who was to take the amount to the Frankfort Fair, so as to hand it safely to the printer Froben. It did not last long before he had that pension augmented ; for the Bishop of Culm, Dantiscus, whose acquaintance was made more vivid and intense at his arrival in his diocese, requested him to join thirty ducats to his contribution, — which from August 16, 1533 on, was thus enlarged to *sexaginta quinque florenis in moneta argentea*<sup>5)</sup>. Even if the sending of those amounts in the troublesome times, occasioned some difficulties to Decius<sup>6)</sup>, he consoled himself, considering the pleasure he procured to the Dear Old Man in his advancing age<sup>7)</sup>.

On December 6, 1535, de Schepper announced in great excitement to Dantiscus that the *Ecclesiastes, seu De Ratione Concionandi Libri IV* had just come out<sup>8)</sup> ; in consequence, the Bishop of Culm ordered a copy on February 24, 1536, requesting his friend to send more welcome news about Erasmus<sup>9)</sup>, besides that which he announced on December 6 about the bishoprics, and prebends, and even about the dignity of Cardinal which had been declined as soon as they were offered<sup>10)</sup>.

Still the repeated allusions to those tenders from Rome show that they actually rejoiced the Old Erudite's heart, — although, perhaps, not as much as the faithful amanuensis, whom Goclenius sent him on August 10, 1535, to replace Cognatus, who was leaving. Another had come already at banker Schets's request, who, however, did not stay long<sup>11)</sup>. The Lambert Coomans, who brought the Louvain friend's letter

<sup>1)</sup> Cp. before, p 10.

<sup>2)</sup> Cp. DE, 256, 258, 285, 326.

<sup>3)</sup> On August 21, 1534 Decius tells Erasmus that he has written 'Vilhelmo', William Weidolt of Nuremberg, what amount he had to take to him : Allen, XI, 2960, 11.

<sup>4)</sup> On August 22, 1534, Erasmus wrote from Freiburg to Decius : 'Per Vaydoleusam, virum humanissimum, accepi viginti florenos ex tua munificentia, et triginta ducatos ex liberalitate Episcopi Culmensis. Summa estimata est sexaginta quinque florenis in moneta argentea : Allen, XI, 2961, 2-5. — If the e of the name is changed into t, the messenger might be considered as identical in both letters : Weidolt — Vaidoltusus, or Vaidoltensis.

<sup>5)</sup> Allen, x, 2874, 13, 29, XI, 2961, 2-5 ; DE, 258, 285 ; FG, 335-36.

<sup>6)</sup> Such as that expressed before, p 180.

<sup>7)</sup> DE, 326.

<sup>8)</sup> DE, 315.

<sup>9)</sup> DE, 319.

<sup>10)</sup> Allen, XI, 3033, 3034, 3047, 1-36, 3052, 31-35.

<sup>11)</sup> Allen, XI, 3052, 19-20, 3104, 3-5, 27-30, 3115, 4-7, 37, 3122, 14-15 ; HTL, III, 395.

with the sad news about the well-beloved More <sup>1)</sup>, was warmly praised, — if not as ‘eruditum’, for certain as ‘ad omnia obsequia et nutus heriles paratissimum... et fidum ac obsequentem’. He had been recommended by the Louvain professor Andrew Balenus <sup>2)</sup> and others, who assured that he was ‘assuefactum ad ea officia quæ prouector et ingrauescens ætas expostulat, vtpote qui longo ac fideli servitio apud alium quendam senem [— Cardinalem Enckenvoirt — <sup>3)</sup>], cui toto bienio cum laude inseruiuit, suam diligentiam approbarit’ <sup>4)</sup>. On Sept. 2 following, Erasmus replied to Goclenius : ‘Placet Lambertus quem misisti’, and mentions Cousin as well as the Antwerp youth <sup>5)</sup>. The erudite had just then come to Basle to see to the issuing of the *De Ratione Concionandi*, and he had intended starting from there on the journey planned since long, back to Brabant, where he expected breathing his last <sup>6)</sup>, and for which he constantly longed : ‘Utinam Brabantia esset vicinior !’ <sup>7)</sup> Unfortunately, he fell ill, suffering from the ‘chiragra’ and similar incommodities. As to his religious convictions, he decidedly declared, on May 17, 1536, that he had no trouble at all, not admitting even to his house anybody who was ‘reformed’ <sup>8)</sup>. He had said H. Mass in his room on Easter Day <sup>9)</sup>. He was greatly pleased with his new amanuensis Lambert Coomans, and had promised him a good legacy in his will of February 12, 1536, in case he would stay with him to the very last <sup>10)</sup>. In fact, it was in his arms that he died in the stormy early morning of July 12, 1536, with, on his lips, the indubitably Catholic invocation of Our Lady, — which is still quite characteristically proper to the Netherlandish speaking members of the Church of Rome. It is a fact that nobody else than he was present when the great Erasmus died <sup>11)</sup>.

Thanks to the money inherited from his master, Lambert Coomans

<sup>1)</sup> Cp. DE, 312, *pr.*

<sup>2)</sup> Andrew van Gennep, Balenus, of Baelen, S. E. of Turnhout, — a native of the Campine as Coomans was, — had studied in Louvain since 1516, and had become physician, whereas he attended the Hebrew lectures of Campensis, in so far that, at the latter’s leave by the end of 1531, he was appointed as his successor. He suffered from a nervous break-down in 1544, yet his career was most prosperous : he formed Andrew Masius, the Orientalist, and the great authority on the Bible William Lindanus, as well as Matthew van Galen and Augustine Huens ; even the students applied in the sixties to the Town authorities to have his lectures doubled. He was a married man, and he worked hard for the good of the University until his decease, December 17, 1567 : cp. *HTL*, III, 208-19.

<sup>3)</sup> Cp. before, p 154.    <sup>4)</sup> Allen, XI, 3037, 1-34.    <sup>5)</sup> Allen, XI, 3052, 19-22.

<sup>6)</sup> Allen, XI, 3062, 4.

<sup>7)</sup> Allen, XI, 3130, 28-29 : June 28, 1536 ; cp. *HTL*, III, 385.

<sup>8)</sup> Allen, XI, 3122, 11-13.    <sup>9)</sup> *OlaE*, 491.    <sup>10)</sup> Allen, XI, p 364, 19-20.

<sup>11)</sup> Some of these letters mention the Great Man with sadness and admiration : cp. DE, 339, 341, 350.

studied in Louvain, where he, for several years, boarded as *servus* in the house of the one who had recommended him to Erasmus, professor Andrew Balenus <sup>1)</sup>. He meanwhile helped Goclenius, Amerbach, Episcopus and Froben to execute the will of the dear Master in Brabant, and wrote several letters to the Basle executors. When he reached his development, he accepted a canonry in the Church of St. Peter of his native Turnhout; he became dean of the Chapter there, and died *septuagenarius maior* in 1583. One of the canons, who had known him for years, the son of a Louvain University official, Charles Viruli, attested to have heard many a time from Coomans' lips that 'in ejus brachiis moribundus quiescens Erasmus illis in verbis Basileæ spiritum emisit: O MATER DEI, MEMENTO MEI'. That attestation was duly noted down, after full testing, in the Archives of the St. Peter's Church there, and recopied by Dean Charles Gevaert, licentiate in laws, in 1639, for the year 1559; it is also quoted by the historian John Latomus in *Corsendonca, sive Cœnobii Canonicorum de Corsendoncq Origo et Progressus* (1578), edited and annotated by his successor John Hoyberghs <sup>2)</sup>: it mentions Eckenvoirt as Coomans' first master; for certain, that testimony is quite consentaneous with the way of living and with all the declarations of Erasmus in his last fifteen years, whereas others — like the tale of the Great Man's last moments by Luther, for instance, — relate his decease <sup>3)</sup>, not as it actually took place <sup>4)</sup>, but as they, in their wild and impotent animosity, wished that it should have happened <sup>5)</sup>.

On September 29, 1536, Joannes Cochläus writes from Meissen to Dantiscus <sup>6)</sup>, that he has accepted and handed to Duke George of Saxony <sup>7)</sup> the letter about the bursar of the foundation of Cuppernikus at the Leipzig University; he now received the answer. The Duke and he himself are afraid that the fact of sending young men to Prussian Universities, as the good and pious King Sigismund does, will produce no end of harm, as they are thoroughly Lutheran. He is afraid that he can do little for the 'Lubaviensis scholaris', who lives too far from Leipzig (x *milliaria*); he will, however, recommend him to the father of his *affinis*, Matthias. He wrote to the brother of Dantiscus' *famulus*, the bibliopola, to provide

<sup>1)</sup> Cp. Allen, xi, 3130, 32.

<sup>2)</sup> Antwerp, 1644 : 65.

<sup>3)</sup> Humbert-Claude, *Erasme et Luther* : Paris, 1909 : 266, sq.

<sup>4)</sup> Cp. H. de Vocht, *Deken Lambert Coomans en zijne Getuigenis* : in *TurnLov.*, II, 1949; H. de Vocht, *Le Dernier 'Amanuensis' d'Érasme* : *RHE*, XLV (1950) : 174-186; *HTL*, III, 390-400.

<sup>5)</sup> E. g., Köstlin, II, 321.

<sup>6)</sup> DE, 336 : Ccm, 247, 275; the letter reached Dantiscus on Nov. 25.

<sup>7)</sup> FG, 358.

the books requested from Frankfort Market; he has not returned yet, and Cochläus is still looking out for him to hear about the 'obitus singularis et perpetui Germaniæ ornamenti Erasmi Roterodami.' He is not certain about the intelligence: 'quantum autem accepi', he writes, 'tantum mitto; præterea ternas vno die literas eadem de re nuper ex Ingolstadij, ex Eichstadt, & ex Thuringia acceperam prius, ut anxie verear rem non esse vanam, quamvis in die Ascensionis [25 May] hoc anno <sup>1)</sup>, binas ad me ipse ex Basilea literas dederit Erasmus! Scripsi Frobenio, ut rem certius mihi significaret ex Francofurto, sed nullas adhuc literas inde accepi'. He himself used to be helped by the three Bishops of Uppsala, Linköping and Skara, who now are living in Danzig. Ex Misna, 29 Sept. 1536.

On October 15, 1536, Dantiscus wrote a letter from Castro 'Lubaueano' to Thomas Cranmer <sup>2)</sup>: he thanks for his letter from Vienna [where Cranmer had left before November 1532, and where he had married Margaret, a niece of Osiander <sup>3)</sup>]. As he had been consecrated Archbishop on March 30, 1533 <sup>4)</sup>, Dantiscus had congratulated him for his being promoted to the first ecclesiastical dignity in England. In this very letter of October 1536, he declares that he cannot understand what is said of Henry VIII and his marriage, [— as if Dantiscus ignored that, at the time, when Catherine had died on January 6, 1536, and Anne Boleyn had been beheaded on May 19 of the same year <sup>5)</sup>, — he had, from May 30, 1536, been married to his third wife Jane Seymour! <sup>6)</sup> —] He requests explanations, and, at the same time, recommends the Princess Isabella of Poland to an English Prince, or even to the King! He also sends greetings to Th. Elyot, — who had been ambassador to Charles V since 1531 <sup>7)</sup>. — It thus appears as if Dantiscus, who necessarily must have known what was going on in England, tried to make Cranmer's return to the

<sup>1)</sup> That letter is not in Allen: cp. *ib.*, xi, p. 342.

<sup>2)</sup> DE, 338: Upm, 155, 209. Cp. Gough, 250-51; and further, DE, 414.

<sup>3)</sup> PollCran., 49-54: he went to Italy, from where he reached England in January 1533.

<sup>4)</sup> PollCran., 56-60.

<sup>5)</sup> PollCran., 100; LaemKirch, 72, sq.

<sup>6)</sup> PollCran., 101.

<sup>7)</sup> DNB, and before, p. 146.

right way as easy as possible ; for the same reason, perhaps, he pretended to ignore completely what man he was, — whereas Cochläus bitterly regretted on December 30, 1536 to have been so familiar with him at the time they were in Ratisbon ! <sup>1)</sup> No doubt Dantiscus might have been deceived by him in the beginning as Cochläus had been : amongst the letters preserved at Kornick, there is, in the volume 230, a leaf marked pp 253-54, the second belonging to a letter from Thomas Cranmer, 'Regis Angliæ Oratoris, Ex Vienna', to Dantiscus, of '2 Non. Oct. 1532', of which the text, on what should have been pp 251-52, has disappeared. Yet from the letter which Thomas Cranmer sent to Dantiscus from Lambeth on June 20, [1540], it seems as if he, Dantiscus, had entrusted Cranmer with the education of a *puer*, who had then come of age, and who wished to return to his country ; since the legate of the King of Poland came from Belgium to England, Cranmer sends him back with him ; he knows, he says, Latin, English and French, having studied also in Paris ; and he has been taken care of, as if he had been his proper nephew <sup>2)</sup>. — What thus seems a weakness in Dantiscus, was mentioned also as thus on June 12, 1546 by de Schepper, who, writing from Binche, refers to the kindness of Tunstall and Gardiner, and mentions that they are totally different from Cranmer, whom he met at Ratisbon in 1532, in so far that he is quite surprised at what Dantiscus wrote to him about the boy entrusted by, or through, him to that Cranmer <sup>3)</sup>.

Amongst Dantiscus' acquaintances was James a Barthen, who is mentioned as a secretary of Riga ; on May 15, 1529, he was sent on a mission to some German States <sup>4)</sup>. This letter of October 30, 1535, addressed to him, is the first in this collection ; here and further, he is praised for providing new books, which it was very hard to Dantiscus to find at Culm or Frauenburg ; fortunately, they could be procured through this friend, who, no doubt, was then occupying some leading position in Danzig town. He himself seems to have been highly inter-

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<sup>1)</sup> Cp. further, p 283 ; *CochlSpahn*, 169-70.

<sup>2)</sup> Cp. DE, 414 : Upm, 155, 30, *sq* ; Cranmer also mentions that he had not received a letter since three years, and that there had been a rumour that Dantiscus had died ; it reached him on August 29 <, 1540>.

<sup>3)</sup> DE, 471 : Upm, 155, 119-37, *i* ; *LaemKirch.*, 73.

<sup>4)</sup> Tschackert, II, i, 213.



ested in studies and literature ; it occasioned several grateful missives from the Bishop, which he communicated to some of his old friends in the Netherlands during a stay in the winter months of 1539-1540 <sup>1)</sup>.

On October 30, 1536, James a Barthen wrote from Danzig to Dantiscus <sup>2)</sup> : I am sending, he says, the promised *de Ratione Concionandi* or *Ecclesiastes* by Erasmus, and request you to accept it as a present of a poor client, and as a grateful reminder, as well as for Erasmus' sake, whose death, rumoured up to now, has become a certainty <sup>3)</sup>. I have always highly esteemed the great man : 'nunc cum sic natura comparatum sit, ut virtutem sublatam magis quam præsentem admiramur, omnino credo T. C. hominem incomparabilem iam mortuum in majori pretio habiturum quam antea vivum'. He calls the book the *Cygnea Cantio*, praising it as an oracle of a dying man ; he will select other books, amongst those which Joannes Bibliopola received from Leipzig, and send them through Matthew Platten.

On November 23, 1536, James a Barthen, writing from Danzig <sup>4)</sup>, most effusively thanks Dantiscus for his letter, and following out the request of looking out for books, he announces that two volumes have been issued at Froben's of Origenes by Erasmus, who, ill and suffering 'articulari morbo', gives us the splendid benefit of his 'divino pectore'. The book has a preface by Beatus Rhenanus, in which, after his recommendation of Origen, he describes the life and decease of his great Friend, who died with, on his lips, the words '*Bone Deus, misericordia, Lieuer Godt*', et similia. Est autem mortuus viii Julij circa intempestam noctem, sicut accèpi ex Eberhardo Roggio, qui octiduo ante apud eum fuit' <sup>5)</sup>. — There is also the edition of Chrysostom's Com-

<sup>1)</sup> Cp. further, DE, 341 ; also *CatCzart.*, II, 256 : 1597, 931, 260 : 1599, 825, 971, 1095 : 1540-1548.

<sup>2)</sup> DE, 339 : Fbm, 6, 2 : the letter reached Dantiscus on November 1. Cp. Hipler, 534, sq. <sup>3)</sup> Cp. before, pp 280, sq.

<sup>4)</sup> DE, 341 : Fbm, 6, 3, sq ; the letter reached Dantiscus on November 25 ; Hipler, 535-37.

<sup>5)</sup> More ample, and especially far more reliable, is the information offered by the amanuensis in whose arms Erasmus actually died, Lambertus Coomans : cp. before, pp 278, sq.

mentary on St. Paul's Epistles, which Erasmus did not think to be Chrysostom's. If Dantiscus wants them, Joannes bibliopola will procure them from Leipzig. Meanwhile he, a Barthen, sends a *Conciliatio Sanctorum Patrum cum Sacra Scriptura*; as well as a fasciculus librorum brought from Leipzig.

Epo. Culmensi, Adm. Pomesaniensi.

On December 30, 1536, John Cochläus, Canon of Meissen, sends from there a letter to Dantiscus <sup>1)</sup>: on September 10, he received the Bishop's letter of August 6, with Duplicius' *carmen*; he wrote to Cracow, where his messenger stayed for months, but to no avail; he has heard of Dantiscus' appointment to a new see, but he still ignores which. He is tired of the controversy with the German heretics; and now the English provoke him. — 'Est oratio *Filii Prodigii*, tenui meo iudicio, pulcherrima <sup>2)</sup>. Extat ea de re perquam elegans comedia nova Gnaphæi, quæ *Acolastus* dicitur: est et in Nurembergi in Teutonico quædam scripta, & hic ante menses aliquot acta <sup>3)</sup>. — De Scheppero iamdiu nihil audiui'. — No doubt Dantiscus knows what happened to the holy men Fisher and More: for he is nearer the sea: 'sed non tutum est omnia chartis commendare'. — He apologizes for not having called oftener on him at Ratisbon. He there met several times the Archbishop of Canterbury, who, since then, became chancellor, Cranmer, 'fax omnis hujus incendii, malorumque incentor! Vellem me rarius apud illum fuisse! fidem eius non satis perspexeram' <sup>4)</sup>! He is pleased that his *affinis* <sup>5)</sup> has become dearer to Dantiscus, and thanks him for it.

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<sup>1)</sup> DE, 342: Ccm, 247, 263: it reached Dantiscus on March 15.

<sup>2)</sup> A play on the Prodigal Son, *Prodigus*, was played first in Vienna Jesuit School in 1572, and in several other places up to 1771: *JesDram.*, II, 46, 123.

<sup>3)</sup> *Acolastus* was first printed at Antwerp on July 23, 1529: NijKron., II, 3102, also 3103-3107, I, 1007-1008; *Acolast.*, v, sq; Bahlmann, II, 39. — What the Nuremberg play was, is left guessing.

<sup>4)</sup> Cp. before, p 281.

<sup>5)</sup> Viz., the Wolrab: cp. p 259.

## CULM 1537

The position of Bishop of Culm, which had been granted to Dantiscus on August 3, 1530, at the death of John Konopacki (April 23, 1530), had seemed from the very beginning out of proportion with the long and remarkable services which he had rendered to the nation. On that account, it is more than probable that the hope had been given to him of being endowed at the first opportunity with the much richer neighbouring diocese of Ermland. It explains how some of Dantiscus' very friends, such as the Castellan of Cracow, Christopher Szydłowiecki, had wished to see the Culm diocese conferred on some one else, not in discontent with Dantiscus, but finding that reward too insignificant for his many past labours <sup>1)</sup>.

Bishop Maurice Ferber, who was canon-custos of Ermland since 1516, had been chosen as Bishop in April 1523 <sup>2)</sup>; his failing health, unfortunately, was a great drawback, and he therefore wished for a coadjutor, who should enjoy the right of succession. By 1532, it was thought that canon Tiedeman Giese would have been the right person; still he was objected to for not being in any way connected with Poland. That objection raised against him, as well as the fact that the far more deserving Dantiscus had only obtained a much less important diocese, changed the question in favour of the latter, who had been appointed as Ermland canon in 1528 <sup>3)</sup>; it seemed only right to secure for him a more adapted reward. Negotiations were started, and, by 1536, they had suggested granting to Dantiscus the coadjutorship of Ermland, with the right of succession, whereas the see of Culm was promised to Giese <sup>4)</sup>.

On January 19, 1537, Count Henry of Nassau, margrave of Zenete, Count of Catzenellebogen, Vianden, &c., Lord of

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<sup>1)</sup> Cp. before, p 206. Cp. FG, 419.

<sup>2)</sup> Cp. Prowe, I, ii, 167, 168, sq; he began with a severe edict against all innovations.

<sup>3)</sup> Prowe, I, ii, 251; cp. FG, 360.

<sup>4)</sup> Prowe, I, ii, 250-54, 295, sq.

Breda, wrote from that town to Dantiscus <sup>1)</sup> to thank him for his letter, and to tell him that the services which he had rendered, were hardly worth while mentioning; he refers to his plans, as well as to a special case which Dantiscus had recommended to him.

On March 7, 1537, Dantiscus dates from Friedek <sup>2)</sup>, a letter to his 'frater' John de Weze <sup>3)</sup>, adding to it one addressed, as he writes, 'nostro amico Cornelio de Schepper : — quum postæ sint apud vos in Brabantia, impense rogo velis efficere ut ad eum perferatur hinc tam facile : cum nondum navigari cœptum est <sup>4)</sup>, eam mittendi non habemus commoditatem'. He announces that he has become coadjutor Varmiensis <sup>5)</sup>. He sent to their common friend [Juan] <sup>6)</sup> de Valdes the epitaph of Tomicki. De Weze wrote himself on August 2, 1536, from 'Varædini' <sup>7)</sup>; still he has not his friend's letter at hand to answer it. Dantiscus hopes that de Weze will soon get the victory in his unequal struggle with fortune. — It appears that the Dux Holsatiæ, Christian III, 'in Episcopis sævire cepit'. God pity Denmark !

Several of Dantiscus' letters of this period refer to an incident, which was a source of endless trouble. It has been mentioned before <sup>8)</sup> that, having been sent as ambassador to the Emperor in September 1524, he was supplied with an 'hospitium' at Valladolid by Gattinara in the house of an attractive person, Isabella Delgada, Isope, or Ysipe, as she was called, against whose charms he did not prove immune : on August 20, 1527, he announced to Fabian Dameraw Wojanowski, his future successor, that the *familia*, in which he lived, had been enlarged by a Juana, as she was called after him, born in February 1527. When late in 1529, the Court left Spain, he took leave of the Isabella of the

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<sup>1)</sup> DE, 343 : Fbm, 5, 12 ; FG, 369 ; it reached Dantiscus on March 7. — On June 19, 1537, M. G. Veyt, an Antwerp agent, dispatched a cask of Spanish wine from Henry de Nassau to Dantiscus : it reached its destination on August 7 : DE, 352 : Fbm, 5, 27.

<sup>2)</sup> In MS Frdk ; Friedek is in Silesia.

<sup>3)</sup> DE, 344 (copy) : Ccm, 55, 51, sq.

<sup>4)</sup> Probably the regular navigation on the Baltic Sea had not been organized yet.

<sup>5)</sup> Cp. before, p 284.

<sup>6)</sup> The MS has the evidently wrong name Alphonsus.

<sup>7)</sup> Probably Varazdin, or Warazdin, a town in Southern Hungary on the Drave, about 140 km. S. W. of Vespem.

<sup>8)</sup> Cp. before, p 44.

'Vico Cabezon', on a promise to take care of her and of her child, — which he had to beat on that occasion, as was reminded to him seventeen years later <sup>1</sup>). From the last December 1529, an endless series of appeals to Dantiscus' fatherly feelings and, more even, to his purse, started, which became more insistent by the end of 1531, and must have been the more irksome as he was appointed Bishop of Culm, and prepared himself to be ordained : he was sent occasionally a curl of the little child's fair hair, but, more often, he was threatened by desperate announcements : amongst them, that of unavoidable starvation <sup>2</sup>). Dantiscus entreated the mother to enter a convent, and to leave to him the care of the child, as Cornelius de Schepper was ready to take her into his own home <sup>3</sup>). Neither that, nor any offer by Godschalk Ericksen was accepted <sup>4</sup>), and in her despair, the mother said that she was ready to prostitute the girl at the first opportunity. At that point, Diego Gracian de Alderete, a Court Secretary, whom Alonso de Valdes, one day, had introduced to Dantiscus, was assigned to Delgada's house for his lodging at Valladolid by the middle of 1536.

Diego GRACIAN, of ALDERETE, son of the late Diego Garcia, head of the Emperor's armourers, came to study in Louvain, where he enjoyed, for a time, the lectures of Vives ; at the latter's leave for England, in 1523, he continued attending the lessons in the *Trilingue*, until, in November 1525, he entered the service of Maximilian Transsylvanus. He was then recommended by his friend Alonso de Valdes, and obtained an employment at the Court, in Spain, where he translated documents, and wrote Latin letters. Besides that work, he also served a Marquis of Elche, a Don Juan Manuel, and even Francis de Mendoza, Bishop of Zamora. From 1528, he considered himself as being in Charles V's employ for the correspondence, and he was praised for it. By April 10, 1539, he was created Knight. He always proved a great admirer of Erasmus, and, in the twenties, he effectually helped Alonso de Valdes in his efforts to propagate humanism in Spain, contributing actively to it by renderings from Plutarch, Xenophon, Thucydides and other authors, most of them being dedicated to his royal master. About 1552, he wrote a history, *Speravi*, mentioning the various dignitaries and employers he had served, and the way in which he had been treated. He died a nonagenarian, and left several children, that were an honour to their parents <sup>5</sup>).

<sup>1</sup>) Letter dated from Madrid, June 15, 1546 : DE, 472 : Fbm, 131, 27, sq.

<sup>2</sup>) DE, 189 : Fbm, 131, 21 ; DE, 211 : Knm, 230, 389.

<sup>3</sup>) DE, 266 (Löbau, January 11, 1534) : Ccm, 244, 10, sq : cp. bef., p 191.

<sup>4</sup>) DE, 272 : Upm, 154, 125-26 ; DE, 278 : Knm, 230, 297-99 : cp. before, pp 196, 201-02.

<sup>5</sup>) Cp. *VivVita*, 33, 206-07 ; *EraSpain.*, 242, 286, sq, 299, 302-3, 310, 371, 415, 470, 552, 664, sq, 736, sq ; Allen, vii, 1913, pr ; *ValdDial.*, 48-61, 72, 179, 187, 247, 284, sq ; *HTL*, ii, 404, 408-12, 417, iii, 20, 79, 81, 371, iv, 144, 515 ; *RevHisp.*, viii, 189, sq, 268-78.

He was not long in Delgada's house before he understood the mother's wiles : he became amorous of her daughter, who had hardly started her eleventh year. Anyhow, he managed to get betrothed to her, especially since the Court was expected there on December 6, 1536 <sup>1)</sup>, and he sent her to his own mother to be educated. On March 9, 1537, he wrote all that to Bishop Dantiscus, sending off several copies of his letter to make sure of its arrival.

One of the copies of this most interesting letter <sup>2)</sup> is preserved on ff 281-83 of the codex 247 of the Museum Czartoryskich, in Cracow. There Allen saw it, and expressed his admiration for Gracian's 'formal proposal for the girl, who had just passed ten, with suggestions as to her education, and a statement of his own position and prospects'. Still Allen evidently made a mistake where he indicated that the document is preserved in MS 243, pp 281-83. Indeed it is found on pp 281-83 of the volume 247 of that same collection of the Czartoryskich Museum, in Cracow, and it is dated March 9, 1537, instead of September 13, 1537 as he (Allen) indicates <sup>3)</sup>. In the *Catalogus*, it is ascribed to 1537, and to the codex 247 <sup>4)</sup>, and so it is, too, in the *Index... Catalogi... Musei... Cracoviensis*, by C. Piotrowicz : 1928-31, on p 2, a, of its first part. It is analysed there in a few lines.

On March 9, 1537, James, or Diego, Gracian de Alderete, wrote from Valladolid, and sent this letter to Dantiscus <sup>5)</sup> in several copies to prevent loss. Although my mind, he writes, may already have been known through Albert, our common acquaintance <sup>6)</sup>, I should like to tell you that it is seven years since I was introduced to you through Alonso de Valdes, the Imperial secretary. When, on the Calends of June, last year, I came to Valladolid, I took my abode with Isabella, mother of Joanna Dantisca, whom I admire in her beauty, and whom, with most hearty commiseration, I pity ; she recalls me your features. — My mother and my family are noble ; I am a secretary of Cæsar, as Valdes used to be ; I translate Latin and Greek ; I am well known to the Cardinal of Toledo ; I am sending to you my Latin *Oratio* at the death of the *Principes Taurinorum*. I want your reply : for the girl is eleven, and is sure to be spoiled by the mother now the Court is here.

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<sup>1)</sup> Gachard, 137.

<sup>2)</sup> In this present collection it is placed as DE, 345 : Ccm, 247, 281-83.

<sup>3)</sup> Allen, vii, p 265.

<sup>4)</sup> *CatCzart.*, i, 42.

<sup>5)</sup> DE, 345 : Ccm, 247, 281-83 ; it reached Dantiscus on October 7.

<sup>6)</sup> No doubt Albert Cuon, or Chon, agent of the Welsers : cp. DE, 364 (September 28, 1537).

She now lives with my own mother, a widow, as my father, who was *præfectus tormentorum bellicorum Cæsaris*, has died. I should like to obtain a stipend in the Court from the King of Poland, as secretary, or a dowry, or any other solution : I write this request in several copies *propter temporum iniquitatem*. Vale, Vallisoleti, sub 9 martij 1537.

On March 16, 1537, Dantiscus wrote to Cornelius de Schep- per from Löbau Castle <sup>1)</sup>; he thanks him, and mentions that he sent a letter, or rather a volume, on February 24, 1536 <sup>2)</sup>, to which the reply, dated from Brussels, September 13 <sup>3)</sup>, was much shorter. He refers to the Marquis of Brandenburg, and to Henry Count Palatine of the Rhine. He hopes to see de Schepper before he dies, and affirms again his faith and affection. He has the pleasure of announcing that all goes well with him ; his enemies are subdued, and he now is coadjutor of the Diocese of 'Warmia, *quadruplo pinguior*' than his own. He prays that God may send him yet his friend before he dies ; he greets him, his wife and his son, and all his own. From Löbau Castle, xvj. Marcii 1537.

After having often called on Dantiscus at the Court whilst he still was a professor of the *Trilingue*, Campensis resigned, so as to follow him to Ratisbon in the Emperor's suite <sup>4)</sup>. After having seen his Psalter printed at Nuremberg in 1532 <sup>5)</sup>, he accompanied his master to Culm, where he, for months, worked very hard at other books of the Old Testament, and at the Epistles of St. Paul <sup>6)</sup>. In 1533, he was invited by Tomicki to become a professor of Hebrew in Cracow University : it occasioned the editions of Solomon's *Proverbs*, connected with Bishop Tomicki, February 19, 1534, also a new edition of his Grammar, dedicated to the same Bishop, April 20, 1534, as well as a Commentary on the Epistles to the Romans and the Galatians (Cracow, 1534), offered to Aleander : he then, indeed, was decided to go to the latter's house and

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<sup>1)</sup> DE, 347 : Ccm, 244, 199, sq ; this letter was not written, but only signed and dated, by Dantiscus. It is copied in Knm, 230, 208, sq ; also in Ccm, 55, 75-78, and Olm, 151, 155, sq : in both these copies, the letter is said to be written from Friedek.

<sup>2)</sup> Cp. pp 261, sq : DE, 319.

<sup>3)</sup> Cp. pp 272, sq : DE, 333.

<sup>4)</sup> Cp. before, pp 136, sq ; Allen, v, 1257, 16.

<sup>5)</sup> Cp. before, pp 142, sq.

<sup>6)</sup> Allen, x, 2644 (letter of May 3, 1532), 23-24.

hear Levita in Venice <sup>1)</sup>. He left, and reached that town on Whit Monday — May 25, 1534 —, and stayed with Aleander, who, however, did not allow him the use of any of his books, and advanced him no money, so that he had to content himself with a few days' teaching by Elias Levita —, from whom, however, great things had been expected, as Erasmus insinuated to Goclenius already on November 7, 1533 <sup>2)</sup>. In that letter, Erasmus also mentioned that he had highly praised to Dantiscus his friend Campensis, who had, in return, heartily thanked him, mentioning that he had owned to have suspected to be thoroughly disliked by Erasmus, since he had not sent him any greetings since five years : *Hic risi satis, he wrote, quum de odio in illum ne somniarim quidem vnquam !* <sup>3)</sup> — Campensis stayed a few months with Aleander, and even declined an offer made to him to organize the teaching of Hebrew in Rome, dissuaded as he was by his host, who had been hurt very badly when Paul III had taken away from him the Venice Legation, to which Clement VII had appointed him <sup>4)</sup>. It all explains the thorough dislike inspired by the man from whom Campensis had expected help and at least some gratitude for having dedicated a book to him ! It, no doubt, suggested the name *Verpius*, which the Hebraist gives him, a mitigation <sup>5)</sup> of the name *Verpus* applied to him first, it seems, by Erasmus <sup>6)</sup>.

Still Campensis was soon pleased to be freed from Aleander, as he became the friend and adviser as well as the professor of the great Cardinals Reginald Pole, Gian Matteo Giberti and Gasparo Contarini, the last of whom, as Campensis supposed, caused him to lecture in Rome, 'suggerente ut suspicor Pontifice' <sup>7)</sup>.

On April 6, 1537, John van Campen writes from Rome to Dantiscus <sup>8)</sup> : he has received his dear Patron's letter of December 24, 1536, on March 19, which gave him the greatest joy he felt in the year that he now has spent in Rome ; he actually is a son to him, and he thanks him most heartily for

<sup>1)</sup> DE, 177, 274, 275, 280 : pp 116, 197, 198, 203 ; he recommended a converted Jew to succeed him in Cracow : DE, 284 : p 208.

<sup>2)</sup> Allen, x, 2876, 9-12.

<sup>3)</sup> Allen, x, 2876, 12-16.

<sup>4)</sup> Allen, xi, 2998, 46-50.

<sup>5)</sup> The word *verpus* seems to have had then a second meaning, which may have inspired the change : cp. Habel, 421.

<sup>6)</sup> It was rumoured that Aleander was a Jew : Hutten reproached Erasmus to have thus called him : cp. his *Expostulatio* : Hieronymum Aleandrum... de eodem opinor primus famam sparsisti clanculum, natum esse Iudæum : HutO, II, 207, 15 ; *Aléandre*, 166.

<sup>7)</sup> Cp. before, pp 234-35, 266-69 ; HTL, III, 195-205.

<sup>8)</sup> DE, 348 : Fbm, 6, 8, sq : it reached Dantiscus on July 17 ; cp. Hipler, 537-39.



all the kindness he received from him in Brabant, in Germany and in Sarmatia; he is happy to talk of him to his Cardinal or to anybody. He is pleased to mention that Danticus is neither limited, nor poor in his generosity. 'And now', he continues, Cardinal Contarini and his friends are trying to obtain for me a pension of one hundred ducats on the *Prepositura Herbipolensis*, which used to belong to Mauritius ab Hutten: the result will be known in two or three days. — I should like to return home: 'satur enim sum Italiae ob veteris inscitiae nimis multos patronos'. I hope you will come to the Council, as the Pope wishes it. — 'Philippus [Melanchthon] valde attactus videtur commentariolo meo in duas Epist. D. Pauli; dignatus est tamen in libro ad Regem Anglie honorifice illius et mei facere mentionem <sup>1)</sup>; nihil dubitassem, si daretur cum illo colloqui amice, quin errorem suum agnosceret. Deus Optimus Maximus dignetur causae suae favere, et afflictissimae Germaniae succurrere!'

For certain, he argues, you must have seen that, like Our Lord, St. Paul is clearing up the veil from Moses and the Prophets, by defending himself from 'injuriae'. Still the sophists had managed it so, that the veil, which Christ had taken off, and also St. Paul had, was laid on again. That caused Luther and the Protestants to get it off, but in another, and quite a wrong, way. — 'Lovanienses hortati sunt me diligenter, ut libellum augeam: quod et faciam'. I soon hope to add all the other letters of St. Paul, and possibly some notes on the Prophets, who are so great and good, that, compared to them, Homer and Virgil are like nothing. 'Miraberis forte praeter meum morem haec tam magna, tam audacter audere promittere: nisi certissimis essent certiora, nequaquam auderem'. I will, however, consult wise men, and you, Dantiscus, first! — Petrum nostrum Mirabilem hic vidi sanum, et barbaricis exuviis indutum <sup>2)</sup>; Niptzytch is in Bologna: nusquam cuperem meos centum ducatos <sup>3)</sup> libentius quam

<sup>1)</sup> Melanchthon, who was requested to have an interview with Henry VIII, had offered to him a new edition of his *Loci Communes seu Hypotyposes Theologicae*, dating from December 1521: still the projected, and in a way requested, visit of Melanchthon to England was not effected, on account of the very untrustworthiness of the English Nero: *Melanch.*, 325-30, 376, 379, 381, 384.

<sup>2)</sup> Cp. further, DE, 378, pr.

<sup>3)</sup> Viz., of his *Pensio Herbipolensis*.

apud illos in Polonia amicos, cum bonis sociis absumere, si res meae paterentur'. He greets Dantiscus' brother Bernard, and will soon write again. — One Joh. Rumpoldus, canonicus Warmiënsis, wants to be recommended : he wishes 'Warmiæ residere et [te] scit Dominum coadjutorem factum R<sup>mt</sup> D<sup>nt</sup> Warmiënsis'.

J. Dantisco Culm., Coadjutori Warm.

On May 27, 1537, James a Barthen writes from Danzig to Dantiscus <sup>1)</sup> : I take it ill that you, Dantiscus, do not want any presents in books, being by far too rich to mind such small gratuities ; since I cannot give any greater, I will henceforth only send the volumes that are wanted, and I shall just quote the prices which the booksellers require. They have not returned yet from Königsberg Fair ; still I last saw, 'mercatu Regiomontano', the *Observationes* Vicelij on the works of Cicero, which at least costs three marks : would you desire it ?

On May 30, *Vigilia Corporis Christi*, 1537, James a Barthen, writing from Danzig, sends to Dantiscus <sup>2)</sup> news from books referring to Erasmus ; I thought, and so did others, 'eum insigne aliquod opus, post obitum suum primum edendum, reservasse, quod invidia una cum corpore suo sopita æquioribus animis ab omnibus exceptum iri speravisset. Verum ea opinio nos prorsus fefellit. Amorbach, heres fidei-commissarius', prefixed a letter to the *Catalogus Librorum Erasmi*, declaring that there is no such work ; and that he only found corrections of books formerly edited. 'Nam eam fuisse hominis pietatem, ut quæcunque de fide catholica, deque aliis gravissimis rebus, quæ in Ecclesia agitantur, senserit, abunde suis æternis monumentis interim, dum vixisset, piis communicaverit'. He has not a copy yet ; he only saw one, lent by a Frankfort friend. Amongst the books he quotes, there are some nice ones : namely, a Commentary in iv Evangelia & Acta Apostolorum by Conrad Pellicanus <sup>3)</sup> ; Eobanus Hessus' *Lucubrationes* in Psalterion ; Zasius' <sup>4)</sup> Commentaries on law. — In politioribus literis : *Rhetorica* Ludo-

<sup>1)</sup> DE, 349 : Fbm, 6, 13.

<sup>2)</sup> DE, 350 : Fbm, 6, 11 ; cp. Hipler, 539-41.

<sup>3)</sup> Cp. FG, 402.

<sup>4)</sup> Cp. FG, 448-49.

vici Vivis <sup>1)</sup> ; Enarrationes of various authors in Cicero and Livius. — He is sending : Carmen Eobani, Excusatio Principum et Statuum Imperii Evangelicorum, quare Synodum a Summo Pontifice indictam recusarint, — as present. If you, Dantiscus, want any of the other works, let me know'. St. Jerome and St. Ambrose are being reprinted by Froben, and will be much 'emendatiores'.

On June 1, 1537, John van Campen wrote from Rome to Dantiscus <sup>2)</sup> : I answered your letter by a canonicus Warmiensis <sup>3)</sup>, and avail myself of another occasion. I am kept in Rome by the 'infausta illa pensio', as otherwise I would have been off, 'ut non cogerer videre et audire quæ video et audio'. For example : 'illi Verpio furioso Aleandro Mottensi commissa sunt negotia Germaniæ, hoc nomine bis infelicis <sup>4)</sup> ! Hic jactat se habere librum secretorum Germaniæ, et tantum non magnus Germaniæ Cancellarius haberi vult ; hic quatuor habet per Germaniam evangelistas <sup>5)</sup>, quibus tanquam columnis nititur : Fabrum <sup>6)</sup>, Eccium <sup>7)</sup>, Cochleum <sup>8)</sup>, et nuper

<sup>1)</sup> Cp. FG, 443. — No doubt the *Rhetoricæ, sive de recte dicendi Ratione Libri tres*, printed in Louvain, pridie iduum septembris, 1533. It was reprinted in Paris in 1536, and in March 1537 at Basle by 'Balthasarem Lasium & Thomam Platterum' : probably that edition is meant here, although in 1537, it was also reissued by Robert Winter, in Basle, by B. Lasius, also in Basle, and by J. Gymnicus, in Cologne : Bonilla, 787.

<sup>2)</sup> DE, 351 : Fbm, 6, 12 ; it reached J. Dantiscus already on August 14. Cp. Hipler, 541-42.

<sup>3)</sup> Evidently the John Rumpoldus, Frauenburg canon, mentioned in the last lines of DE, 348.

<sup>4)</sup> Cp. before, p 116 ; also DE, 298 and 325, pp 232-33, 268, and the note on the latter place.

<sup>5)</sup> The four apologists of Catholicity are named here since Campensis did not approve at all of their chief method of defending faith, namely, debate.

<sup>6)</sup> John Heigerlin Faber, of Leutkirch (1478-1541), became Ferdinand of Austria's councillor and confessor ; he was Bishop of Vienna from 1530 ; in July 1530, Charles V appointed him with Eck and Cochläus to examine the Protestant Confession proposed at Augsburg : *PastReun.*, 41, 144, 189, &c ; *CDE*, 40, 78, 181, 642 ; *FG*, 349-50, &c.

<sup>7)</sup> John Maier von Eck (1486-1543) was professor of Ingolstadt, and proved excellent in his controversies ; it made him the bitterest opponent of Reformation : *PastReun.*, 41, 45-50, 109, 192, &c ; *FG*, 340 ; *CDE*, 4, 51, 52, 56, 93, &c.

<sup>8)</sup> Cochläus, John (1479-1552) : cp. before, pp 238-39 ; *PastReun.*, 30, 41, 191-92, &c.

exortum Nauseam <sup>1)</sup>), homines, quos certe scio malle tres novos Lutheros existere, quam unum hunc resipiscere ! Quod quare scribam, tu, qui ingenia singulorum probe nosti, non ignoras. Edita est hic Romæ diebus superioribus epistola Fabri *de Utilitate Concilii*, plane fabro ferrario digna ; si nancisci potuero, mittam. Interim huiusmodi hic placent, idque consilio Verpii <sup>2)</sup>). Ego misere hinc abire cupio : metuo tamen, ne me rei indignitas cogat semel libere dicere quæ sentio. Philippus [Melanchthon] videtur valde tractabilis, et ratio revocandi non solum illum, sed et Martinum ipsum certissima inveniri posset, idque cum gratia, verum per alios quam quos hic Romæ video, ubi est tanta Literarum Sacrarum inscitia, et tantum veteris inscitiae patrociniū, ut nusquam fuerit unquam maius ! Si isthic apud te essem, nec Papa, nec Cardinales me Romam pertraherent'. I am greeting all the friends.

J. Dantisco, Ep. Culm., Coadjutori Warm.

In the early hours of July 1, 1537, Maurice Ferber, who had been suffering from illness since years <sup>3)</sup>, and had had an attack in March 1535, was once more overtaken by an apoplectic stroke, for which Copernic's help was requested : unfortunately he died that same day : it made Dantiscus' provisional nomination as Bishop of Ermland, real and effective <sup>4)</sup>.

The letter of Diego de Alderete, of March 9, 1537 <sup>5)</sup>, reached Dantiscus only in the beginning of October, so that no approval could be given for the marriage, which had become necessary on account of the arrival of the Court at Valladolid <sup>6)</sup>. Encouraged by his friends and patrons, the young man married Juana on June 30, 1537, in the presence of the imperial officials Granvelle and Covos, as well as of the Bishop of Palencia, Dr Guevara, and the feast was even celebrated at the house of the Fuggers. By a letter in three copies, Gracian related the event to Dantiscus <sup>7)</sup>, to whom also wrote Doña Juana de Curijs Dantisca' <sup>8)</sup>,

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<sup>1)</sup> Frederic Grau, Nausea, of Weissenfeld, Bishop of Vienna (1541-52); about 1531 he was requested by Cardinal Albert of Brandenburg for a judgment on sacerdotal marriage and monastic vows : *PastReun.*, 143, sq, 160, 235, &c ; FG, 396 ; CDE, 40, 41, 77, 97-99, 185, &c.

<sup>2)</sup> Cp. *pr* of DE, 348, p 289.

<sup>3)</sup> Cp. Prowe, I, ii, 295, sq.

<sup>4)</sup> Cp. Prowe, I, ii, 299-300.

<sup>5)</sup> Cp. before, p 287. Dantiscus had written to Ulric Ehinger what he wished about Juana : unfortunately he died meanwhile : cp. further, DE, 363 and 364 : pp 298, 299.

<sup>6)</sup> Gachard, 137-39.

<sup>7)</sup> DE, 353 : Fbm, 131, 33 ; DE, 383 : Upm, 154, 165-70.

<sup>8)</sup> On July 7, 1537 : DE, 356 : Fbm, 68, 162.

as well as some of their intimate friends <sup>1)</sup>. Unfortunately the announcement of both events reached Dantiscus only on October 7, which greatly displeased him, especially since some correspondents mentioned Diego's skin disease. Still, as the prudent de Weze and the affectionate de Schepper and many more, praised the marriage <sup>2)</sup>, he finally accepted things as they had happened, but he withheld all bounty. Afterwards, many a friend, like Antonio de Taxis in May 1538, praised the fine wedding to him <sup>3)</sup>, and the young couple could even announce the marriage of the 'socrus' at Salamanca <sup>4)</sup>. As late as June 12, 1546 <sup>5)</sup>, de Schepper mentioned that on his return from England, he met at Antwerp the Lord of Courrieres <sup>6)</sup>, the Marshal Ciliij <sup>7)</sup> and Henry Stercke <sup>8)</sup>, who, with some courtiers, had returned from Spain, and blamed Dantiscus for not acknowledging most heartily his daughter, as well as her husband, who had splendidly behaved towards her. Unfortunately all further documents are missing about the father's kind forgiveness of his children, whose progeny was as prosperous and honourable as it was numerous <sup>9)</sup>.

Claud Liedel, Chansonnette, CANTIUNCULA, born about 1488 at Metz, studied in Louvain from October 1512, especially under Conrad Vegetius <sup>10)</sup>, and had as friends Dorp and Vives <sup>11)</sup>. He applied himself to jurisprudence, and made a special study of the *Topicorum seu de Locis Legalibus Liber*, of Nicolas Everts, Everardi, — who, on 1509, had become President of the Council of Holland, Zeeland and Friesland, — and who offered a rich and cleverly treated casuistry <sup>12)</sup>. By 1517, he moved to Basle, where he was professor of laws from 1518, and where he edited in 1519-20, his *Topica Legalia*, and, in 1522, his *Parænesis de Ratione Studii Legalis* <sup>13)</sup>, in which he applied dialectics and a logical interpretation to numerous examples of practical jurisprudence as

<sup>1)</sup> DE, 332, 354-56, 358-60 : Fbm, 131, 13-20, 23-26 ; Knm, 230, 263.

<sup>2)</sup> DE, 362, 363, 364 : Ccm, 55, 357-61 ; Upm, 154, 153 ; Knm, 230, 15-16.

<sup>3)</sup> Valladolid, May 26, 1538 : DE, 385 : Ccm, 1596, 489 ; cp. also DE, 394 : Upm, 155, 1-2 : John de Weze.

<sup>4)</sup> They call her : Ysabel de Ezmozylia : DE, 389 : Upm, 155, 182 & 190.

<sup>5)</sup> DE, 471 : Upm, 155, 119-37.

<sup>6)</sup> He was the first cup-bearer in the lists of Charles V's Court, 1517-1522 : Gachard, 504, a, 512, a.

<sup>7)</sup> He is mentioned amongst the pantlers in the same lists : Gachard, 504, a, 512, b.

<sup>8)</sup> Henry Stercke, Sterque, is referred to in those lists as quartermaster : Gachard, 508, a, 515, b.

<sup>9)</sup> Cp. further, DE, 470, pr.

<sup>10)</sup> Cp. *Cran.*, 12, a-d, 225, a-b ; he died in the Sacco of Rome : *Busl.*, 172, 426 ; Cantioncula had wished to publish his writings.

<sup>11)</sup> Cp. *MonHL*, 55 ; *RhenE*, 169.

<sup>12)</sup> *Cran.*, 123, a-e ; Stintzing, 1, 118, 121, sq.

<sup>13)</sup> It was reprinted in Cologne as late as 1571 : Stintzing, 1, 527, 306.

taught by Everardi; it was an advance, from which Zasius expected many most valuable results <sup>1)</sup>. The change of religion in Basle made him leave the University, where Boniface Amerbach succeeded him in 1523. He visited Paris, took a letter of Francis I to Erasmus in 1523, and became councillor at Metz; then, in 1525, chancellor to the Cardinal-Bishop John of Lorraine. By 1528, Erasmus praised him in his *Ciceronianus* for his masterly Latin <sup>2)</sup>, in which he wrote popular tracts, besides French translations of some of Erasmus' writings, and parts of More's *Utopia* in German. By 1532, he became Imperial official, and he even was Austrian chancellor at Ensisheim from October 1540; he died there in December 1549. Cp. CantE, 6, sq; *Excerpts*, 97; Opmeer, I, 479, b; Stintzing, I, 244-49, 59, 100, 120, 145, 159, 210, &c; *Cran.*, 225, b; *MonHL*, 54-57; Allen, III, 852, 80; *HTL*, II, 361, 374, 495, 609-10, III, 66, 83, 141, 368, 550, 596, IV, 514; FG, 318-19; Muther, 279, 313, 319; *UniMarb.*, 19, 44.

On July 10, 1537, Claud Cantiuncula wrote to Dantiscus from Cracow <sup>3)</sup>: S. Quod tibi & populo Christiano tibi credito, felix faustumque sit, R<sup>me</sup> Præsul, auctæ dignitatis tuæ nuncium, ut perlibenter audiuj, sic fortunæ secundæ cursum perpetuum tibi gratulor vehementer. Desino mirarj quibus artibus hoc Regnum eo maiestatis ac splendoris conscenderit: neque enim aliunde (post Deum) id quicquid esse potest felicitatis, existit, nisi, quod & in sceleratos graviter animadvertitur: & suus est virtuti honos. Talia honoraria, sed & multo maiora, heroicæ istæ virtutes tuæ dudum promerentur. Verum de tuis laudibus alias: neque enim vel meis vel aliorum calculis viritim corrogatis eges, cui pridem theatrum plaudit vniuersum. Quum, quod dixi, nunc primum rescuisssem, ab abituriente tabellario impetrauj, ut has ad te scribere liceret, grati ac memoris animi erga te mej testes. Etenim tum in Hispania, tum in Brabantia sic de me meritus es, vti ceu obseruando Patrono, clientis obsequia præstare me ad[vertar]. Itaque si quid porro erit, in quo dignitati tuæ R<sup>mæ</sup> subseruire queam, illo suo iure vtatur. Ser<sup>mj</sup> atque Augustissimj R<sup>j</sup> &c. Regis, Domini nostri clementissimj iussu ac mandato sumus hic, quidam ex proceribus Bohemiæ et ego, ad Serenissimum Poloniæ &c. Regem Oratores, conciliandæ pacis ergo, inter huius Regiam Maiestatem et Vaiuodam Walachia Moldauium. Faxit Deus ut simus exoratores. Valeat Excellentia

<sup>1)</sup> Cp. Stintzing, I, 243-250, 251, 294, 526-27.

<sup>2)</sup> Cp. before, p 84.

<sup>3)</sup> DE, 357: Fbm, 4, 126: it reached Dantiscus on July 16.

Vestra Dignissima. Cracouiæ, perceleriter, die x. julij Anno m. d. xxxvii. R<sup>me</sup> D. V. Propensissimus Cl. Cantuuncula, d. R. Ro. Consiliarius.

On August 9, Nicolas Copernicus wrote to Dantiscus from Frauenburg <sup>1)</sup> : Opportunitas nuntii R. D. V<sup>rae</sup> mihi oblata admonuit me, ut etiam mearum aliquid litterarum ad R. D. V<sup>ram</sup> darem. Accepi his diebus ex Vratislavia novitates quas mitto R. D. V<sup>rae</sup>, etsi verear iam antiquas esse apud eandem Dominationem Vestram, eo quod literæ datæ fuerint xxvii Junii. Priuatim vero scribitur mihi, litteras venisse ex Curia Regiæ Majestatis Ferdinandi, hæc continentes quod Rex Persarum, instinctu Cæsaris, Pape et Regis Lusitanie, magnis auxiliis Turkam infestat ut relictæ Italia cum expeditione retrocedere cogatur. Inter Regem Galliæ et Cæsarem pacem firmam aiunt, data relictæ ducis Mediolani cum ipso ducatu filio regis Gallorum. Nostri, id est, regis Ferdinandi, apud Cassouiam rem bene gerunt, eo capto qui per prodicionem Cassouiam ceperat, multis ex hostibus trucidatis : capta etiam arce munitissima, unde omnis Cassouiæ calamitas orta est. Boemi et Moraui iam sunt in itinere ; similiter Slesite passim vadunt in Vngariam, qui forsân, dante Deo, Cassouiam et alia recuperabunt : dicunt etiam apud nos quod Weyda <sup>2)</sup> petit concordiam certis conditionibus propositis : que an acceptabuntur ignoramus adhuc. Et hæc in litteris, quæ sicut accepi trado R. D. V<sup>rae</sup>. Cui servitia mea ac me ipsum deuoeo. Ex Frauenburg, ix Augusti 1537.

E. R. D. V<sup>re</sup> devotissimus Nicolaus Copernicus.

On September 2, 1537, Joannes de Weze, Archbp-elect of Lund, wrote to Dantiscus from Kremnitz <sup>3)</sup>, that he had recently recommended to him a young man, who eagerly wanted to marry his daughter in Spain ; he now hears that the marriage is concluded, and consummated. He advises his friend to help and promote the young man, who is praised by whoever knows him. — ‘I have received, he writes, some letters addressed to you, Dantiscus, but I had no messenger

<sup>1)</sup> DE, 361 : Ccm, 55, 197-98 ; Prowe, II, 159-60.

<sup>2)</sup> Count John Weyda, Weida, Vaivode of Moldavia : cp. before, p 102.

<sup>3)</sup> DE, 362 : Knm, 230, 15-16 : it reached Dantiscus along with the rest of the documents about Juana's marriage, on October 7.

to send them on. I have entrusted them now to a 'nuntius Vratislaviensis'; amongst them is one of the young bridegroom : please, I pray, encourage him, since he is your daughter's husband, and since I have been requested to recommend him'. — He adds news from Transylvania and Hungary.

On September 4, 1537, Justus Ludovicus Decius writes from Cracow to Dantiscus <sup>1)</sup>, sending him a letter, as well as a golden cup, *scyphus*, offered to him by Otto Prince Palatine, which had been forwarded by the Polish ambassador in Vienna, Nicolas Niptzytch. From his letter of May 26, 1536, it appears that Decius was in correspondence with the Prince <sup>2)</sup>.

Fabian Dameraw (Domeraw) Wojanowski was, in Spain, one of the officials in Dantiscus' service, — as results from the letter of May 9, 1526, in which de Weze refers to him for the sending of his letters <sup>3)</sup>. To him Dantiscus also confided on August 20, 1527, the news of the birth of Juana <sup>4)</sup>. He was appointed his successor, and, on September 16, 1535, de Schepper mentions him as being possibly at Tunis, and implies that he had been entrusted with the care of his friend's child, whom he himself would gladly take up in his own family <sup>5)</sup>. — When Juana's marriage was concluded, Dameraw was one of those who announced the event to Dantiscus <sup>6)</sup>. The latter wrote to him on November 16, 1537 <sup>7)</sup>, implying that it was to his care that the girl had been entrusted, and he wanted to hear of him how everything had occurred. Fabian consequently explained the decision that Alderete had taken; he was again requested for information by Dantiscus afterwards, as results from the letter of March 10, 1538, asking help to reach a satisfactory solution <sup>8)</sup>. Parts of the correspondence relative to Dantisca and to the affairs of the embassy of Dameraw are preserved in *CatCzart.*, I, 39-40 (letters of 1526-28, and of 1532) II, 181-82, 253-54, 256, 275 (letters to Dantiscus, 1530, and about the child, 1537-38).

On September 11, 1537, Fabian Dameraw writes from Pont-a-Mousson, N. of Nancy, to Dantiscus <sup>9)</sup> : having come from Genua, on July 28, he heard that Cornelius de Schepper

<sup>1)</sup> DE, 362<sup>bis</sup> : Fbm, 6, 28 : it reached Dantiscus on September 14, and he replied on September 28 : DE, 364<sup>bis</sup>. <sup>2)</sup> DE, 326 : pp 269-70.

<sup>3)</sup> DE, 21, p 25. <sup>4)</sup> *CatCzart.*, II, 181, 182. <sup>5)</sup> DE, 310 : pp 247, sq.

<sup>6)</sup> September 11, 1537 and November 9, 1537 : this letter, DE, 363, and DE, 366. <sup>7)</sup> DE, 372, p 299. <sup>8)</sup> DE, 378, p 305.

<sup>9)</sup> DE, 363 : Upm, 154, 153-54 ; it reached Dantiscus on Febr. 22, 1538.



was in France to negotiate peace, and was consequently coming and going between the Emperor and Francis I. He sends news from Germany, Italy and France. He announces that Ulric Ehinger died at Valladolid <sup>1)</sup>; also that 'Johanna, filia dominæ Isabellæ Delgade [became] desponsata Dno. Graciano in Valladolid' with great pomp; she is being educated at Medina, as she is still very young <sup>2)</sup>; much good is said of the husband, who is of the Covos' 'familia'. — Fabian also sends news about the proposed marriage of Mary of England and the Prince of Portugal; also about the Prince of Orange. — As postscript he adds that John Hagiensis died <sup>3)</sup>, and that Cornelius wrote the life of Doctor Brunello, 'versu heroico, quod sine risu nemo legit'.

In reply to Justus Decius' letter of September 4, accompanying and announcing a golden cup, *scyphus*, offered by Otto of Prussia, Prince Palatine, to Dantiscus, despatched from Cracow <sup>4)</sup>, the Bishop of Culm acknowledged, on September 28, 1537, the receipt of that present, as well as of both his letter and that of Prince Otto <sup>5)</sup>. He added some news about Denmark, where the King is crowned 'così cosa', and about his own nomination in expectancy to the diocese of Ermland.

On September 28, 1537, Dantiscus wrote from 'Castrum Lubaviense' to John de Weze <sup>6)</sup>: R<sup>me</sup> D<sup>ne</sup> Dr, amice charissime, excuse my delay in answering your letter from Prague of May 2; I have received your letter from Spain, 'de Hispana Isipe', also, 'crebrius ab eo qui filiam eius ambit'. I told

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<sup>1)</sup> Ulric Ehinger seems to have been one of the several agents, probably of the Welser concern, in Spain; there were also his brothers or his relatives George and Jeromè. Their name is that of the town Ehingen near the Donau in Württemberg. Ulric's widow is further mentioned as having returned to Germany on November 9, 1537: DE, 366; de Schepper announced Ulric's decease on December 21, 1537: DE, 374.

<sup>2)</sup> Juana: cp. pp 285, sq, 293, sq.

<sup>3)</sup> Janus Secundus died at St. Amand's Abbey on September 24, 1536, after an illness of four days: Crane, 25.

<sup>4)</sup> DE, 362<sup>bis</sup>: Fbm, 6, 28: it reached Dantiscus on September 14; cp. before, p 270.

<sup>5)</sup> DE, 364<sup>bis</sup>: Ccm, 55, 367-69.

<sup>6)</sup> DE, 364: Ccm, 55, 357-61: this is a copy; there is another in Olm, 151, 160-61, but without name of addressee.

Ulric Ehinger what I wanted, but I have no reply as yet. — ‘Ille procus inanis, gloriosulus, eruditionis ostentator (ut ex Alberti <sup>1)</sup> literis intellexi) multa petit : totus Gallica scabie, a qua vix unquam fuit, vel erit, immunis, obsitus et possessus ! Pro jure sanguinis nihil ut certo opinor. Si inter os et offam, quid non iis rebus volet incideret ? Archiepiscopus Lundensis will understand himself’. — News from the Turk and from Albert of Prussia. — He had inquired a few months ago ‘quidnam Cornelius Scepperus agat, communis noster amicus, ad quem tum et literas dederam et item alias, aliis viis : scire nequeo, neque conjectura assequi ubinam gentium vivat, aut si vivat. Si quid de illo certi habes, ut me participem facias, impense oro. — Velim et Valdesii epitaphium esse appensum, quandoquidem pro loco in ecclesia dati sunt ecclesiæ præfectis — inauditum prius et detestandum ! — quinque vel septem, si recte memini, floreni Renenses ! Si tantum accipitur ab iis qui ornant, quid ab iis qui cadaveribus fœdant ecclesiam ! Recens inquam et novum et prodigiosum, quod et tabello parietes decorantes sine pretio non admittantur ! — As to your wish to see me again, I myself want to meet you (adding a declaration of faithful affection). I wish the equal fortune to you which I myself have now, since I have come to the ‘Varmiensem Ecclesiam’, and I hope that you will soon be Bishop either in Germany or in Spain.

On November 9, 1537, Fabianus Dameraw, Dantiscus’ successor as Polish Orator, writes, from Pont-a-Mousson to Dantiscus <sup>2)</sup>, sending news from Spain and Italy, and mentioning that he has received a letter from Gracian and D<sup>na</sup> Isabella Delgada, about the ‘puella indotata’, which he communicates. He refers to the peace concluded between France and the Emperor ; Granvelle is said to be probably Covos’ successor ; Ulric Ehinger’s widow returned to Germany <sup>3)</sup>.

<sup>1)</sup> No doubt the agent of the Welsers, Albert Cuon, or Chon, referred to in some letters of Dantiscus : in DE, 266 (p 191), 278 (p 201), 345, here and 470 ; — also in one preserved in the Frauenburg Archives : D, 67 : 68, of May 19, 1531, from Alb. Cuon to Isabella Delgada.

<sup>2)</sup> DE, 366 : Upm, 154, 155-56.

<sup>3)</sup> On November 16, 1537, Dantiscus thanks for this letter and the news, and tells Dameraw : I wish to be made certain how Juana ‘quæ tuæ paternæ curæ [even as Polish girl] incumbit’, can do so, ‘et quomodo omnia se habent in Hispanijs : DE, 372 : Ccm, 1596, 459.

On November 16, 1537, Dantiscus replies to John de Weze from Löbau <sup>1)</sup> : to the missive sent from Prague on May 2, he answered on September 28 ; he afterwards received the letter of September 2 from Kremnitz <sup>2)</sup>, to which were added those of James Gracian and Isipe and of some friends. Yours, he writes, was the most pleasing ; the others were not quite to my wish : I am writing back to them 'in adiuncto fasciculo', which I request you to send to Spain : 'quum facta nequeunt esse infecta, non gravate admitto quod mutare non licet. Post contractum matrimonium sic me geram quod commendatitiæ D. V. R. magni momenti et ponderis apud me cognoscentur'.

He adds news from England where 'the excellent good king' has become a cruel tyrant, who kills as martyrs even those who refuse to approve of his spoliation of the convents, &c. It seems that 'regina gravida est ; quod si masculus non fuerit, misera illa, et a conjugio et ex vita fortassis excussura ! Hoccine foedus conjugii ! He is a Caracalla, cui plus licet quam oportet, plus vult quam licet ! Quis tamen huius tragedie futurus sit exitus, si, ex præteritis, instantia et subsequencia metienda sunt ? non potest esse nisi pro Dei equitate qua dispensat omnia, miserabilis et omnibus in exemplum formidabile posteris <sup>3)</sup>. — Here all is peaceful : cum vicinis nostris in religione utcunque pro tempore ratione dissimulamus, et illorum insanias commiserando toleramus'. There is a want of news of the General Council ; quid de Cornelio nostro Sceppero ? quibus modis vivat ? an vescitur aura ætherea ? vel ubi gentium agat ? ut me certiore reddas impense oro' : I keep in my Varmiensis Ecclesia, and will soon be consecrated. I wish you, too, might soon be nominated !

On December 19, 1537, 'Chodschalculus Erycius Saxokarlus' announces from Brussels to Dantiscus <sup>4)</sup> that he is poorly. Still thanks to the *Preces Regales*, he has been provided with a prebend in Mayence ; unfortunately there are difficulties in

<sup>1)</sup> DE, 371 : Ccm, 55, 451-53 ; this is only a copy ; there is another in Olm, 151, 169-70.

<sup>2)</sup> Cp. p. 296.

<sup>3)</sup> His damnable example was actually and amply followed by those who ruled England during Prince Edward's minority ! Princess Mary was as the first to suffer from them : Stone, 187, sq.

<sup>4)</sup> DE, 373 : Upm, 154, 157 ; it reached Dantiscus on February 22, 1538.

the payment : yet happily he is cordially helped by de Schep-  
per. Meanwhile John de Weze has been appointed Abbot of  
Waldsassen, thanks to Duke Frederic the Palatine.

To the Abbey of Waldsassen was added that of Reichenau, as well as the bishopric of the neighbouring Constance, 1537, and several smaller preferments, which fully rewarded John de Weze for his many and precious services. From that period on, he directed more his attention to the newly acquired functions and benefices. In 1538, he engaged into his service the erudite orientalist Andrew Masius <sup>1)</sup>, who — as already mentioned <sup>2)</sup>, — took care of the son of his sister, Henry Rudolph up ten Haitzhovel, whom John adopted, and whose education he assumed. It thus happened that Masius attended and aided Henry de Weze's studies in Louvain from 1540, and in Bologna from 1542, where he became *Doctor Vtriusque Juris* in 1546, as well as *frater Masii*, as is explained at large in the correspondence with Stephen Pighius <sup>3)</sup>.

In the last twenties, there was in Germany the travelling agent Melchior Ranzau, or Rantzau, son of Henry, commander of the stronghold of Steinburg. He had made the acquaintance of de Schepper by February 22, 1527 <sup>4)</sup>, and accompanied him as far as Leipzig on his journey to Poland in May 1528 <sup>5)</sup>; on July 22, 1530, he congratulated Dantiscus on his appointment as Bishop, and asked him for some monetary assistance <sup>6)</sup>, as he did de Schepper, their friend Schad <sup>7)</sup> and others. When Christopher von Oldenburg became master of Zealand in 1534, he entered his service, and became his councillor and ambassador, representing him in Gelderland, and, later on, even in Brussels <sup>8)</sup>. During the *Grevefeiden*, he must have built up his fortune, in so far that when he died at Pavia, as is announced in this letter <sup>9)</sup>, he was found in possession of a large amount of money. — He appears to have been an elder brother of John Ranzau, who left his family in 1505, and became a most able army leader in Christian III's service, for whom he conquered the various parts of Denmark, getting the mastery of Zealand, vanquishing Oldenburg's estates up to Copenhagen on July 29, 1536 <sup>10)</sup>.

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<sup>1)</sup> Cp. before, p 221.

<sup>2)</sup> Cp. pp 25, 180, 221.

<sup>3)</sup> Cp. PighE, 8-14, 335-36, 344-45, &c.      <sup>4)</sup> Cp. before, p 27 : DE, 27.

<sup>5)</sup> Cp. DE, 53 : p 34.

<sup>6)</sup> DE, 93 : p 58.

<sup>7)</sup> Cp. the following letter, DE, 374 : p 302.

<sup>8)</sup> Cp. AltRel., 324-26, 330, 391, 408 ; OlaE, 400.

<sup>9)</sup> Cp. before, pp 202, 227-28.

<sup>10)</sup> Cp. before, pp 153-54, 228 ; AltRel., 324-26, 474 ; DanHist., 1, 311-14.

On December 21, 1537, Cornelius de Schepper sends a letter to Dantiscus from Brussels <sup>1)</sup>: I am sorry, he writes, that the packet of letters which I sent you through Pomponius Occo, who meantime has died, has not arrived. — I myself am going to Charles the Emperor, who is thinking seriously of making an agreement, either at Perpignan or Narbonne, and wishes me to be present. Along with me is going there the Marquis, now the Duke, of Aarschot, with a jurispudent of our Council. I hope for a good result, as both princes seem serious in their desire of peace. News from Gelderland. — I am not congratulating you for the ‘Coadjutoriam Varmiensem’, as you are fully worth all that. I am *contentus* with my ‘sors, habens plus, per Dei benignitatem quam possum assumere. Petrus tuus <sup>2)</sup> apud a Granvella est, sacerdotiis pro necessitate habunde provisus.

The Archbishop-elect of Lund got great authority in Hungary, Germany and Austria, and has now received an ‘*insignis Abbatia*’ from Frederic the Palatine <sup>3)</sup>, a ‘*pensio et salarium sesquialtero maius quam tuum fuit olim*’ from the Emperor; he moreover has his title of Bishop, and a ‘congeries’ of small ‘*sacerdotia : quæ et ipsa sunt pro conservatione rei familiaris et domesticæ, in qua olim et tu versatus, et scis quid velim*’ &c. Godschalc has no reason to complain; but Melchior noster Papie obiit mortem <sup>4)</sup>, dives et locuples, et non paucæ pecuniæ dominus : quam omnes amicos vsque ad extremum celavit, miram paupertatem pre se ferens’. From their exiguity Schad <sup>5)</sup> and others often helped him, whereas, at his death, he was found to be far richer than any of them : Deus det illi requiem ! — Unde

<sup>1)</sup> DE, 374 : Fbm, 6, 25-26 ; it reached Dantiscus on February 22, 1538.

<sup>2)</sup> This is the Peter de Montereale, who, on March 10, 1538, writes to Dantiscus from Barcelona to congratulate him on his new appointment, and adds the felicitations of Antony de Granvelle ; cp. DE, 303, 378, *pr* : p 304.

<sup>3)</sup> Viz., the Abbey of Waldsassen : cp. before, p 301 ; to it was added that of Reichenau : HTL, III, 283, 286.

<sup>4)</sup> For the ‘Melchior noster’, see *pr*.

<sup>5)</sup> Probably John Matthew Schad, provost of Constance — from whom there is a letter of November 19, 1525, from Padua where he then was at study, to Erasmus : Allen, VI, 1648 ; FG, 417.

hauserit, nescimus! Putant ex Danica expeditione, quæ fuit sub Christophoro Oldenburgensi Comite, locupletem factum. Rei iudicium penes alios esto! — Eodem fato obiit et Ehingerus in Hispanijs, apud vsurarios graciosus <sup>1)</sup>, et idem multorum nummorum possessor, qui febrem hero avertere non potuerunt. Reliquit vxorem et filiam. Memoria autem transijt cum sonitu. — I hope to be back in two or three months. — Trigamus rex Insulæ aspirat ad quartas nuptias, ambitque non contemnendam sortem &c <sup>2)</sup>. — If you want anything to be done, there are many friends ready to help you: 'Est Wolfgangus Haller, cui ex sorte vxoria ingentes fortunæ advenerunt <sup>3)</sup>. Est Lazarus Tucher <sup>4)</sup>; sunt alij, et ego imprimis. — Soror vxoris meæ Joanna <sup>5)</sup>, virum habet nostratem, bona ætate, viribus integris, fortuna mediocri; juncta et vicina sunt omnia: patria, amici, hereditas fundj, vtriusque: jn summa optime vtrique consultum est. Ego me R<sup>e</sup> D. T. ex animo commendo: idem faciunt et vxor et soror et Dnus Nicolaus Olahus, qui exilium hoc agit et patitur patienter <sup>6)</sup>, vir literis et Dei timore apprime instructus. Godschalkus abiit in Germaniam: brevi rediturus, sed non ante meum in Hispanias abitionem.

Coadjutori Varm.

## ERMLAND 1538

John Dantiscus — who in 1533 had been ordained, and to whom Bishop Tomicki had given the episcopal consecration, was appointed by the end of December 1537 as successor, on the see of Ermland, of Maurice Ferber: he had died on July 1, 1537, waited upon by Copernicus, who, in the first weeks, also attended to his successor, and even accompanied him from the beginning of 1538, on his various visits in his new diocese. Dantiscus at once started practical Catholic

<sup>1)</sup> Ulric Ehinger; cp. DE, 363; before, p 298.

<sup>2)</sup> No less a person than Princess Christina of Denmark: cp. bef. p 237.

<sup>3)</sup> Cp. further, DE, 424, for this head of Charles V's finances.

<sup>4)</sup> A member of the famous family of Nuremberg merchants established at Antwerp († 1563): cp. *SweMon.*, 159; *AntoAnn.*, II, 386; *AntwHist.*, IV, 653; *FugZAlt.*, I & II, passim; *HTL*, II, 368.

<sup>5)</sup> Cp. before, DE, 137, p 86. <sup>6)</sup> Cp. before, p 169, and *OlaE*, 313, 345.

Reform, and that with such clever, self-sacrificing devotion and determination that the district has remained staunchly orthodox ever since, thanks in a large extent to the organizing, and efficient education and instruction of a clergy at the level of its high task <sup>1)</sup>).

Judging from the various references to 'Peter Mirabilis', it seems that, at a time, he was one of Dantiscus' secretaries in Spain. He may have been originary from Montroy, a place 28 km. S. W. of Valencia, near the Real de Montroy, which would explain his name 'de Monte Regali'. Most probably he remained in the Bishop's service until he left for his diocese, as Campensis would not have known him otherwise <sup>2)</sup>). He most probably entered the *familia* of Dantiscus' successor Dameraw Wojanowski. On June 3, 1535, Adolph de Schornaco mentions from Rome that he has received news about him from Barcelona, where he was preparing to follow the Emperor on his naval expedition <sup>3)</sup>). In May 1536, Campensis met him in Rome <sup>4)</sup>), and mentions him once more on April 6, 1537 : nostrum Mirabilem hic vidi sanum et barbaricis exuviis indutum <sup>5)</sup>). From Brussels, de Schepper announced on December 21, 1537 : Petrus tuus apud Granvella est, sacerdotiis pro necessitate habunde provisus <sup>6)</sup> ; whereas he himself wrote, on March 10, 1538, this letter as a canon of Besançon, to congratulate Dantiscus for his new diocese <sup>7)</sup>). A few months later, on November 28, 1538, Granvelle announced that he had joined himself by a new link to Dantiscus by taking Peter amongst his followers <sup>8)</sup>). On August 1, 1539, another old friend, Mariangelus Accursius, writing from Rome to Dantiscus, mentioned the pleasure his brother Bernard and he once had in Rome meeting Peter on a mule, which made him almost look like a 'Maronita de Monte Libano' <sup>9)</sup>).

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<sup>1)</sup> *HLL*, III, 19. — Cp. Gough, 270, *a*, explaining Dantiscus as : bp of Vermein : 2 *Cran.*, 401 ; letter to Cranmer condemning the conduct of Henry VIII., *ib.*, 402, 403.

<sup>2)</sup> On February 23, 1534, Campensis wrote to Dantiscus that he had opened a parcel addressed to the Bishop, looking for some letter to himself : he found there a missive of Peter Mirabilis to his former master : cp. before, p 198 : DE, 275 : Fbm, 3, 82. — For August 21, 1534 'Petrus de Monte Regali' is mentioned in the register D 4 of the Frauenburg Archives, p 24.

<sup>3)</sup> DE, 303 : Fbm, 5, 117 : cp. before, p 243 : he sends to Dantiscus the numbers and names of ships, besides details about those who accompany Charles V to Africa. <sup>4)</sup> DE, 325 : Fbm, 3, 118 ; cp. p 269.

<sup>5)</sup> DE, 348 : Fbm, 6, 8 : it reached Dantiscus on July 17 : cp. p 290.

<sup>6)</sup> DE, 374 : Fbm, 6, 25 : delivered on February 22, 1538 : cp. p 302.

<sup>7)</sup> DE, 378 : Upm, 154, 159 : delivered on May 22, 1538 : cp. p 305.

<sup>8)</sup> DE, 391 : Upm, 154, 189 : delivered on March 21, 1539.

<sup>9)</sup> DE, 400 : Upm, 155, 11 : delivered on November 13, 1539.

On March 10, 1538, Peter de Montereale <sup>1)</sup> writes from Barcelona to Dantiscus <sup>2)</sup>, announcing that he is a canon of Besançon. He wishes his letter to be joined to that of Fabian Dameraw, Dantiscus' successor as Polish Orator; and expresses his pleasure at hearing that his former master is promoted to another diocese. He offers congratulations, asks to be recommended to Nic. de Granvelle, and wishes to greet his brothers Bernard and George, as well as the *familiares* like Philip, and all the others. He especially wants to be grateful to his old master.

William GNAPHEUS (Claesz. van de Voldersgracht, de Volder, Fullonis), born at The Hague, was of the *familia* of Thomas of Dordrecht, when he matriculated in Cologne on May 26, 1512 <sup>3)</sup>. He became a priest, and rector of the school of The Hague; on July 15, 1523, he was taken into custody for Lutheranism, but was liberated in October 1523, remaining under caution until April 23, 1525 <sup>4)</sup>. By 1529, he published his famous *Acolastus* <sup>5)</sup>, no doubt in imitation of Macropedius' *Asotus*, 1507; it was often reprinted, and so were his class books. By 1528, he saw himself obliged to leave the country, and was appointed master of the school of Elbing, where he became a friend of Albert of Brandenburg. He had *Acolastus* played there in 1536, before Dantiscus and a numerous meeting <sup>6)</sup>. He there also wrote comedies, like *Eloquentiæ Triumphus*, 1539 <sup>7)</sup>, *Morosophus*, *Hypocrysis*, — none of which, however, came up to the height of *Acolastus* <sup>8)</sup>.

On March 10, 1538, the Elbing schoolmaster William Gnapeus wrote from his 'museum', in his 'Collegium', to

<sup>1)</sup> DE, 378 : Upm, 151, 159-60 : it reached Dantiscus on May 22.

<sup>2)</sup> Cp. *pr.*

<sup>3)</sup> Keussen, 494, 87; Krafft, 192.

<sup>4)</sup> *CorpInq.*, iv, 19, 354, 408-11, v, 173, 372-74, 382.

<sup>5)</sup> Bahlmann, II, 39-45, 80; Creizenach, I, 566, II, 75, *sq.* 85, 121-24, 159, 176, &c, III, 334, 343, &c; it was translated into English by J. Palsgrave, 1540; and reprinted by J. Bolte : Berlin, 1891 : *Acolast.*; it was inspired by Aulus Gellius, XIX, 2, and by Macrobius' *Saturnalia*, II, VII : it is referred to by Ben Jonson, in *Cynthias Revels* (folio ed., II 2588, 2593 : missing in Quarto : *CynReVo.*, 215-16); Nashe, II, 249, 24, III, 247, 435.

<sup>6)</sup> Creizenach, II, 76.

<sup>7)</sup> It was dedicated to Dantiscus, Oct. 1, 1540 : cp. Bahlmann, II, 42-44.

<sup>8)</sup> Cp. further, letter of July 14, 1544; also *BibBelg.*, 317; Herford, 84, *sq.* 108, 154-64; *Batavia*, 398; *HTL*, I, 221, II, 207, 478-79, 566, IV, 128; *Auw.*, 49, 257; *Lasciana*, 295; FG, 361; HoopSch., 186, 253, 360, *sq.* 420, *sq.* &c.



Dantiscus <sup>1)</sup> to thank him for the criticism of his verses, and for the Bishop's own poems *Parænesis* et *Metanœa*, which he greatly, humanistically, praises. He suggests a few alterations for the *Parænesis* on the sheet of paper added to the letter <sup>2)</sup>).

On March 22, 1538, the Archbishop-elect of Lund, John de Weze, announces from Cracow to Dantiscus <sup>3)</sup>, that he has received his letter, but, since it is now 'recondita alicubi in supellectile chartacea', he has it not at hand to reply to it in every detail : he will do so later on ; he now only wants to congratulate him for the new honour received, the 'Varmiensis Episcopatus'. He is returning to King Ferdinand, and then to Charles V, along with Franciscus de Frangipani, the Archiepiscopus Colocensis. He is pleased to have made 'induciæ firmæ' for one year.

On April 3, 1538, Cornelius de Schepper, writing from Lyons <sup>4)</sup>, where he is again on embassy, whilst wishing for home-life, hears the news of Dantiscus' appointment to the 'Episcopatus Warmiensis'. He congratulates him and refers to Fabian.

On April 25, 1538 (5<sup>a</sup> Paschæ), Nicolas Copernicus writes to Dantiscus from Frauenburg <sup>5)</sup> : In negotio illo Canonica-tuum, quod mihi commisit R. D. V<sup>ra</sup>, accepto et communicato consilio cum R. D. Culmensi, visum est non satis maturum esse vt ad Capitulum referatur, nisi prius causa cantoris, que superuenit, decidatur ; quo facto ad illam proponendam dabitur melior occasio : nisi interim aliud deliberauerit R. D. V<sup>ra</sup>, cui servitia mea cupio esse commendata. Ex Frueburgo, quinta Pasche 1538.

E. R. D. V<sup>rae</sup> Devotissimus Nicolaus Copernicus.

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<sup>1)</sup> DE, 379 : Upm, 155, 3-5 ; it reached Dantiscus on March 13.

<sup>2)</sup> Those poems may have been part of the *Ad Alliopagum Carmen*, at which Dantiscus may have been working then, and of which the first part was a *Carmen Paraeneticum*, as he called it : *DantCar.*, 169, sq.

<sup>3)</sup> DE, 380 : Fbm, 5, 144 ; it reached Dantiscus on April 17.

<sup>4)</sup> DE, 381 : Upm, 154, 161, sq ; it reached Dantiscus on May 19.

<sup>5)</sup> DE, 382 : Upm, 154, 163 ; it reached D. on April 26 ; Prowe, II, 161.

On May 22, 1538, Justus Decius, royal secretary of Poland, refers in his letter from Cracow to Dantiscus, to a *legatio* to Schlesien (*Slesia*) <sup>1)</sup> and requests him to take the lead of it; that demand is repeated in a letter from Cracow of May 25, in which he is represented as most helpful for the good of King Sigismund.

Meanwhile John van Campen, who had recently received a pension of one hundred ducats on the provostry of Würzburg, that had belonged to Maurice of Hutten, and who was waiting for a final settling of the question, had also been especially encouraged by the *Lovanienses*: 'hortati sunt me diligenter', he wrote to Dantiscus, 'ut libellum <the *commentariolus* on St. Paul's Epistles> augeam: quod et faciam... Miraberis forte, præter meum morem hæc tam magna, tam audacter audere promittere': — next to St. Paul, he wrote, Homer and Virgil seem like nothing; — 'nisi certissimis essent certiora, nequaquam auderem' <sup>2)</sup>. — He therefore decided to leave for Louvain: 'satur enim sum Italiæ ob veteris inscitiae nimis multos patronos', yearning as he was to help 'miserable Germany': 'Deus Opt. Max. dignetur causæ suæ favere et afflictissimæ Germaniæ succurrere' <sup>3)</sup>. He put himself on the way, wishing to reach Brabant before the winter: unfortunately the pest overtook him at Freiburg in Breisgau, where he died on September 7, 1538, on the very eve that he was to be welcomed gloriously by the University which, a few years before, he had had to leave for want of all appreciation. Louvain and even Hebrew Philology thus lost their illustrious antecessor in the very development of his admirable and prodigious genius <sup>4)</sup>.

Since, in the spring of 1532, John Campensis had left Louvain to follow Dantiscus, circumstances had been totally changed for him. To be true, he had always been highly appreciated by knowing ones, such as his colleague Goclenius and amongst others, Andrew Resendius, who, by 1529, addressed the Brabant University, and also him:

*Campensis tibi ductor adest, qui guttura formet,  
Terrentesque sonos Latiam stribligine musam,  
Insuetæque domet linguæ dumeta* <sup>5)</sup>.

<sup>1)</sup> DE, 393: Ccm, 1595, 1147 and 1165: they reached Dantiscus on May 30.

<sup>2)</sup> Letter of April 6, 1537: p 290.

<sup>3)</sup> Letter of April 6, 1537, also June 1, 1537: pp 290, 292.

<sup>4)</sup> Cp. before, pp 66-68. <sup>5)</sup> ResendO, 15-21; HTL, II, 397; VAnd., 401.

In fact the professor with his sallow countenance and his long beard <sup>1)</sup>, never looked for popularity, but for the very knowledge he had to impart in his lectures <sup>2)</sup>. He chiefly intended refuting Luther, and bringing back Melancthon to the old Fold; and as the adversaries, instead of referring to the Vulgate, invoked the original texts, he also applied himself intensely to learning Hebrew, wrote a Grammar <sup>3)</sup>, and investigated the Psalms and other books of the Old Testament. His thorough study according to the principles of the *Trilingue*, and his decision to make of his lessons something different from continuously renewed teaching of the same initial elements, unfortunately had their influence on his auditory, the more so as a skin-disease, from which he suffered, often caused absences. It occasioned the heartless competition of an ex-hearer, Clenardus <sup>4)</sup>, who gathered crowds of beginners, and wrote for them the *Tabula in Linguam Hebræam*, 1529, whereas the theologians, who encouraged him, were bitter in their criticism of van Campen's scriptural researches <sup>5)</sup>. It made him desperate, and he had decided leaving Louvain, when fortunately Dantiscus led him to the glorious period of his editions of Nuremberg, and of Cracow, and even to the triumph of the lectures in Venice and Rome to the outstanding members of the Sacred College. From an indifferent toiler he had become an illustrious leader: even to the judgment on his Hebrew Grammar was changed, and it was praised for its admirable method and 'completeness'; in fact it rightly avoids the useless minutiae of most manuals edited in subsequent centuries <sup>6)</sup>. At any rate, the Man's excellence was highly commended by Alard of Amsterdam in these few verses <sup>7)</sup>:

Campensis, præstans sanctæ mysteria linguæ,

Davidicos Psalmos fusius explicuit.

Non sine laude diu Veneta prælegit in urbe :

Obtinet hinc Romæ multa sacerdotia.

Lovanii statuit vitam finire docendo :

Friburgum veniens, peste repente perit...

On November 28, 1538, Nicolas de Granvelle writes to Dantiscus from Toledo <sup>8)</sup> to thank him for his kind friendship,

<sup>1)</sup> Allen, VII, 1806a, 41-42, v, 1257, 16.

<sup>2)</sup> Cp. before, pp 66-68, &c ; *HTL*, III, 162, sq.

<sup>3)</sup> *HTL*, III, 162, sq ; Iseghem, 337-38 ; Lambinet, 313 ; Gand, 154.

<sup>4)</sup> Cp. before, pp 78-79 ; not much valued on MasE, 352.

<sup>5)</sup> *HTL*, III, 164-79, 185, sq ; de Jongh, \*61, 261.

<sup>6)</sup> *HTL*, III, 162, sq ; Paquot, XI, 228.

<sup>7)</sup> Cp. Paquot, XI, 225-34 ; NèveMém., 235-44 ; *Cran.*, 96, e ; *ClenCorr.*, I, 208, 54-58 ; *HTL*, I, 503-5, II, 120-22, 396-97, 549, 613-14, III, 154-88, 190-208, 373, 604, IV, 449, &c ; Allen, v, 1257, 16 ; Auw., 441 ; *BibBelg.*, 475 ; Miræus, 29 ; de Jongh, 199, 261, \*61 ; NijKron, I, 1201-11, II, 3255-61.

<sup>8)</sup> DE, 391 : Upm, 154, 189 ; it reached Dantiscus on March 21, 1539.

as well as to announce him that he has taken into his service his former assistant Peter, no doubt, de Montereali <sup>1)</sup>, — who thus forms a new link ; of course he will be in good hands.

The following letter refers to the particular person who served in Canon Copernic's household ; there seems to have been frequently a sad negligence on that point, and there was more than one case in his surroundings, in which Dantiscus, under the growing difficulties that then beset faith and morals, wanted to do his full duty. So he did not shrink from requesting his dear friend to set the good example, and the wording of this reply proves abundantly the full understanding between the two friends, as well as Copernic's readiness to effect the wish rightly expressed by his dear Bishop on the matter.

On December 2, 1538, Nicolas Copernicus replies from Gynopoli, Frauenburg, to Dantiscus <sup>2)</sup> : 'Adhortationem R. D. V<sup>rae</sup> paternam satis et plus quam paternam agnosco ; quam etiam intimo corde suscepi. Et quamvis prioris illius, quam R. D. V<sup>ra</sup> prius in genere habuit <sup>3)</sup>, minime oblitus : facere volebam quod monebat : quia tamen non erat facile familiam necessariam ac probam protinus invenire, propositum erat nihilominus intra festa Paschæ illi rei finem facere. Jam vero ne R. D. V<sup>ra</sup> opinetur, me perendinationis affectare prætextus, restrinxi terminum ad unum mensem, hoc est usque ad festa Natalia ; neque enim brevior esse potuit, ut R. D. V<sup>ra</sup> perpendere potest. Cupio enim pro posse cavere, ne sim offendiculo bonis actis, quanto minus R. D. V<sup>re</sup>, quæ meruit ut a me reuereatur, honoretur et plurimum ametur ; cui me cum omnibus facultatibus meis devoveo. Ex Gynopoli, secunda Decembris 1538.

E. R. D. V<sup>re</sup> obedientissimus Nicolaus Copernicus.

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<sup>1)</sup> Cp. before, DE, 303, 374 & 378 : pp 243, 302 & 305.

<sup>2)</sup> DE, 392 : Ccm, 1596, 519 ; Prowe, II, 161-62 ; the letter reached Dantiscus on December 4 ; it evidently refers to the person attending on Copernic ; she seems to have been a distant relation, but was probably objected to for her behaviour, and Dantiscus wanted to set an example to all canons by obliging even his best friend to send her away. In his letter of January 11, 1539 (Prowe, II, 163 ; further, p 310), Copernicus announces that Dantiscus' order is executed.

<sup>3)</sup> He probably refers to a trouble he had had formerly with a servant woman : cp. *Gleanings*, c.

## ERMLAND 1539

On January 11, 1539, Copernic writes from Frauenburg to Dantiscus <sup>1)</sup> : Feci iam, quod nullo iure omittere debui vel potui, in quo spero monitis <sup>2)</sup> R. D. V<sup>rae</sup> a me satis esse factum. — Cæterum quod scire ex me petit, quanto tempore vixerit felicitis recordationis quondam Lucas a Waczelrodt, R. D. V. prædecessor, avunculus meus <sup>3)</sup> : vixit annos 64, menses 5; in episcopatu annis 23; obiit penultima Martii, anno Christi 1522. In quo illa generatio finem accepit, cuius insignia in antiquis monumentis et multis operibus extant Torunii. Commendo iam obedientiam meam R. D. V<sup>rae</sup>. — Ex Frauenburg, 11. Januarii, anno 1539.

E. R. D. V<sup>rae</sup> obsequentissimus Nicolas Copernicus.

Having lost Jane Seymour, Henry VIII had conceived, by February 1538, the ardent wish of having her replaced by Princess Christina of Denmark, widow of Francesco II. Sforza, Duke of Milan : he consequently made persistent entreaties, to which no direct reply was given, — evidently on account of the impediment of consanguinity and of the difference of belief. In the first weeks of 1539, the King's impatience had become so insistent, that Queen Mary of Hungary decided sending her trusty Cornelius de Schepper in all speed to her brother, the Emperor, in Spain. As explained before <sup>4)</sup>, all offers of a marriage were broken off by the prudent but decisive reply <sup>5)</sup>.

<sup>1)</sup> Prowe, II, 163.

<sup>2)</sup> Viz., the execution of the order referred to in DE, 392 : cp. before, p 309, and further a letter of September 12, 1539.

<sup>3)</sup> Lucas Watzelrode, born on November 29, 1457, studied in Cracow, where, in 1473, he gained the title of Doctor of Canon Law; he then became canon of Ermland and was made Bishop there in June 1489; he, however, resigned on account of health in the spring of 1512, but lived until March 30, 1522 : Prowe, I, i, 73, sq. He was succeeded in June 1512 by Fabian von Lossainen, de Lusianis, who, after long illness, died on January 30, 1523 : Prowe, I, i, 273, ii, 75, sq, 107, 155, sq, &c. As Lossainen's successor was chosen Maurice Ferber, who started his work soon after April 1523. Cp. before, p 284; Prowe, I, ii, 167-68, &c.

<sup>4)</sup> Cp. before, p 237.

<sup>5)</sup> This is an evident proof of the wise and calm character of Charles V, who suffered actual humiliation in his family and a loss of personal advantage rather than cause a regretful decision of his adversaries. He did not start up as an outspoken protector of his aunt, nor of his niece, judging it more prudent and wiser not to cause excesses of persecution in return. He was of so forgiving a nature that he offered

In the beginning of 1539, John de Weze, Archbishop-elect of Lund, returning from Spain, journeyed to John Zapolya of Buda, and afterwards to the meeting of Frankfort as general representative of the Emperor Charles. In a letter of February 6, he writes from Vienna <sup>1)</sup> that his Majesty is highly in admiration for Dantiscus, whom he greets, and so also does Granvelle. — At Valladolid he saw ‘Joanna Dantisca a Curiis, cum marito et matre’; they are poor, and he consequently requests some help for Juana; her husband, a secretary to the Queen, asks to send some supply through the Fuggers. ‘Dantisca sane formosa est, et non minus culta moribus, ut ex pictura licet deprehendere’; he himself prays the Bishop to assist her, so that she should not vacillate.

On March 1, 1539, William Gnapheus wrote from Elbing to John Dantiscus <sup>2)</sup>: ‘Nisi & occupatior & sublimior esset Tua Celsitudo, Præsul ornatiss., & item studiosorum Mecænas vnice, quam ut parum digne, parumque docte a me, tenuj eruditione prædito, tuo clientulo debeat appellari, multa mihi prius insinuatione & impudentiæ & audaciæ culpa sit deprecand[um, ne] poeticas hasce nugas T. C. dedicandas offi[ciar]. Quas]i enimuero, quoniam officij mei interesse sum arbitrat[us], ut non minus pristinæ tuæ erga me liberalitatis memor, gratitudinem animi qualicumque argumento contester, quam, ut te talem Patronum, publico huius scholæ instituto demerere, nihil ueritus sum, quamuis humile poëma, non ex sui precio, sed offerentis animo, T. C. æstimandum offerre, idque epistola quantumuis Laconica. Quare T. Celsitudinem oro, imoque obsecro, Præsul longe dignissime, ut hoc literarium munusculum <sup>3)</sup>, si munusculi nomen mereatur, æquiore, cum in me, tum in ipsa studia, animo benigne accipiat, atque adeo qua merebitur, censoria virgula tractet. Quod si humi-

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even his dear sister Eleanor to influence his mortal enemy Francis I, — as Cornelius Valerius rightly points out in his funeral oration : cp. *OFCarV*, 24, b, 28, b, 29, a, 30, b, 32, a-33, a, 38, a.

<sup>1)</sup> DE, 394 : Upm, 155, 1-2 ; it reached Dantiscus on March 1.

<sup>2)</sup> DE, 395 : Ccm, 1597, 541 ; it reached Dantiscus on ‘5 marcii’.

<sup>3)</sup> Probably the *Triumphus Eloquentiæ*, 1539, or perhaps the *Parænesis* of 1539, part of it glorifying Mercurius, which was printed at Danzig in 1539 : Bahlmann, II, 42-43.

lius uideatur poëma quam ut tanto studiorum Antistitij debeat consecrari, memento mola salsa litare eum, qui thura non habeat. Dabitur fortasse dignius aliquando argumentum quo me officiosius T. Cels. insinuem. Interim ijs me totum T. C. in clientelam dedo, atque C. T. Deo Opt. Max. etiam atque etiam commendo. Elbingæ, ex collegio nostro literario, Kal. Marciis A° 1539. Clariss. T. Cels. deditissimus cliens Gul. Gnapheus.

On March 3, 1539, Nicolas Copernic announced to Dantiscus from Frauenburg <sup>1)</sup>: 'Heri bonæ memoriæ Felix, Custos et Canonicus, ex humanis factus, traditus est sepulturæ. Canonicatum et præbendam vacantem pro Domino Raphaële Conopat procuratorio nomine acceptavi, et de ea promoveri, ipsamque illi conferri feci, secundum formam literarum apostolicarum vigore nominationis serenissimæ Reginae Poloniae. Quod supra est, R. D. V<sup>ra</sup> dignetur consensum suum præbere, eumque Capitulo suo significare, ut detur illi, vel mihi Procuratori, possessio vacantis præbendæ. In quo R. D. V<sup>ra</sup> ad rem literarum apostolicarum faciet, Domino vero Palatino Pomeraniæ, eiusque filio et mihi gratiam singularem, quam erga R. D. V<sup>ram</sup> studebimus promereri. Ex Frauenburg, III. Martii a. MDXXXIX.

Servitor Nicolaus Copernic.

On March 11, 1539, Nicolas Copernic announces to Dantiscus <sup>2)</sup>: Hodie annuente et consentiente R. D. V<sup>ra</sup>, obtinui a Capitulo possessionem Canonicatus et Præbendæ, vacantium per obitum bonæ memoriæ Felicis pro Domino Raphaële a Conopat, pro quo ago gratias R. D. V., neque dubito quin ipse Raphaël recognoscet hanc benevolentiam R. D. V., una cum Domino Palatino Pomeraniæ, patrono suo, uti par est. Cupio et ago me commendatum esse eximie R. D. V., cui servitia mea devoveo. Ex Frauenburg, 11. Martii 1539.

E. R. D. V. obsequentissimus Nicolaus Copernicus.

<sup>1)</sup> DE, 396 : Ccm, 307, 123 ; it was received by Dantiscus on March 4 ; Prowe, II, 163-64.

<sup>2)</sup> DE, 397 : Ccm, 1596, 557 ; Prowe, II, 164-65 ; it reached Dantiscus on March 13.

On March 23, 1539, William Gnapheus, writing from the Elbing *Collegium litterarium* <sup>1)</sup>, thanks Dantiscus for his letter, which warned him for *rumusculi*, no doubt about his religious opinions. He declares : 'ab illorum factionibus contente abstineo, qui, quod & tua iustiss. habebat querela, fidem iactitant, sed eneruam & mortuam. Euangelion habent in ore, circumferunt manibus, sed cuius nullum sensum uel experiantur, vel specimen edant. Cogor, uelim, nolim, istis Suermerus <sup>2)</sup>, fanaticus, & anabaptista esse, quas calumnias, imo conuicia, quam inique in me torquere aliquando conati sint, non vno sane exemplo possem edocere, nisi religio esset, aurium tuarum patientia id genus nugis abuti. — Antisthenes perhibet Regium esse male audire, cum bene facias <sup>3)</sup>. In specula heic quadam consisto, nec desunt Corycæi, qui me Argi, quod dicitur, oculis obseruent : ij meam tamen innocentiam & animum bene sibi conscium opprimere nullis calumnijs potuere'. — He further thanks for corrections suggested, but does not find anything that he just now thinks of telling him about his own poems and their mistakes.

On August 8, 1539, Gnapheus once more writes to Dantiscus <sup>4)</sup> : Cum de tua erga me humanitate omnia optima mihi persuadeam, Ornatissime Præsul, benignissime Princeps, nihilque antiquius habeam quam promissæ fidei ac opere non defuisse, non possum quin nugas meas T. C., quamquam occupatiss., interim legendas obtrudam. In quam quidem partem peccare malim quam neglectæ operæ, solutæque fidei suspicionem meo silentio incurrere. Quare Augustiss. T. C. enixe precor, ut qua hactenus usus es in me humanitate, eadem quicquid hic poematis nomini tuo dedicamus, emaculatus aliquanto et locupletius, quam prius erat <sup>5)</sup>, redditum accipias, pariterque Aristarchum quemdam te illi præbeas.

<sup>1)</sup> DE, 398 : Upm, 155, 6-7 ; it reached Dantiscus on March 29.

<sup>2)</sup> Evidently a reference to the German 'Schwärmer'.

<sup>3)</sup> In reply to Plato's obloquy : Erasmus, *Apophth.* vii : EOO, iv, 325, c.

<sup>4)</sup> DE, 401 : Ccm, 1597, 783 ; it reached Dantiscus on August 10.

<sup>5)</sup> No doubt, in these and the following lines, Gnapheus refers to the final text of the *Triumphus Eloquentiæ*, 1539, of which part had been printed before as *Parænesis Gratulatoria*, a speech of Mercury, 1539 : cp. Bahlmann, II, 42, 43, and before, pp 305-06, 311.



Ius siquidem facio tuæ eruditioni, Vir multo eruditiss., ut quocumque tibi visum fuerit modo, hunc literarium fœtum tractes, verses, flagelles, perdas, serues. Quod si dignum iudicabis, qui, sub clarissimi nominis tui auspicijs eductus, publici iuris fiat, quo huius ludi literarij instituto, ubi sub tuis etiam signis militamus, plus dignitatis famæque accedat, opido ac lubens id fieri patiar : quin & triumphali hac actione tuum ad nos plausibilem aduentum ad proxima Patriæ Comicia, si Deus Opt. Max. dederit, excipere nequitur grauari-mur, modo cum bona tua gratia id fiat. — Nihil etenim æque cupiam atque te, talem ac tantum literarum Antistitem, huic literario instituto fautorem, imo presidem accedere. Tuæ porro prudentiæ rettulerit, Præsul Optime, Princeps benignissime, discernere, si, uel ex tuo sit vsu, uel ex Reipub. literariæ salute, ut hoc officium nostrum & in nuncupando, & in exhibendo, Tua Cels. benigne admittat, cuius quidem sententiæ tuæ, me tuum clientem, vel tribus uerbis certiozem facere non grauari spero. IJs T. C. quam fœlicissime valere cupio. Elbingæ, ex Collegio nostro literario, 8 Augusti Anno 1539. Clariss. T. Cels. studioss. Cliens, Gulielm. Gnapheus, Hagensis.

Dantiscus did not content himself with his own promotion : there are about that time several letters recommending for a canonry in Culm his nephew Caspar Hannow : of July 12, 1539 there is a letter in his favour from John, the Archbishop of Uppsala, in the Venetian Patriarchate <sup>1)</sup>; on August 1, Mariangelus Accursius refers to him in his missive from Rome <sup>2)</sup>, in which he further recalls the ‘tuba illa’ of his brother Bernard, which gave him pleasure, and other jokes, like that about the mule of ‘Petrj Maronitæ de Monte Libano’ <sup>3)</sup>; whereas on September 22, Theodore de Rheden replies from Rome, announcing his recommendation to the Cardinal Quatuor Sanctorum, with bits of news <sup>4)</sup>.

<sup>1)</sup> DE, 399 : Upm, 155, 8-10 ; it reached Dantiscus on August 26.

<sup>2)</sup> DE, 400 : Upm, 155, 11-12 ; it reached Dantiscus on November 13.

<sup>3)</sup> No doubt Peter Mirabilis : cp. p 304.

<sup>4)</sup> DE, 402 : Upm, 155, 13-14 ; it reached Dantiscus on November 25.

It happened, that, about the beginning of September 1539, popular rumour commented in various ways on a meeting between Canon Copernicus and Anna Schillings, which made Dantiscus apply to Tiedeman Giese, his successor in Culm, on the subject. The latter replied, on September 12, 1539 <sup>1)</sup>, that he had seen the canon about it : ‘Cum domino Doctore Nicolao de his, quæ Rev. Dom. Vestra monuit, serio sum locutus, remque ipsam, ut est, ob oculos posui. Visus est non parum turbari, quod, cum semper citra cunctationem obtemperaverit voluntati Rev. Dom. Vestræ, adhuc insimuletur a malevolis de congressibus furtivis &c. Negat enim illam, postquam dimissa est, sibi visam esse, nisi cum ad nundinas Konsbergenses <sup>2)</sup> profecta obiter illum alloqueretur. Cognovi profecto, eum non ita esse affectum, ut plerique opinantur. Quod facile etiam mihi persuadet ætas gravis et studia nunquam cessantia, tunc etiam virtus et honestas hominis; tamen monui, ne vel speciem mali de se præberet, quod existimo facturum esse. Rursum par esse puto, ne nimis delatori Rev. Dom. V. fidem habeat, reputans pronam esse in virtuosos invidiam, quæ etiam Rev. Dom. Vestram turbare non veretur. Commendo me &c.

Lubaviæ XII. Sept. 1539.

It seems that, after Copernic's decease, the same woman had come to Frauenburg on account of a house which she had possessed there, and sold recently; as the cause of the defence of residing at Frauenburg seemingly had ceased, the Chapter applied about the matter to Bishop Dantiscus, who replied from Heilsberg on September 13, 1543 : Venerabiles Fratres sincere dilecti. Quod illa, cui ditio nostra est interdicta, ad fraternitates Vestras se contulerit, quibuscunque etiam de causis, non admodum probamus. Verendum enim est ne, quibus modis demontavit illum, qui paulo ante e vivis cessit, quempiam alium e fraternitatibus Vestris occupet. Quodsi illi apud vestrates commorationem concedere statuerint, in fraternitatum Vestrarum est arbitrio. Satius tamen esse putaremus, longius arcere quam admittere eiusmodi pestis contagionem. Quæ quantum Ecclesiæ nostræ obfuerit, Fraternitatibus Vestris non est incognitum. Quas feliciter valere optamus. Datum ex arce nostra Heilsberg, XIII. Sept. MDXLIII. Joannes D. G. Episc. Varm. <sup>3)</sup>

<sup>1)</sup> Prowe, I, II, 366. Cp. pp 309, 310.

<sup>2)</sup> Viz., of Königsberg.

<sup>3)</sup> Prowe, I, II, 370.

A few words should be added about de Schepper's family at Bruges. His wife, Anne Isabella (or Elizabeth) d'Onche was the daughter of Pierre d'Onche and of Jacqueline de Clichtove <sup>1)</sup>, and she had a sister Jane, or Joanna <sup>2)</sup>. At their father's death, their mother remarried, and from Christian van Zegerscapelle, she had a son Cornelius, who attended lectures, and lived at the *Trilingue* from February 7, 1530 to October 9, 1534 <sup>3)</sup>; he took part in the expedition against Algiers: he bore the title of Lord of Zegerscapelle. His mother also had a daughter Jacqueline of Zegerscapelle, who, on August 23, 1528, married Roland Claeys, but died in the year 1539, leaving two sons, a Roland and an Arnold, as well as a daughter Jacqueline <sup>4)</sup>.

Anne Isabella d'ONCHE, from Veurne-Ambacht, married Peter Laurin, Lord of Leeskens, son of Jerome; he died in Bruges on February 27, 1522 <sup>5)</sup>. She had from him three children: Jerome, who married Madeleine van de Levere; Matthew, Lord of Leeskens, who repeatedly was alderman and Mayor in Bruges, until he died on December 1, 1592; he married Radegonde Duquesnoy, Lady of the Isle of Wulpen; whereas a third child, Catherine, remained with her mother, until she became the wife of Wulfard van Borselen, who died in 1546, — leaving a son, Maximilian, who became captain in the Regiment of the Count de Rœulx; later, by 1549, Catherine married John le Gros, alderman of the Franc de Bruges, and she died on June 8, 1556 <sup>6)</sup>.

In the first days of October 1528, Cornelius de Schepper married Anne Isabella d'Onche: a sketch of the life of Anne and Cornelius, their children <sup>7)</sup> is given at the end of this correspondence. — Anne Isabella's sister, Jane or Joanna d'Onche, who had entered the family of Peter Laurin along with her, and had, no doubt, most obligingly helped her in the bringing up of their three children, continued her good services in the 'new' family. On June 12, 1531, Mark Laurin, writing to Dantis-cus, promises to offer to her his hearty greetings <sup>8)</sup>; on September 13, 1536, de Schepper announces to the Bishop that his wife and her sister send him their most affectionate messages <sup>9)</sup>. On December 21 of the following year, de Schepper informs the Bishop that he has joined Jane in marriage to a most welcome husband, though not over-wealthy <sup>10)</sup>: she is mentioned in this present letter, p 317. Unfortunately, she died *secundo puerperio*, as de Schepper was sad to inform his great friend on August 18, 1540, expressing the deep regret that he could not any longer expect her to give her precious help, if ever anything should happen to his wife <sup>11)</sup>.

<sup>1)</sup> *Brug&Fr.*, I, 365.

<sup>2)</sup> Cp. before, p 274 and DE, 417.

<sup>3)</sup> *HTL*, II, 168, 385-86.

<sup>4)</sup> *Brug&Fr.*, II, 111-13; *HTL*, II, 168, 320, 385-86, IV, 482.

<sup>5)</sup> Cp. before, p 23; *Brug&Fr.*, I, 365; *BrugInscr.*, I, 160; *Cran.*, XLVIII, 6, pr, 249, b; FG, 29, 36, 83, 25; *HTL*, II, 167, 385.

<sup>6)</sup> *Brug&Fr.*, I, 365-67, III, 51.

<sup>7)</sup> *Cran.*, 249, f.

<sup>8)</sup> Cp. DE, 137, p 86.

<sup>9)</sup> Cp. DE, 333, p 274.

<sup>10)</sup> That marriage announced in DE, 374, is referred to in this letter, DE, 403.

<sup>11)</sup> Cp. DE, 417, p 329.

From Brussels, Cornelius de Schepper sent, on November 15, 1539, a hearty letter to Dantiscus <sup>1)</sup>, to which his friend *Saxencarlus* added a cordial missive in part of the margin <sup>2)</sup>. 'Returning from Spain', so de Schepper relates, 'I was sent off again at once on a journey; so I could not receive James a Warten (Barten). There have been many difficulties in the country here, which, added to my journeys in those last three years, explain how it comes that I could write only very few letters. — The Cardinal of Liège has died <sup>3)</sup>; so has Henry a Nassau <sup>4)</sup>, as well as Florent of Egmont de Buren and Ysselstein <sup>5)</sup>. Godschalk Ericsen Saxocarlus at first intended going to Hungary; still he now stays here. Your own Brussels *hospes* has sold his canonry'. News is added about friends, and Dantiscus is warmly praised for his fame as good worker for the Faith. — 'Gratianus Hispanus <sup>6)</sup> luctatur cum valetudine et puella: vir alioquin doctus, et non male gratosus: facies patrem, si filiam (quamvis injussu tuo nupta) prosequaris paterno amore'. — He sends news from the war, also from the Court and further from France. 'Vxor mea vna cum filia commendant se R<sup>mæ</sup> D. V. — nam soror ad nuptias convolavit' <sup>7)</sup>. — xiiii. Nouembris.

George WITZEL, WICELIUS, Vicelius, born in 1501 at Vacha, where after some studies, he became teacher, was consecrated priest in 1520, but a stay at Wittenberg made him marry at Vacha in 1524. Through Luther he was appointed at Niemegk, where he had some trouble on account of the anti-Trinitarian John Campanus, of Maaseyck <sup>8)</sup>; he there studied hard, and broke even off with Protestantism in 1531. He wrote several tracts and treatises opposed to those of Luther, and had some printed by Wolrab and others in Leipzig. He was encouraged by

<sup>1)</sup> DE, 403: Fbm, 131, 1-2; it reached Dantiscus on January 6, 1540.

<sup>2)</sup> The short message is written in the margin of the first page of de Schepper's letter.

<sup>3)</sup> He died at Liège on February 16, 1538: cp. before, p 134.

<sup>4)</sup> He died at Breda on September 14, 1538: cp. before, pp 13-14.

<sup>5)</sup> The father of Maximilian of Egmont, Florent of Buren, Charles' most able army-leader, died on October 14, 1539: cp. before, p 43; Henne, vii, 304; *Cran.*, 67, a, &c; *MonHL*, 362, 488, 657, 676; *HTL*, i, 485-86, &c.

<sup>6)</sup> Gracian de Alderete: cp. before, p 293.

<sup>7)</sup> Cp. *pr.*, and DE, 374.

<sup>8)</sup> Cp. Köstlin, ii, 155, 321, 330, *sq*; HoopSch., 140, 451, 616; SchelAL, xi, 28, *sq*, 51, *sq*.

men like Sadolet, Faber, Nausea, Tunstall, and especially Dantiscus, and other highly erudite Bishops, who favoured proper understanding (*PastReun.*, 144). In 1538, he lost a protector in Duke George of Saxony, and was, for a time, under the patronage of Elector Joachim II in Berlin. He soon forfeited his friendship, but gained that of Charles V and of Ferdinand. In 1554, he settled at Mayence, and composed there his *Via Regis*; he died there in 1573. He urged reform in the Church, and advocated leniency towards Protestants, although there were several amongst them, who, like Justus Jonas, bitterly persecuted him. — He was a boundless admirer of Erasmus, to whom he wrote ‘*ex ignoto loco*’, which deprived him of the pleasure of a reply (Allen, x, 2918, 6). Cp. *WitzSchr.*, xi, &c; FG, 445-46; *CochlSpahn*, 138, 171, 190, 225, &c; Köstlin, i, 24, 754, ii, 320, *sq.*, 330, 433, 474; Allen, x, 2715, *pr.*; SchelAH, i, 412, *sq.*; SchelAL, v, 41, vii, 271; *ActaMori*, 10; *HTL*, i, 352; Enders, v, 270; *Melanch.*, 350, 365, 374, *sq.*; *Corvinus*, 79, 121, 170-71, 203.

From Berlin, on December 8, 1539, George Vicelius, Wicelius, Witzel, wrote a letter, along with an appeal for help to Dantiscus who had sent him a message from Heilsberg <sup>1</sup>). ‘*Videor mihi nunc non paulo felicior, quandoquidem patronorum meorum numero tantus accessit vir, et is præsul, adeoque longe doctissimus præsul, et qui hoc nomine in Hispania, Italia ac Germania celebris habeatur apud plerosque*’. He congratulates him on the Episcopal honour conferred on him, and thanks him for praising so highly his ‘*lucubrationes*’: for, he says,

‘*Causa fuit tanti, ni fallor, maxima cœpti,*

*Nostræ perpetuus religionis amor*’,

and his zeal against the *Dogmata Montani*. ... *novi* <sup>2</sup>). He refers also to ‘*Matthias Vuolrab*’, who is in Dantiscus’ service, a brother of the Leipzig printer Nicolas Wolrab <sup>3</sup>), through whom probably Witzel had become known to the recently

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<sup>1</sup>) DE, 404 & 405 : Upm, 155, 15-20; they reached Dantiscus on May 14; the texts are reproduced in their entirety in Gr. Richter, *Die Schriften Georg Witzels*: Fulda, 1913 (= *WitzSchr.*): 168-82: — although properly he is no ‘*Netherlandish Friend*’, this summary is added here for completeness’ sake.

<sup>2</sup>) Reference to Montanus and his heretical movement in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century (Schwane, i, 483). That native of Mysia started preaching in Phrysia, as if he had the mission to bring the Church back to a state of purity and strictness.

<sup>3</sup>) Nicolas Wolrab’s brother: cp. p 259, *pr.*; *WitzSchr.*, 171.

appointed Bishop ; from him he had even already received as good as a promise to be invited to his diocese, — were it only to make up for what he suffered, not only from Luther, but specially from Φίλιπ. μελαγχολῶν <sup>1)</sup>, from Ούρβαν. Βασιλείσκος <sup>2)</sup>, and Ιακωβηλλός <sup>3)</sup> : those names are written in Greek for fear they might be read by enemies if the letter were intercepted. — He alludes to his misery and persecutions, and finishes expressing the hope that the King of Poland should have mercy on him, poor Ulysses that he is.

To that letter is joined one of the same date : in it Wicelius describes his poverty : besides the necessity of a boy who copies for him, he wants no end of books which he has to study. He has quite recently received a pension from Cardinal Alessandro Farnese through Cardinal Morone, February 1538, which, unfortunately, is very small. He will be deeply grateful for all help he might receive from Dantiscus, as well as from his successor on the see of Culm, Tiedeman Giese († 1550).

When in the beginning of December 1539, James a Barthen, of Danzig, Dantiscus' great friend, came for recreation to Louvain, the natural son of the late John van Campen, the Hebraist, Jerome Campensis <sup>4)</sup>, entrusted him with a letter to Dantiscus <sup>5)</sup> : in fact he humbly wished for some assistance on account of his father, who had been helped by Bishop Dantiscus, the greatest of all Churchmen, who brought so much glory to his native country, and even illustrated the embassies. The young man is sorry not to have been as fortunate as to have been introduced to Dantiscus by 1531, along with 'D. Henemanum Rhodum' : though he then was

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<sup>1)</sup> The name is altered purposely : Enders, v, 270 ; he had been invited since October 1539 in Brandenburg, where he found that *Witzel*, — whom he called *Mustela* — had been actively at work.

<sup>2)</sup> He was Urbanus Rhegius, the Reformer of Lüneburg, who was also invited in November 1539 by Joachim II, to come and make propaganda along with Melancthon.

<sup>3)</sup> He was the Berlin Court preacher Jacobus Stratner.

<sup>4)</sup> Cp. before, pp 66-68 ; also *HTL*, III, 156, 206-07.

<sup>5)</sup> DE, 406 : Upm, 155, 22-23 : it was probably written about December 12, 1539, when Gemma dated his : DE, 407 ; it reached Dantiscus on the same day as Gemma's : March 17, 1540.

only twelve, he knew German, and one day in 'Lovaniensi foro', in a large 'caterva procerum', where his father passed, he recognized the Bishop. Unfortunately, his father, then already the 'familiaris' of the great Dantiscus, was 'indiligentissimus' in his own 'res', as well as in my studies, he says; I therefore now myself request Dantiscus' help, and I will try to do honour to him by my work, just like my father did, when he pleased him by his *Psalms*.

On December 12, 1539, Gemma Frisius, who soon was to become professor in Louvain University, also sent a letter through James a Barthen <sup>1)</sup> : S. P. et officiorum meorum commendationem. Non potui committere, Præsul Reu<sup>me</sup>, quin data hac tanta oportunitate nuncij <sup>2)</sup>, aliquid de meo ac nostratium statu ad R<sup>am</sup> D. T. transcriberem, cui spero non ingratum fore, aut saltem non molestum, inter arduas occupationes aliquid etiam nostrarum nugarum admittere. Sane mihi longe omnium gratissimum hac tam longa temporis et locorum intercapedine fuit, audire certi aliquid de R<sup>ma</sup> D. V<sup>ra</sup>, quam multi etiam præclari viri, ijque R<sup>me</sup> D. V. non solum noti, sed et familiarissimi, iam dudum e viuis excessisse contenderunt, adeo ut et me fere in eandem opinionem pertraxerint. Sed suspicionem hanc et metum discussit D. Jacobus a Barthen, R<sup>mæ</sup> D. V. (ut audio) amicus, qui nos non parum exhilaravit. — Quantum vero ad statum rerum mearum attinet, ego arte medica victum querito : artes vero Mathematicas nonnihil sepono, ita urgente nostrarum conditione, quæ quæstuosam magis requirunt quam iucundam artem. — Vxor mea sicut vitis abundans in lateribus domus meæ, et filij sicut nouellæ oliuarum in circuitu mensæ ! Ecce sic benedicitur homo qui timet Dominum ! Filius tamen mihi unicus superstes est ; alter in diuorum numerum relatus ; tertium, vel filiam, expecto in mensem, Deo iuuante. Vtinam R<sup>mam</sup> D. Vestram possem ad suscipiendam prolem orare ! Sperarem impetraturum id me (quæ eius est humanitas) non difficulter.

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<sup>1)</sup> DE, 407 : Upm, 154, 24 ; *GemFrisius*, 406-07 ; it reached Dantiscus on March 17, 1540. Cp. *HTL*, II, 557.

<sup>2)</sup> James a Barthen, Dantiscus' friend : cp. DE, 406, and further in this letter.

Reliqua nostri status utcumque habent. Nouarum rerum hic magna satis copia. Expectamus indies aduentum Cæsaris, quem jam in Gallia esse, non est dubium. Excipietur cum triumpho Parhisijs decima quinta huius mensis (enim confidit Gallo); inde recte ad nos migraturus. Gandauum maximos excitauit tumultus adversus aulam Reginæ. Exactiones solvere noluit, sed milites exhibere : Magistratum omnem mutauit, vectigalia rennuit; nunc tamen usque ad Cæsaris aduentum pacata sunt omnia <sup>1)</sup>. — Traiecti Mosæ prætor et consul una nocte per tumultum miserrime occisi sunt : cadauera in platea relictæ plus 24 horis <sup>2)</sup>. Causam non caperet epistola, nec tempus admittit : adeo mihi ex insperato hæc oblata est scribendi occasio <sup>3)</sup>. — Rex Angliæ duxit in uxorem filiam Ducis Cliuiæ; Gheldriam adhuc obtinet Dux Cliuiæ iunior, nam senior obiit <sup>4)</sup>; quemadmodum et Dux Gheldriæ, Dominus de Nassau, Cardinalis Erardus, Dnus de Buren ac plures alij <sup>5)</sup>. Item Barlandus <sup>6)</sup> noster et Goclenius <sup>7)</sup>, Louaniensis Academiæ duo lumina. Professor Latinus nunc est

<sup>1)</sup> The contribution of Flanders in the costs of the war, having been refused by Ghent, measures were taken which caused a demagogic party to seize the lead of affairs, opposed to Mary of Hungary's authority, and to all those who assist her. Bruges and Ypres were likely to follow that example, and they asked even Francis I's help; Charles V, who then was at peace with him, was invited to pass through France : the punishment of Ghent was most severe.

<sup>2)</sup> The mayor de Goër, having arrested a citizen for a crime, an opposition was made, preventing him to be arrested, which caused Goër's death and that of the burgomaster Prent. The revolt was severely repressed by René of Nassau and the Duke of Aarschot in the same month of September 1539 : Henne, vi, 223-26.

<sup>3)</sup> The Emperor's peaceful courage and prudent moderation suggested his passage through France by the end of 1539, which was evidently beyond Ghent's prevision. His calm, yet decidedly severe, punishment of that town may be compared to his stern treatment of Cleves and Gelderland : *OFCar* V, 35, b-36, a.

<sup>4)</sup> Charles of Egmont, Duke of Gelderland, died at Arnhem on June 30, 1538 : Henne, vii, 267.

<sup>5)</sup> Henry of Nassau, Bishop Erard de la Marck and Florent of Buren died, respectively on September 14, February 16, 1538 and October 14, 1539 : cp. before, DE, 403, p 317.

<sup>6)</sup> Barlandus (cp. *HTL*, iii, 533) died on November 30, 1538.

<sup>7)</sup> Goclenius (cp. *HTL*, iii, 565-67) died on January 25, 1539.



Petrus quidam Nannius, non vulgariter eruditus, verum non æque facundus <sup>1)</sup>. His paucis *R<sup>mam</sup> D. V<sup>ram</sup>* Deo Optimo Maximo commendo, qui eam quam diutissime sospitem servet. Louanii, 12<sup>a</sup> Decemb. 1539. *R<sup>me</sup> D. V.* Paratissimus Gemma Frisius. R... D. D. Ioanni Dantisco, Warmiensi Episcopo Dignissimo, &c.

Francis van CRANEVELT, born on February 3, 1485, at Nijmegen, studied in Louvain, where he promoted the first in philosophy in 1505, and became D. V. J. on October 2, 1510. He was for a few years 'pensionary' of Bruges, and from 1522 to his death, September 8, 1564, member of Mechlin Great Council. His vivid interest in humanism made him a friend of Erasmus and Thomas More, of Vives, Dorp and de Schepper, and of many other outstanding erudites, as is attested by his correspondence, of which the part extending from 1522 to 1528 is preserved. He continued that literary life in later years, and published the translation of several works of Greek authors in the thirties, when he gained the intimate acquaintance, not only of a Rescius, and of the sons of President Everardi, but even of John Dantiscus and of Nicolas Olah. He edited in 1544 in Basle, Vives' *De Veritate Fidei Christianæ*. Cp. FG, 332; *OlaE*, 560-610; Allen, iv, 1145, *pr*; *Cran.*, xxxiii, *sq*.

On December 15, 1539, the Mechlin Councillor Francis van Cranevelt sent a letter to Dantiscus <sup>2)</sup> by James a Barthen, who also took missives from Jerome van Campen and Gemma Frisius <sup>3)</sup>: 'S. P. Dabit mihi', he wrote, 'veniam Reuerenda Tua Paternitas, quod ex tanto locorum interuallo ausim interpellare sacra tua studia, sanctosque labores, homo non satis notus, et perquam tenuiter eruditus. Sed hic ipse Wartenius, ἡ μᾶλλον Παρθένιος <sup>4)</sup>, vir multis adeo dotibus insignis, cuius amicitia per Dominum Cornelium Scepperum mihi conciliata est, ad patriam rediturus, contendebat, vt ne mearum literarum expers discederet; nec ego quicquam potui denegare serio postulantj, cupioque per eundem jn album tuorum ratiocinariumque describj. Nec enim contemnes, opinor, — quæ tua est humanitas, — amiculum sua se sponte dedentem; et si Statio credimus, firmior est subinde amicitia quæ studio-

<sup>1)</sup> Nannius: cp. *HTL*, III, 569-70.

<sup>2)</sup> DE, 408: Upm, 155, 21; it was handed to Dantiscus on March 17, and has been printed in *Cran.*, 287 (pp 700-02).

<sup>3)</sup> Cp. before, pp 319, 320.

<sup>4)</sup> Evidently the James a Barthen, mentioned in the two preceding letters.

rum similitudine contrahitur quam sanguinis aut generis.  
Natos, inquit,

genuisse <necesse> est :

Hos legisse juuat. Tenero sic blandus Achilli

Semifer Æmonium vincebat Pelea Chiron.

Nec senior Peleus natum comitatus in arma

Troica, sed charo Phoenix herebat Alumno'.

Et que <de> Pallente et Acete ceterisque subijcit <sup>1)</sup>. Si quid erit officij aut obsequij quod Craneueldius præstare possit Reuerendissime Paternitati Tue, nihil erit quod recuset. Mechlinie, xv. die Decembris, 1539. Eximie Reuerendissime Dominationi Tue deditissimus, Franciscus Craneueldius.

Reuerendissimo ac longe Eruditissimo Dño. Dño. Episcopo Varmiensi.

From the Imperial Court in Spain [Godschalk Ericksen] sends word in December 1539 <sup>2)</sup>, that, at his request, the portrait of Juana was made by a German military man, *Cæsareæ Majestatis corporis custos*; he recommends her particularly for her being good and sweet; he urgently advises his friend Dantiscus to send her money, for she could not come to Poland with her husband. — As to himself, he thanks Dantiscus for his advice to leave the Court, and live only for God; in fact, he has had enough of the bustle; rumour had even said that Charles had imprisoned him. He now is coming to Germany to enlist an army <sup>3)</sup>. He gave the golden medal representing Dantiscus to Juana, 'ut presentem haberet semper quem absentem tantopere amat & ueneratur: quo munere nihil potuit illi esse gratius': she thanks Dantiscus most heartily. Vale, frater obsequentissime.

## ERMLAND 1540

On February 8, 1540, James a Barthen, who had been in Louvain from the beginning of December 1539 <sup>4)</sup>, was in

<sup>1)</sup> Cp. P. Papinus Statius, *Silvæ*, II, i, 87-91, 92, 93.

<sup>2)</sup> DE, 409: Upm, 155, 25-27.

<sup>3)</sup> Probably for Charles' entry into Ghent: cp. Henne, VII, 37, 39.

<sup>4)</sup> Cp. before, pp 319, 320, 322: DE, 406-407, 408; he wrote from Danzig to Dantiscus in Oct. and Nov. 1536, and in May 1537: DE, 339, 341 & 350.

Amsterdam, from where he wrote this letter to Dantiscus <sup>1)</sup>. He had already sent a message of Cornelius de Schepper from Louvain <sup>2)</sup> : he now dispatches along with this letter several others, entrusted to him by friends of these 'celebribus regionibus' <sup>3)</sup>. He makes a special mention of Jeronimus Campensis <sup>4)</sup> : 'non indignus est', he writes, 'quem T. C., in locum patris sui Joannis gratia proseguendi suscipiat. Est enim iuuenis foelicissimo ingenio præditus, qui, Deo aspiranti, maculam generationis facile abstersurus est eruditione, si ipsi longior vita contigerit. Meditatur enim modo historiam nostrorum temporum, quam ab anno mdi. ad hunc præsentem annum deducturus est. Si itaque studia hominis, si non aliquo annuo sumptu, saltem unico honorario promouere dignatus fueris, & de illo priuatim, & de bonis literis publice, non male mereberis. Neque etiam poteris pijs manibus huius parentis gratiora anniversaria (vt vocant) constituere, quam ut filij eius honestissimum conatum adiuues, ut lampadam ab illo traditam eo commodius gestare possit. — Porro cum me Cornelius Scepperus semel atque iterum pro sua humanitate exciperet, & inter alia potus genera, etiam cerevisiam Dantiscanam præbiberet, uxor eius debita honoris præfatione præmissa, dixit T. C. aliquando pollicitam fuisse, se uas de eadem cereuisia d. Cornelio Scepero missuram : verum se agnoscere T. C. modo grauioribus negotijs occupatam esse, quam ut huiusmodi paruorum promissorum memor esse posset'. I then promised to tell you, Dantiscus, though they said they knew how easily it is forgotten. Thus if propter episcopatus tui distantiam, you should not want to execute this promise, I, Barthen will readily do so. Consequently, if D. T. veterem atque constantem amicum suum istius modi munere honorare voluerit, let me entrust it to my friend, the Danzig scabinus Johannes Copp ; for he already wrote to me about sending a cask to Cornelius de Schepper, — either at his expense, or at that of Dantiscus. — Cæsar has come to Brussels. De causa Danica nihil constat : the Emperor waits until the 'contro-

<sup>1)</sup> DE, 410 : Ccm, 1597, 931-33 ; it reached Dantiscus on March 17.

<sup>2)</sup> It seems to have been lost.

<sup>3)</sup> Cp. pp 319 to 323 : DE, 406, 407, 408 ; they were all handed to Dantiscus along with this missive on March 17, 1540.

<sup>4)</sup> Cp. DE, 406, p 319.

versia inter Flandros composita fuerit <sup>1)</sup> : army and navy are preparing. Jacobus a Barthen <sup>2)</sup>).

On March 20, 1540, Eobanus Hessus writes from Frankfort on the Main to thank Dantiscus <sup>3)</sup> for his letters, and his liberality ; he congratulates him on his appointment to the 'Ecclesia Warmiensis' ; he has dedicated to him a *Libellus Sylvarum*. He is now writing a book of history from the Apostles down to the present times for Dantiscus, whom he praises for 'restoranda bibliotheca'. He offers greetings to George and Bernard, Dantiscus' brothers.

On June 3, 1540, King Sigismund I wrote to Dantiscus from Vilna <sup>4)</sup> about a heterodox teacher in Elbing, — no doubt Will. Gnapheus. — 'Ludimagistri vero, quod meminit P. V. quem significet, non satis scimus. Sed Elbingæ, quæ nostra civitas ad diœcesim P. V. pertinet, esse quendam accepimus, non jam Lutheranum, sed quod magis destestandum, Sacramentarium et Anabaptistam, magnumque esse ad eum Scholasticorum concursum. Est hoc officii P. V<sup>ræ</sup> providere, ne sit locus tali homini in diœcesi illius ; quod si parum ipsa auctoritate sua profecerit, significet nobis. Nos in ciuitate nostra talem pestem laturi non sumus. — Quod ad stipendia Lipsiensis Academiæ' <sup>5)</sup>, if anything is to be lost, 'satius est ea perdi, quam perdi animos' ; for they might get bad principles, and infuse them into others. Possibly the stipendia may be saved, though our men should not go to Leipzig.

On June 20, <1540>, Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, wrote to Dantiscus from Lambeth <sup>6)</sup> that he had not

<sup>1)</sup> Charles V was just then chastizing Ghent.

<sup>2)</sup> From James a Barthen there are letters to Dantiscus in *CatCzart.*, II, 260 : 1599 : 825, sq, 971, sq, 1095, sq, dated from Danzig, 3 June, St. Andrew's, 1547, and May 24, 1548.

<sup>3)</sup> DE, 411 : Upm, 155, 28-29 ; it reached Dantiscus on July 21.

<sup>4)</sup> DE, 413 : Ccm, 284, 219-20 (a copy) ; on August 15, 1541, the Bishop of Plock, John Choienski, requested Dantiscus from Vilna to advise him if Gnapheus should open a school anywhere : *CatCzart.*, II, 1598, p 3.

<sup>5)</sup> Some Polish students could enjoy foundations at the Leipzig University : cp. p 279, also p 326 ; on April 16, 1535, Cochläus praised King Sigismund for deterring Poles from Wittenberg : cp. pp 238, 259.

<sup>6)</sup> DE, 414 : Upm, 155, 30 ; it reached Dantiscus on August 29.

received any news since three years, and that people said he had died. He refers to the 'puer' whom Dantiscus had entrusted to him to be educated, who is now of age to return to his country. So he avails himself of the visit of the messenger of the Polish King, who arrived from the Netherlands to England, to send him back. The boy knows Latin, English and French, having studied a time in Paris : he has been taken care of as if he were a nephew.

On July 15, 1540, Nicolas Perrenot de Granvelle, Charles V's chief minister, dispatches a letter from Bruges to Dantiscus <sup>1)</sup> : 'although there is hardly any news, I cannot but send a word *pro veteri... amicitia*, through D. Johannes ab Oczieski, vir diligens, acutus, gravis, et in rebus Dominorum suorum perugilans', who is returning. — I rejoice in your good state, and offer my wishes, wanting to be remembered for old friendship's sake. Johannes will relate how I am going on'. — Bruges, idibus Julij MDXXXX. (*in Perrenot's writing* :) E. R. D. V. Inseuie[ns] & frater Perrenot.

On July 24, 1540, King Sigismund I, writing from Vilna to Dantiscus <sup>2)</sup>, thanks him for having seen to the affair mentioned on June 3 <sup>3)</sup> : 'de Elbingensibus gratum nobis est quod officii sui memores P. V. dicto se audiendum fore pollicentur. Erit autem gratius cum quod verbis promittunt, id eos re ipsa præstitisse cognoverimus. De Stipendiis Lipsiensibus V<sup>re</sup> P. iudicium facimus' : let us try and keep the *stipendia*, without sending boys there, at least as long as the *lues* lasts : we shall also try to keep *them*.

On August 18, 1540, Cornelius de Schepper writes to Dantiscus from Vienna <sup>4)</sup> : he was just ready to leave for Hungary when Dantiscus' letter reached him at Ghent : he deeply regrets on that account, being always kept away from home. At Vienna, he heard of the state of Hungary ; yet he decided going there. He relates his journey to Transylvania, where

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<sup>1)</sup> DE, 415 : Ccm, 1597, 1057 ; it reached Dantiscus on October 3.

<sup>2)</sup> DE, 416 : Ccm, 284, 285.

<sup>3)</sup> Viz., about William Gnapheus : cp. DE, 413, p 325.

<sup>4)</sup> DE, 417 : Fbm, 131, 3-12 ; it reached Dantiscus on October 15.

he met Dantiscus' great friends, the Archiepiscopus Colocensis Francis a Frangipane and that of Agria. He explains his long silence, for which Dantiscus had upbraided him in his letter : he would be most happy to see him again 'his oculis'. He then communicates his ideas about their time, about the Court, and about men in general ; he especially insists on the lack of the sense of duty and of authority. The town of Ghent is an instance <sup>1)</sup> : they imagined there that they had done



nothing amiss against the Emperor ; yet when he came, he took a most severe punishment, — of which a description is given. Schepperus mentions that now the statues and relics of St. Livinus and of St. Bavo are and remain in the Cathedral. 'Turpis et horrenda', he remarks, 'consuetudo de Livino efferendo, et rursus inferendo, abrogata : neque fuit hoc anno in Houthem' <sup>2)</sup>). He further refers to various particulars of the Ghent punishment. — One of their friends, George Schenck of Tautenburgh, died suddenly <sup>3)</sup> ; also the Count of Hoog-

<sup>1)</sup> The town had been severely castigated by Charles V in the first months of that year.

<sup>2)</sup> Those religious processions had since long become the occasions of sad disorder every year.

<sup>3)</sup> George Schenck, Governor of Friesland, died on February 2, 1540 : Henne, vii, 304.

straeten, who used to be Margaret of Austria's favourite <sup>1)</sup>. Schenck is succeeded by Maximilian, 'olim ab Iselstein, nunc comes de Buren : adolescentiam transegit in omni genere voluptatum, imo vitiorum : potor, aleator, ganeo, et quidem non pertesus et satur huius vitæ : iudicio non contemnendo mutat se in alium virum : est (plus quam pater) eruditus in greco et latino' ; he is now in Campen and Groningen <sup>2)</sup>, 'ubi est querimonia Germanorum'. Maximilian of Buren tried to secure the services of 'Godschalcus noster' for that province of Friesland, but in vain. Reference is made to the Marquis of Berghen, to Dnus. de Heule and Dnus. van der Gracht, to Fred. de Melun, who all greet. 'Mors Johannis [de Zapolya], Regis Hungariæ et cause ; item Archiepiscopi Trevirensis. — Rex Angliæ nupsit Ducissam Clevensem, monstruosis conubiis' <sup>3)</sup> ; de Schepper laughs at Henry VIII, who does not want the *two* wives that the Landgrave of Hessen desires ; he thinks he is better, for he is an 'episcopus' and, as such, 'deceat uxoris unius virum esse !' — He remarks on Lutherans and the bad state of religion. — He highly praises Dantiscus' *Parænesis*. Bad and false rumours are spread about Ferdinand, who is said to have been incited by Jerome Aleander so as to cause the death of no end of people : when he, Schep-perus, came to Austria, he inquired and found that no one had been killed. — Yet thus many persons are excited against the Kings. — He describes the *licentia* of the Saxons, Hessians and Lutherans, and their sad lives ! — 'De Gratiano scripseram antea' ; he, de Schepper, gives good news and good reports as well of the 'boy' <sup>4)</sup> as of the 'girl' ; they

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<sup>1)</sup> Antony of Lalaing, Count of Hoogstraeten, died on April 2, 1540 : Henne, vii, 304-06.

<sup>2)</sup> Cp. before, p 43, for references. — Maximilian of Egmont, the first count of Buren, Lord of Iselstein or Ysselstein, became Governor of Friesland and played a glorious military part against France and some German authorities until his — spectacular — decease, on September 23, 1548 : Henne, vii, 304, 342, &c, viii, 357 ; *HTL*, ii, 125, sq, iii, 332, 411 ; *FG*, 376.

<sup>3)</sup> Henry VIII married Ann of Cleves on January 6, 1540, and divorced her by the end of July following : Sanderson, 420, sq ; Gardiner, 400-01 ; Cartwright, 236, sq ; Madden, 118-21, 153, 159 and 223 (referring to 'the ill-treated Lady' whom the King mentioned most 'uncourteously'.

<sup>4)</sup> Viz., de Alderete, who is still young ; his wife was even hardly in her teens.

managed to get rid of the mother by a decent marriage ; she now is living respectably ; Alderete is not bad at all, and Juana is quite like her father. — Dantiscus had wanted de Schepper to 'redire in gratiam cum Lundensi' : he replies that they never quarrelled, nor certainly fell out ; each follows his own way. — Lundensis went about the *Legatio Hungariæ* with Matthew Held <sup>1)</sup>, but did not succeed, and complained : it seems that Held calumniated de Schepper, and mentioned a quarrel between them, which never took place. — Here, as everywhere else, all is changed : Carondelet is old, deaf and half blind ; Granvelle wields now all authority. — De Schepper gives his opinion of the general policy of the Empire. There is an evident lack of great captains ; still there are not any better either in France or in Italy : there is nowhere a Leyva nor a Pescara, a Colonna nor an Alarcon ! <sup>2)</sup> He gives his opinion of life and society in general, and concludes that God should be besought for help and for an outcome. Dantiscus had said that life had become indifferent to him since his mother's decease : de Schepper feels that same disappointment : he remembers too well Gattinara's services and his fate ! We are horses, he concludes ; they consider us as good, and we consequently are esteemed and valued, as long as we are young and strong ; but we are thrown aside and despised as soon as we get weak and old. — 'I have the same opinion as you, he assures Dantiscus, about Melanchthon's books, *De Auctoritate Ecclesiæ*, and *De Officiis Principis*'. He hopes that Germany might soon return to the Church ! He sends greetings to Sigismund ab Herberstein, George Czapha and Wolphg. Haller <sup>3)</sup>, who came to Belgium ; also to Nicolas Olah, who has returned to Hungary. He gives news of the German Princes. — 'Marcus Laurinus, ut ex literis uxoris habeo, bene valet ; Joanna, soror uxoris meæ, cui maritum dederam, nuper periit secundo puerperio <sup>4)</sup> : unica spes pro

<sup>1)</sup> Matthias Held was for a time Charles V's vice-chancellor : cp. after this letter, pp 330-31.

<sup>2)</sup> Antonio de Leyva (cp. p 244) and the Marquis of Pescara were great Spanish army leaders ; so was Fernando de Alarcon : *Cran.*, 146, 20 ; the Italian condottiero Prospero Colonna served the Pope from 1513.

<sup>3)</sup> Cp. DE, 424, p 338.

<sup>4)</sup> Viz., Jane or Joanna, sister of Anne-Isabella d'Onche, widow of Peter Laurin : cp. DE, 403, pr ; *Brug&Fr.*, 1, 365.



liberis meis si quid gravius contigisset uxori mee. — Livinus Panagathus iam factus est caduceator Cæsaris, et scribit in Cancellaria; baccalarius Adolphus, cum suo nasu Hamburgensi, est Joann[is adjutor] in eadem: victum habet et amicum <sup>1)</sup>. Gemma <sup>2)</sup> <in> medicina licentiæ [gradum accepit,] agitque Louanij, intendens ægris sanandis; bonum nomen et rem exinde adeptus. Conradus Goclenius p[re]terito anno periit <sup>3)</sup>; Rutgerus Rescius superest: idem volvens saxum: docet et excudit <sup>4)</sup>. — Hospes tuus Bruxellæ vivit sanus, sed male habet cum domo quam vendidit comiti de Espinoy'. He refers to 'Lundensem' <sup>5)</sup>, Mattheum Held, Dom. Lascum <sup>6)</sup>, Ferdinandum Regem. — Eustachius Chappuys <sup>7)</sup>, quem Granate et Brugis novisti, orator olim Borbonij, ex Anglia rediit post undecim annos; ibi remittitur. Henricus VIII ordered Thomas Cromwell to be executed <sup>8)</sup>. — Mention is made of the death 'Domini Turcarum. — Dominus Georgius ab Austria, quondam Brixiensis Archiepiscopus, nunc est Valenciæ <sup>9)</sup>. Granvelli filius est episcopus Attrebatensis' <sup>10)</sup>. Finishing his epistle, de Schepper asks for letters: he will soon return to Flanders, and sends meanwhile his heartiest greetings to Dantiscus and to his brothers. Vienna, 18 Augusti 1540.

The Matthias HELD, mentioned twice in the preceding letter, was the Emperor's Vice-Chancellor since 1531. He was born of an influential family at Arlon about 1498: he had inherited the most valuable books of his relative Peter Jacobi, provost of Backnang <sup>11)</sup>, and had as friends both Bartholomew Latomus <sup>12)</sup>, who became councillor of Ludwig von Hagen, Archbishop of Treves, and Nicolas Mameranus <sup>13)</sup>. He was Doctor Juris and had been appointed Assessor of the Imperial Chamber of Spires on August 23, 1527: he was there a protector of Viglius, to whom he even offered his sister as bride <sup>14)</sup>. He helped Dantiscus to

<sup>1)</sup> Cp. before, pp 53, 242 & DE, 471.      <sup>2)</sup> Cp. pp 72, sq, 222, sq, 272.

<sup>3)</sup> Goclenius died on January 25, 1539: HTL, III, 565-67.

<sup>4)</sup> He taught in the *Trilingue*, and had a printing office: cp. pp, 99, sq.

<sup>5)</sup> John de Weze, Archbishop-elect of Lund: cp. before, pp 24-25.

<sup>6)</sup> Jerome a Laski, cp. p 228.

<sup>7)</sup> Eustace Chapuys: a sketch of his biography follows this letter.

<sup>8)</sup> Sanderson, 420; Gardiner, 401.

<sup>9)</sup> *BerghAutr.*, 46-51; cp. before, pp 202-03.

<sup>10)</sup> *GranClaess.*, 8, sq.

<sup>11)</sup> Cp. *Busl.*, 297-300.

<sup>12)</sup> Cp. HTL, II, 591-602: he was not Held's nephew, as is said by mistake on *Busl.*, 299.

<sup>13)</sup> Cp. HTL, III, 466-80.

<sup>14)</sup> VigleB, 13, 28, 31.

obtain his revocation <sup>1)</sup>, which was also proposed by Sigismund ab Herberstein to King and Queen <sup>2)</sup>; it was further actively encouraged by the Captain of Cracow, Chancellor Christopher Szydłowiecki <sup>3)</sup>. On July 12, 1531, Held referred to the matter in a letter to Dantiscus, whose invitation he could not accept, owing to the work 'in causa eius resolutionis' by Granvelle and Cobos, who were to approach Cæsar on that account. On August 20, 1534, Held heard from Dantiscus, who wrote from the *Castrum Lubaviense*, on May 5, about the ban pronounced on Albert of Brandenburg in the Imperial Consistory, which differend he was willing to compose <sup>4)</sup>. He took an active part in the struggle of the thirties in Germany, and even tried by October 1536 to oppose the League of Schmalkalden <sup>5)</sup>; he had his share in the negociations with Denmark in 1537 <sup>6)</sup>; he introduced, on June 10, 1538, the Nuremberg League with a clear-cut Catholic policy against the Reformers: but thus he displeased Nicolas de Granvelle and John de Weze, who advised more clemency. They were influent enough to bring the Emperor to a different course, on which Held was sacrificed, and replaced by John von Naves. He afterwards lived for several years as a private man in Cologne, where, on account of his natural sons, he asked Viglius' advice, who warned him for the danger of losing his fortune on legacies, which would be objected to, and rather counselled him founding a School at Arlon, as glorious as that with which his townsman Busleyden had endowed Louvain. Unfortunately nothing came of it, and he died in Cologne in 1563. Cp. *Busl.*, 297-99; *HTL*, II, 591, III, 389, 467-68 (and references); *Auw.*, 461; *FG*, 369; *Hoyneck*, I, i, 12, 18, 74, 96-102, 130, II, i, 122, 165, 182; *ViglEB*, 13, 28, 32; *SonnE*, 27; *Pastor*, v, 61, 64, 66, 73, 265, 317; *PastReun.*, 101, 104, 481; *Laemmer*, 177, sq, 242, sq, 329, 369; *Mansfeld*, I, 13, 76, sq, II, 157; *Melanch.*, 343, 372; *Cardauns*, 35, sq, 56; *RhenE*, 416-17; *Enders*, XI, 192, 200, &c; *Mameran.*, 32-33, 102, 104; *HerMaur.*, 140, 143-44; *WiedVarr.*, 98; *Redlich*, I, 396, 402-03, &c.

Eustace CHAPUYS, of Annecy, born in 1499, studied laws and entered the service of Duke Charles of Savoy, at Turin. From 1517, he was official of the Bishops of Geneva, until he entered the service of Charles de Bourbon; he was sent by him on mission to Emperor Charles V in Spain, who took him into his service on July 1, 1527, at his patron's death. Having been for a time councillor and master of requests, he was sent on embassy to England, where, except for some short inter-

<sup>1)</sup> DE, 143 : Ccm, 1595, 309 : July 12, 1531.

<sup>2)</sup> DE, 153 : Upm, 154, 71 : August 10, 1531.

<sup>3)</sup> Cp. DE, 128 : Ccm, 403, 643; DE, 128bis : Ccm, 403, 647 : May 20 and August 21, 1531; *Gleanings*, c.

<sup>4)</sup> Cp. DE, 294 : Fbm, 4, 23 : his letter reached Dantiscus on November 30. Most probably de Schepper referred to him on March 18, 1533 : Doctor Matthias is intolerable and 'Waltkirchisat' : cp. before, p 169.

<sup>5)</sup> CMH, II, 235; Lanz, 231-52.

<sup>6)</sup> Henne, VI, 158.

vals, he remained seventeen years. He at once had gained the full sympathy of Queen Catherine and Princess Mary : he also was a very dear friend of Thomas More, and when the hours of misfortune began, he stood firmly by their side. Still he did fully his duty to the King, and was as considerate as possible to him on account of his function. For years he devoted all his interest on the Queen and her daughter, encouraging Vives to act on their behalf, and to make him give his advice to the King on February 20, 1528, on January 13, 1531 and other occasions. His famous '*Non Esse neque divino neque natvæ ivre prohibitum* &c, issued 'Lvnebvrgæ anno m. d. xxxiii. Mens. Sept.', was naturally dedicated to Chapuys <sup>1)</sup>; it was attributed at the time to Cornelius Agrippa of Nettesheim <sup>2)</sup>, to himself, or to J. A. Pulleo, and many references were made to it in the proceedings against Bishop Fisher in his trial, after March 1534 <sup>3)</sup>. It seems even that Chapuys applied to Agrippa on June 26, 1531 already, and wished him to write in favour of Queen Catherine ; he insisted on November 25, 1531, and sent him even, as a 'piece of conviction', a pamphlet by a professor of the Sorbonne, protesting against the judgment which the University of Paris had brought out against the legality of Henry VIII's marriage with Catherine <sup>4)</sup>. Still, although Cranmer expressed the — wrong — conclusion that he had gained Agrippa to his and the King's views <sup>5)</sup>, the controversialist was, at the time, troubled by so many and so great difficulties, that he could not satisfy the ambassador's repeated requests <sup>6)</sup>. It is no wonder, after all, that Chapuys longed to be discharged of the heavy ordeal, and wished to be helped and disburdened : although highly cherished by trusty and devoted friends, like Vives <sup>7)</sup> and de Schepper <sup>8)</sup>, it must have been a real relief when, by 1545, he finally could retire to Louvain, where he still proved preoccupied by the condition and the circumstances of Princess Mary. He bought there on April 28, 1548, the hospice of the St. Bernard's Convent of Antwerp, which, with some neighbouring houses, was arranged, by May 1548, into a College with the Emperor's approval : it became the *Collegium Sabaudicum*, which Chapuys enriched by his own means and by several grants. He died there on January 21, 1556, and was buried in its chapel. He provided abundantly for the son Cesar he left, as well as for a school at Annecy. Cp. *MonHL*, 36-43, 45-48 ; *Cran.*, 139, e, 150, d, 261, c ; *HTL*, II, 175, III, 554, IV, 264, 355, 422-23, 505 ; *PighE*, 171 ; *ActaMori*, 26, 34, 57, sq, 78, 208 ; *Vern.*, 218-20, 326 ; *VAnd.*, 309-10 ; *Allen*, x, 2798, pr ; *FG*, 325 ; *ULDoc.*, III, 229-35.

<sup>1)</sup> Cp. *MonHL*, 37-40, and before, pp 211-13.

<sup>2)</sup> Cp. before, p 81 ; *MonHL*, 40-42 ; *FG*, 291.

<sup>3)</sup> Cp. *MonHL*, 39-40, and authorities quoted.

<sup>4)</sup> Cp. *AgripE*, 297-301, 312-19, 322, 342-43.

<sup>5)</sup> Cp. *Cranmer*, I, 14.

<sup>6)</sup> Cp. *MonHL*, 42.

<sup>7)</sup> The fact that the *Non Esse* was dedicated to the *Orator* Chapuys, indicates a most obvious and natural attachment in both of them to the Queen and her daughter.

<sup>8)</sup> Cp. *DE*, 312 (October 27, 1535) : before, p 253.

On October 1, 1540, Gnaphæus signed at Elbing the dedicatory letter to Dantiscus of the edition of his *Triumphus Eloquentiæ in bonarum literarum et doctæ facundiæ commendationem carmine redditus et item pleno omnium personarum equitatu Aelbingæ publicè exhibitus*, auctore Guilielmo Gnapheo Hagense, ludi literarii apud Aelbigenses moderatore primario <sup>1)</sup>. That work was inscribed to Dantiscus 'in gratitudine : ut enim taceam quæ tua in me fuerit liberalitas, et cum annis aliquot superioribus *Acolastum* illum nostrum in patriæ comitiis ageremus, et cum hunc ipsum *Triumphum* te coram non ita dudum exhiberemus : iure certe optimo quicquid hic operis publicamus, tibi poteris vindicare' <sup>2)</sup>. The success of the *ludus literarius* seems only due, he continues, to Dantiscus through his example of Erudition, which is admired every where, also that of Eloquence, and finally that of Poetry. Dantiscus may receive this *Triumphus* from a man 'tam aure quam patria Batavo juxta proverbium', who only wants to do good to erudition, to letters and to culture. 'Ex Collegio nostro literario. Kal. Oct. A° 1540'.

Sigismund of HERBERSTEIN, HERBERSTAIN, was an Austrian nobleman, born at Wippach in 1486. He entered the service of Emperor Maximilian I, and was for a time his ambassador, in which quality he visited Wittenberg by 1516 <sup>3)</sup>. He took a great interest in Dantiscus, and wished for a copy of his poem on *Grynea* <sup>4)</sup>, as results from the epigram which the poet addressed to him, as well as from the *Soteria*, in which he highly praised him for his many clever embassies <sup>5)</sup>. From the *Epithalamium Reginæ Bonæ*, it follows that it was through Herberstein, that Emperor Maximilian recommended as Queen to Sigismund, Princess Bona of Bari, daughter of John Galeacus Sforza and of Isabella, daughter of King Alonso II of Naples <sup>6)</sup>. Herberstein is mentioned in a letter of Emperor Maximilian to his grandson Charles V, January 18, 1516, about Christian II's misbehaviour <sup>7)</sup>.

<sup>1)</sup> Danzig, 1541 : cp. before, p 305.

<sup>2)</sup> Bahlmann, II, 42-44.

<sup>3)</sup> Janssen, II, 197.

<sup>4)</sup> *Grynea* : that poem was written at Innsbruck in 1517 : *DantCar.*, 87-92 ; Prowe, I, II, 338-39.

<sup>5)</sup> *DantCar.*, 92-98 : XXII, XXIII, 12-155 : he refers to his visit to Holland with Maximilian and Charles V.

<sup>6)</sup> *DantCar.*, 99, sq, XXIV, 378-82 ; cp. *CatCzart.*, I, 40, II, 182, 258.

<sup>7)</sup> Bergh, II, 135 ; Cartwright, 20-21.

On September 7, 1540, Sigismund ab Herberstein wrote from Cracow to Dantiscus <sup>1)</sup>, that he had been very busy, and that, just at the time, he is enjoying the visit of Cornelius de Schepper; he sends news of his state and prospects.

On November 20, 1540, James a Barthen writes from Danzig to Dantiscus <sup>2)</sup>, announcing that he received his letter in Brussels through Eustace a Knobelsdorf; he then left Brussels to go to a meeting of German towns to get money for the Imperial Majesty. He sends news about the war with France for Milan and Naples, and refers to de Schepper, who recently wrote to Dantiscus, and helped him, Barthen, and his acquaintances; he thus met Dantiscus' friend Zeger Galenius <Victor v. Galen>, councillor of The Hague. He adds some intelligence about Henry VIII, about the Duchess of Cleves, about Luther, who now hates Melanchthon, about Gelderland. He refers to Bishop John de Weze, who went to Lübeck, and to the meeting of the divines at Worms. He sends a list of books recently issued, — and, amongst them, the folio-edition of Erasmus' *Opera Omnia*. He offers greetings from Tilmannus Giese <sup>3)</sup>, John Tresler, M. Urbanus and Ulrich, who all salute.

## ERMLAND 1541

On January 10, 1541, Dantiscus wrote to his friend de Schepper, as results from the rough draft of the letter <sup>4)</sup>. He thanks for the missive of August 18 past, by which de Schepper gave great pleasure, announcing his safe return from Hungary <sup>5)</sup>. — 'I have little leisure', Dantiscus owns; 'yet I often think of the times that we stood and gazed at the moon at Burgos, and how you talked there, — as in all other places of the world: your letter recalls all those happy memories. — I have heard lately from the Archbishop-elect of Lund: he took in hand the affair of Alderete, yet quite in

<sup>1)</sup> DE, 418: Upm, 155, 32; it reached Dantiscus on October 5.

<sup>2)</sup> DE, 419: Upm, 155, 33-36; it reached Dantiscus on November 22.

<sup>3)</sup> Probably Tiedeman.

<sup>4)</sup> DE, 420: Ccm, 245, 233.

<sup>5)</sup> DE, 417, pp 326-30.

vain, as the mother had actually refused all the kind offers I made to her. I therefore had asked the advice of an old Spanish friend, one of the 'Maiorasti', Hugo Angelo <sup>1)</sup>. — Dantiscus gives most encouraging news about his new state, about his diocese and the Comitia ; he mentions the difficulties in Poland with the people, with Bona and the King, with Hamburg and the *vicini*. His brother Bernard is captain in his Castle ; George, too, is a captain, and so is the husband of one of his three sisters, captain 'Castri Seeburg' <sup>2)</sup>. Ex Heilsberg Castello. x. Januarij MDXLI.

Sigismund of Herberstein wrote to Dantiscus from Vienna on March 22, 1541 <sup>3)</sup> ; he announces that lately he had given rather a long letter from Cornelius de Schepper <sup>4)</sup>, and one of himself to Justus Lewis Decius' socer, who then was in Prussia. — After having seen the King of Poland in Vilna, I came to Cracow, where Decius had returned to, and from there had left again for Silesia. I have written to him, Sigismund declares, about the letters, but he does not reply ; I also wrote to de Schepper, who does not answer either. I wish to plead free from the suspicion of being careless : so I do request you, Dantiscus, to let me know whether you have received de Schepper's missive. He adds some news.

On April 12, 1541, Cornelius de Schepper writes from Binche to Dantiscus, at Heilsberg <sup>5)</sup>, and announces : 'I have received a letter through Eustace a Knobelsdorf ; I have written from Vienna through Wolphgang Brantner, Great Master of the Order of St. George, which missive went a long way about : I have been in Transylvania from April. — Many

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<sup>1)</sup> DE, 387 : Ccm, 307, 121 : he attests that the marriage was celebrated in the presence of 'muy honoradas personas' : June 3, 1538.

<sup>2)</sup> Near Allenstein.

<sup>3)</sup> DE, 421 : Fbm, 6, 44 ; it reached Dantiscus at Marienburg on May 10.

<sup>4)</sup> Probably DE, 417, pp 326-30, referred to as received by Dantiscus on January 10, 1541 : DE, 420 : p 334.

<sup>5)</sup> DE, 421<sup>bis</sup> (originally 412) : Upm, 155, 37-40 : the year of this letter 1540, is evidently wrong for 1541, as necessarily follows from the date of decease announced for two acquaintances at least ; Dantiscus received it on July 8, 1541.

friends have died : Mark Laurin, in November <sup>1)</sup> ; Adolph of Burgundy, in December <sup>2)</sup> ; further James Snaggart, captain in Tamise. — From Vienna I came to Brussels, where I am ordered to stay with Mary of Hungary. — I bought a *dominium* between Ghent and Audenarde, on the Scheldt, for thirty thousand florins ; it is called Eecke, opposite Gavere, and near Zwynaarde ; — [then follows a description.] — I am going to live there. I shall send the library, if I can, by water from Watervliet ; but I, meanwhile, regret that I am ‘senescens, non in literis, sed in actibus’. I want to retire, as does Carondeletus. — Godschalk is again sent to Hungary, whereas he wishes for rest. Still it is his duty to work for the State. If Jerome a Lasky had succeeded with the Turk, I, Schepper, would have had part of the work. Still, I have done good things in Hungary. — I have received Dantiscus’ epigram about Venice, which pleases everybody, and especially Queen Mary. — (Then comes his opinion about the state of Europe, also about that of England and of Scotland.) — The English have nothing against the Belgians, though they have innovated a lot against us by orders for sailing and for commerce’. — News about Henry, and the duchess of Cleves <sup>3)</sup> ; about Denmark, about Gelderland, and about Cleves, to which the Emperor sent ‘Livinus Panagathus noster, qui est de numero heraldorum’ ; still the Duke did not obey the Emperor’s request. To the Lord of Beveren succeeded as Admiral, his young son <sup>4)</sup>, who is soon to marry a d’Aarschot ; the letter further refers to the Count of Orange’s son and successor, to de Praet and to Granvelle. — De Schepper thanks Dantiscus for the cask of beer. The young man is well taken care of by an *affinis* : he wrote a fine carmen to de Schepper <sup>5)</sup>. State of Moldavia, the Turks, the Poles, and the East. Greetings are offered to Dantiscus’ brothers and sisters.

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<sup>1)</sup> Mark Laurin died on November 4, 1540 : cp. before, pp 85, 86.

<sup>2)</sup> Adolph of Burgundy, Lord of Beveren, died on December 7, 1540 : cp. before, p 135 ; FG, 313 ; Henne, vii, 306.

<sup>3)</sup> Viz., Ann of Cleves, wife of Henry VIII, — for a few months : cp. before, pp 321, 328.

<sup>4)</sup> Viz., Maximilian of Beveren, son of Adolph : cp. FG, 313 ; before, pp 135, here, and further, DE, 471.

<sup>5)</sup> Possibly Knobelsdorf.

On April 18, 1541, George Witzel, Wicelius, writes a double letter to John Dantiscus, 'Episcopo Varmiensi et consil. regio, domino et Mecænati, Heilsberg' <sup>1)</sup>. Witzel regrets not to have received any reply to his request, nor any help <sup>2)</sup>. He left Berlin only on the account of the 'Luterana pestis', and quite to the regret of the Prince of Brandenburg. He would have liked to stay in Würzburg : yet the opposition made a sojourn as good as impossible. He now keeps himself far from all public affairs, so as to study and compose works, hoping that the Cardinal Albert of Mayence may send for him. He looks forward to the meeting in Ratisbon, but fears that the Emperor might start a more severe policy, on account of the Ghent trouble. Yet, before all, there should come an improvement in public morals, deteriorated as they are by heresy, through which the state of the whole empire is breaking together.

In the second letter, Witzel implores the assistance which had been promised to him in the preceding year through Nicolas Wolrab <sup>3)</sup> : he mentions that Dantiscus procured help to Eoban Hessus, of Marburg, though he sent nothing to the poor Catholic Wicelius ! — He now considers himself obliged to write, not only several sermons, but also a volume about the Saints, as well as a version of the New Testament and of the Psalms, so as to inveigh against the Lutheran teaching and against all its errors. He even mentions the necessity of a practical endeavour, through which '*authoritate pontificia cantui Romano limam admoveat. Nam turpe dictu quot ille scateat mendis, quot exuberet nugis. Conduceret id laboris tam ad obturanda sectorum ora, quam ad decorem domus Dei. Vt cathedram in ecclesia, ita chorum correctum mirifice cupis*'. He therefore requests aid, and '*aliquam benedictionem. Expecto T. C. subsidium per manus fidelis nuntii*'.

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<sup>1)</sup> DE, 422, 423 : Upm, 155, 41-44, 45-46 ; *WitzSchr.*, 176-79 ; they reached Dantiscus on September 23.

<sup>2)</sup> Viz., DE, 404 and 405, of December 8, 1539 : cp. pp 318, sq.

<sup>3)</sup> Cp. before, p 318.



On June 12, 1541, Cornelius de Schepper wrote from Brussels to Dantiscus <sup>1)</sup> : he regrets not to have seen the Polish Orator at Ratisbon : the old friends in Court have all disappeared. Godschalk Ericksen is in Hungary to secure Queen Mary's dowry, with little hope of success, however ; Wolphgang Haller, Queen Mary's treasurer, does his best to promote her interests in that affair, as he himself, too, will gain by it ; Bartholomew Haller, his brother, and Nicolas Olah, 'secretarius reginalis, vir doctus et industrius', have left for Hungary for the same purpose. Dantiscus asks for news from the 'Conventus Imperialis' : still he, de Schepper, is as far away from Ratisbon as Dantiscus is himself. To be true, there come letters every week : yet they are contradictory 'prout cuiusque libido fert, vel iudicium impellit vt scribat. Iterum dico : Ex quo debeam veri aliquid expectare ? in aula habeo neminem' ! Granvelle has taken to him 'viros probos et doctos, sed novitios et, quoad res aulicas, tirones : penes hos audio summa rerum versari, et libens audio, quippe qui tuo [, Dantisce,] exemplo libenter me componerem ad quietem, si, ulla in hac vita, potest' ! Still it happens as it does to seafarers : one falls from a storm into other 'incommoda' ashore ! 'Scripsi ad te nonnullis de causis visum fuisse Cesari, me hic dimittere. Tacui nonnullas <sup>2)</sup> ut impertinentes : sed quicquid hoc est, ipsum est : non audio cur me debeat tedere huius more'. In the beginning the tirones wrote fine news from Court : all went well ; Buda was nearly taken. Still, they have become much soberer since. Episcopus Lundensis was in Lübeck suffering : — he is recalled by Charles V from Waldsassen, a convent near 'Egra Bohemorum', of which he is Abbot through Frederic the Palatine's gift. He is perhaps already in Ratisbon : he wrote to me, de Schepper, a good while ago. — As to your protégé, Eustacius Alliopagus, amenissimi ingenii juvenis, a poet : he has only been once or twice to see me, since the Court is often absent from Brussels : it was only in May that the Queen returned from Binche to Brussels, and she remains only here for the marriage of Christina, Christian II's daughter, with Francis,

<sup>1)</sup> DE, 424 : Fbm, 6, 45-46 ; it reached Dantiscus on March 22.

<sup>2)</sup> nonnullas, viz., causas.

son and heir of the Duke of Lorraine 'ex gente Andegavensum', which will soon be celebrated <sup>1)</sup>; and then the Queen will go elsewhere, and I again have to follow! — He adds news of Buda, and the announced resigning of Elizabeth, the widow-queen: he expresses his opinions about all that, and about the Turk Imbrahim Bassa. He soon will send more news. 'Vxor et filia sese tibi ex animo commendant'. He offers greetings to brothers and sisters. — J. Dantisco, Ep. Varmiensi, in Prussia.

On June 25, 1541, Sigismund ab Herberstein, writing from Vienna to Dantiscus <sup>2)</sup>, thanks him for his letter, and mentions that he had forwarded one from Cornelius de Schepper, as well as a second; a third urges him, Herberstein, to look for the missive which he believes to be lost. He adds news from Court, Sweden and Turkey.

On June 27, 1541, Nicolas Copernic writes from Frauenburg to his Bishop <sup>3)</sup>: Reverendissime in Christo Pater et Domine, Domine clementissime. Accepi literas Reverendissimæ Dominationis Vestræ humanissimas et admodum familiares, quibuscum etiam non dedignata est mittere ad lectorem librorum meorum epigramma elegans sane et ad rem, non meis meritis, sed Reverendissimæ Dominationis Vestræ benevolentia singulari, qua studiosos prosequi solet. Ipsum igitur Reverendissimæ Dominationis Vestræ titulum operi meo in fastigio præponam, si modo dignum sit opus, quod a Reverendiss. Dominatione Vestra exornari tantopere mereatur, quod tamen dictitant me doctiores esse aliquid, quibus obsequi decet. Ego vero singularem benevolentiam et affectum erga me paternum, quo me prosequi non cessat Reverendissima Dominationis Vestra, quantum in me est, promereri, eique in omnibus, quibus possum, uti debeo, servire et obsequi cupio. Ex Frauenburg, 27. Junii 1541.

E. R. D. V<sup>re</sup> obsequentissimus Nicolaus Copernicus.

<sup>1)</sup> Cp. Cartwright, 244, sq, 256, sq, and before, p 238.

<sup>2)</sup> DE, 425: Fbm, 6, 42-42bis; it reached Dantiscus on July 25.

<sup>3)</sup> Prowe, II, 168; DantKop., 298, xli-ii.

**In Copernici libellum Epigramma <sup>1)</sup>**

Has artes teneris annis, studiosa iuventus,  
 Discito, mensuras quæ numerosque docent !  
 Præmia namque feres suscepti magna laboris,  
 Ad cælum monstrant hæc tibi scripta viam :  
 Qua patet immensis spatiis pulcherrimus orbis,  
 Si metas horum cernere mente voles ;  
 Sidera vel quanam cœli regione vagentur,  
 Æterni cursus quas habeantque vices ;  
 Cur Luna involvat cæca caligine fratrem,  
 Cur Lunæ usuram lucis et ille neget ;  
 Venturos etiam casus quæ fata gubernent,  
 Quas populis clades astra inimica ferant.  
 Hæc si nosse voles, prius est doctrina tenenda,  
 Quam breviter tradunt hæc elementa tibi.  
 Cumque hominum mentes, quæ cœlo semina ducunt,  
 Errent a patria sede domoque procul,  
 Hæc doctrina ipsas terrena mole solutas  
 Cœlesti reduces rursus in arce locat.

On July 15, 1541, Dantiscus sends a letter to de Schepper from Heilsberg <sup>2)</sup>, mentioning that he wrote to him on April 12; he now is forwarding what he calls 'tria vasa potus nostri gentilicij', and he is going to pay the same tribute of love every year. Your letter of Vienna of August 18 of last year was answered on January 10 <sup>3)</sup>: I sent the reply with several other letters towards Rome. If you have not received it, you can have a duplicate dispatched on May 26; I am looking forward to further news from Ratisbon.

On July 15, 1541, Cornelius de Schepper writes from Brussels to Dantiscus <sup>4)</sup>: he refers to Ratisbon, and the good

<sup>1)</sup> *DantCar.*, 209-10: the lines were written by Dantiscus to be added to a manuel of Trigonometry by Copernicus: *De Lateribus et Angulis Triangulorum* (printed at Wittenberg, 1542): cp. Prowe, II, 378, &c., — who, although, seems to ignore that they are Dantiscus' work: Prowe, I, II, 369, 481, II, 380-81.

<sup>2)</sup> DE, 427: Ccm, 245, 265.

<sup>3)</sup> De Schepper's letter of August 18, 1540, DE, 417 (pp 326-30) and Dantiscus' reply of January 10, 1541 (pp 334-35) have both been preserved.

<sup>4)</sup> DE, 426: Fbm, 70, 97-98.

results to be expected ; still many people have fallen away from the Old Faith : thus the Orange family of Breda, who now have gone to Lorraine. — William, Duke of Cleves, has visited the French Court ; there is a rumour of war that will be started by France and Cleves, whereas the Emperor Charles prepares a naval expedition. He himself is still in Queen Mary's Court and there he has heard about Dantiscus from James a Barthen, through whom has come a 'juvenis astrologus et mathematicus', a pupil of Dr Nicolas Copernic. On account of that introduction many people, and, amongst them, our Gemma, 'magnopere anhelant ut opera ejus Copernicus evulget. Si hoc facit,' Dantiscus is requested to write and inform him.

Eustace of KNOBELSDORF, Knobbelsdorf, or Constans ALLIOPAGUS, as Dantiscus calls him in his poems, was the son of the mayor of Heilsberg : Bishop Dantiscus took an interest in him as he showed a capacity for constructing Latin verses ; he encouraged it by advice and subsidies. The boy had started studying in Frankfort on the Oder in 1536, promoting B. A. in 1537 <sup>1)</sup>. In reply to the poem which he delivered to the Prelate at his inauguration, he received the famous *Carmen Paræneticum*, in which Dantiscus describes the struggle he himself had fought, proposing it as a warning and as an encouragement to study ; Gnapheus called it *Cygneum melos* <sup>2)</sup>. — Eustace was sent by his Bishop to Louvain University in March-May 1540 <sup>3)</sup>, and was recommended to de Schepper <sup>4)</sup>, as well as to Gemma Frisius and other acquaintances. Maybe the lectures of Nannius or of Rescius in the *Trilingue* were not quite to the taste of the young poet <sup>5)</sup>, especially since he fell in with the two brothers Enzinas, who were bitterly opposed to the frankly Catholic spirit of Louvain <sup>6)</sup>. By the middle of 1541, one of them, Francesco, left for Wittenberg, or *Leucorea*, whereas the other, Jayme, went to Paris <sup>7)</sup>. That Knobelsdorf had grown quite familiar with them, and had adopted the decidedly heterodox opinions of his two friends, results from his and their correspondence with George Cassander, of Bruges, who addressed Eustace as 'amicus suus præcipuus' <sup>8)</sup>. The latter had removed to Paris with Jayme by November 1541. That the change was due to the wish to frequent a better University, as Knobelsdorf repeatedly asserts in his letters <sup>9)</sup>, is fully contra-

<sup>1)</sup> *UniFrank.*, 130.

<sup>2)</sup> *DantKop.*, xlv, 292.

<sup>3)</sup> *LibIntIV*, 144, r : Eustatius a knobelscorf prutenus.

<sup>4)</sup> Cp. his letter of June 12, 1541 : DE, 424 : p 338.

<sup>5)</sup> Cp. *HTL*, iv, 128, 129.

<sup>6)</sup> Cp. for the brothers Enzinas, *HTL*, iv, 130-32, 143-51, &c, II, 471, 587, III, 300 ; *Auω.*, 510.

<sup>7)</sup> Cp. *HTL*, iv, 131.

<sup>8)</sup> Schrevel, I, 404-05 ; *HTL*, iv, 131, 397, &c.

<sup>9)</sup> Cp. pp 343, 347.

dicted by the fact that his companion utterly hated its teaching, and especially despised the 'worthless lectures of the Sorbonne' <sup>1)</sup>. He, moreover, was quite horrified at the severity with which innovators were punished. He left, — and ended by being burned himself as a heretic in Rome in March 1547 <sup>2)</sup>. — Meanwhile Knobelsdorf, who had been financially helped by him, was in an appalling want of money to pay back Jayme, who was leaving Paris. He repeatedly appealed to his Bishop, and, no doubt, tried to gain something himself by his poem *Lutetiæ Parisiorum Descriptio*, issued in 1543 <sup>3)</sup>, — actually a song prompted by misery! He abandoned the capital, — which he, at first, had praised as excellence itself <sup>4)</sup>, — and resorted to Orleans, where he composed a eulogy on Joan of Arc <sup>5)</sup>. Although he had repeatedly mentioned his intention of removing to Rome, — where he would have found many a friend and a relative of Dantiscus, and even Stanislas Hosius, at work <sup>6)</sup>, — he only unceasingly appealed to the Bishop's generosity. Yet it seems as if, before returning home, he visited Wittenberg, to Caspar Hannow's horror <sup>7)</sup>: before the latter's criticism reached Frauenburg, Dantiscus had hailed home the returning young man, and had granted him in April 1546 the succession of Canon Mauritius, as well as his whole-hearted affection: two years later, on October 27, 1548, he died in his arms <sup>8)</sup>. In 1561, Knobelsdorf was appointed as *administrator dioc. Varmiensis* <sup>9)</sup>.

Eustace a Knobelsdorf writes to Dantiscus from Louvain on July 18, 1541 <sup>10)</sup>, that he has received his letter, and he thanks his benefactor for his interest and his kindness; he is studying eagerly, — like a merchant who is out after his gain. Yet he does not follow any lectures, as he does not think that they will profit much his poetic bent. — He judges that a stay in Paris will do much more good <sup>11)</sup>, as he

<sup>1)</sup> *HTL*, iv, 131-32.

<sup>2)</sup> M'Crie, 187-89; Buschbell, 150, *sq.*, 292, *sq.*; Paquot, xv, 204; Pastor, v, 712; HerMaur., 192; *CMH*, ii, 387; *EraSpain*, 551.

<sup>3)</sup> Cp. Murarasu, 145, *sq.*; Neff, *xiii*; Lefranc, 166. <sup>4)</sup> *HTL*, iv, 133.

<sup>5)</sup> *HTL*, iv, 133; it was partly translated into French by Val. Dufour (Orleans, 1879). <sup>6)</sup> Cp. *HTL*, iv, 133.

<sup>7)</sup> He wrote so to Dantiscus, but rather late, on Aug. 21, 1546: DE, 474.

<sup>8)</sup> Cp. *HTL*, ii, 559, 599, iii, 20, iv, 128-34; *DantKop.*, *xlvii*; Prowe, i, ii, 337, *sq.*, 341, 381; *CatCzart.*, i, 85, ii, 267, 271, 277, 383, &c; Baumgartner, 605.

<sup>9)</sup> *CatCzart.*, ii, 1605-10, 1680.

<sup>10)</sup> DE, 428: Upm, 155, 47-48; it reached Dantiscus on September 9.

<sup>11)</sup> Probably Louvain had too many people who were connected with Bishop Dantiscus: the advantage of staying in Paris can hardly have been attributed only to a want of writing poetry at home; in fact, he intended going there with some companion, who certainly did not leave Louvain on the only account of the state of literary studies; moreover, he himself soon left Paris for Orleans.

considered the University there as 'vice multorum Lovaniorum' <sup>1)</sup>; he expects that it will necessarily advance him. He therefore requests Dantiscus to allow him to go there before October next.

Although highly interested in Copernic's studies, Gemma Frisius had passed his licentiate in medicine, so as to be allowed to earn his living as a physician; he even became Doctor on August 30, 1541 <sup>2)</sup>; he thus was able to provide for his family, besides indulging in research work when it pleased him. For he did not neglect astronomy: William Zenocarus' book *De Republica, Vita et Moribus... Caroli Maximi* (Ghent, 1559), referring to the Comet of June 18, 1533, mentions besides the observations by Copernic and by Apian, also those by 'Gemma Frisius' <sup>3)</sup>.

In that sense the next letter is most interesting on account of the references to the intellectual connection between Gemma and Dantiscus' protégé, the great astronomer Copernic, who had continued his work about the movements of the heavenly bodies and had even edited a *proœmium* <sup>4)</sup>. That *proœmium*, the *Commentariolus*, of which copies were discovered only recently <sup>5)</sup>, refers to this present letter and to Copernic's study <sup>6)</sup>. When, in the spring of 1543, Gemma was told of Copernic's illness, he had learned from Knobelsdorf that his great work was printing: 'Sed et sub prelo esse iam nunc referunt nonnullorum monimenta virorum ex Germania prodeuntia. Et commodè sane nunc hoc opus exoritur, ut occasum tanti viri perpetua luce illustret: quamquam optem viro illi Nestoreis annis digno vitam opere suo durabiliorem' <sup>7)</sup>. No wonder that Joachim Rheticus, who had abandoned his professorship of mathematics in Wittenberg to share Copernic's work, highly esteemed Gemma's interest <sup>8)</sup>, and amply praised him in the preface to his *Ephemerides, seu Expositio positus diurni Siderum*, of 1551. In that preface he declares: 'Hoc cum doctissimus vir Gemma Phrysius et ipsum fieri oportere statuat, quasi alterum hac ætate Copernicum, fundamenta huius artis firma eum iacere intelligo, et ut par est, veneror animo meo' <sup>9)</sup>. In fact, Gemma's approval of Copernic's theory is clearly expressed in this very letter, of which several passages are quoted and referred to <sup>10)</sup> in Rheticus' introduction,

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<sup>1)</sup> Yet he lacks all proof and, as yet, even experience: he seems to have been bitterly disappointed: cp. *pr.*

<sup>2)</sup> Cp. further, p 345.

<sup>3)</sup> Cp. also Prowe, I, ii, 270, 272-73, 283-84, II, 392.

<sup>4)</sup> 'Hæc si reddiderit autor ille vester sarcta et tecta (id quod maxime animus præ sagit ex eo proœmio quod præmisit': p 346; Prowe, I, ii, 284.

<sup>5)</sup> Cp. Prowe, I, ii, 285-92.

<sup>6)</sup> Cp. p 346.

<sup>7)</sup> Cp. further, DE, 444; Prowe, I, ii, 554.

<sup>8)</sup> Cp. Prowe, I, ii, 270-72, 283-84, 554, II, 392.

<sup>9)</sup> Cp. Prowe, II, 392.

<sup>10)</sup> Cp. p 346.

which implies that he considered that Gemma did not, in any way, 'a Copernici recedere doctrina'; he is, moreover, highly praised by J. Stadius in the preface to his *Ephemerides novæ* of 1555 <sup>1)</sup>.

Unfortunately, as already mentioned, this letter reached Dantiscus two days after May 24, 1543, when Copernic expired and was entombed under the inscription he had made himself in his last illness :

Non parem Pauli gratiam requiro,  
Veniam Petri neque posco, sed quam  
In crucis ligno dederas latroni  
Sedulus oro <sup>2)</sup>.

On July 20, 1541, Gemma Frisius writes from Louvain to Dantiscus <sup>3)</sup> : Videris, Præsul Ornatissime, non iniuria queri de me, quod postremis D. T. litteris ne quidem responderim. Neque ego commode me unquam purgare possem, si aut negligentia, aut quodam animi fastu id commissem. Verum quandoquidem animus mihi bene conscius est, quantis, quamque varijs distractus fuerim hactenus curis, maiori longe animo minorique verecundia rursus audeo ad D. T. R<sup>mam</sup> importunius scribere ; si tamen importunum dici meretur, quod ipse pro tua humanitate prior poscis. — At quas (inquires) curas mihi narras, homuncio ? cui neque res pub. commissa est, neque principis valetudo ? — Sane non minori cura passer sibi nidum extruit, pullosque educat, quam vel aquila, vel struthiocamelus ; maiori interim negotio rusticus casulam extruit humilem, quam princeps sumptuosa quamvis palacia. Id adeo mihi euenit, ut mea quamvis exigui momenti negociola tantum mihi facessant negocij, quantum forte D. T. R<sup>mæ</sup> grauissimi rerum status. Hæc eo dico, Presul Ornatissime, ut tanto facilius tibi sim purgatus. Persuasumque D. T. sit, non ex negligentia commissum esse, cur minus quicquam amantissimis D. T. literis rescripserim, sed varijs, multisque,

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<sup>1)</sup> Cp. Prowe, II, 387-96, I, II, 284 : it was probably on account of the prudent declarations of Gemma, who then only knew of the *παράδοξον* of Copernic's doctrine from hearsay, that Prowe tries to detract from the value of that praise of Rheticus ; and Prowe himself certainly cannot pretend to any authority on the matter, no more than could Luther or Melancthon, who wished to invoke the intervention of the wordly power to prevent the excesses caused by Copernic's theories : HTL, II, 558 ; Prowe, I, II, 231, II, 395 ; Pastor, V, 741 ; before, p 173.

<sup>2)</sup> Cp. *DantKop.*, 286.

<sup>3)</sup> DE, 429 : Upm, 155, 49, 50 : *GemFrisius*, 408-10 ; it reached Dantiscus on September 9, 1541. Cp. HTL, II, 558-60.

et mihi saltem grauibus curis id ascribas velim. Profecto non admodum sunt exigui momenti (mea sententia) tot hominum valetudines, quas in dies curare habeo ! Quamquam enim non sint principes aut heroes omnes, non tamen minus diligentiae illis debeo quam vel maximis ducibus, quum eque magno constet Christo, Domino nostro, eorum vita atque regis potentissimi ! At nunc Dei benignitate remissa est nonnihil seuities morborum, qui hic et maximi et non pauci, grassati sunt annum fere totum, multosque e medio sustulerunt, quamquam ne decimus quisque succubuerit eorum, qui morbo detenti grauissime decubuerunt. Itaque nunc et copiosius et liberius scribo *R<sup>me</sup> D. T.*, quo et possem damnum resarcire (si quod passa est illa in me tua beneuolentia,) deleaturque post hac omnis negligentiae suspitio : quamuis etiam nunc nouus incumbat labor, nouaque molestia anhelanti ad Doctoratus Lauream, quae, Deo favente, tertio Kalendis Septembris celebrabitur <sup>1)</sup>). Atque utinam ita tulisset rerum conditio, ut huic festo licuisset adesse *R<sup>mae</sup> D. Tuæ* ! Deum immortalem, quantum claritatis habiturus fuisset dies ille ! Sed ferendum est quod mutari non potest.

Eustachium <sup>2)</sup> insignis probitatis, neque minoris eruditionis iuuenem, lubens amplector gestioque, si per facultatulas meas liceret demonstrare illi, quem erga eum gero animum : licet sperem hac in re nihil opus ipsum habere meis subsidijs. Videtur sane ad poesin natus, atque in ipso Helicone enutritus, ita fluunt tanquam de flumine versus <sup>3)</sup>). Certe videntur fato quodam Muse, relictis Pegasi fontibus, in Sarmatiam commigrasse, allectæ nescio qua aut dulcedine soli, aut potius incolarum genio, ac propulsæ ex consuetis Parnassi sedibus barbarie insueta Grecorum istuc profugisse. Atque ut de aliis nunc taceam, ipsa sane Vrania sedes ibi fixit nouas, nouosque suos excitauit cultores, qui nouam nobis terram, nouum Phœbum, noua astra, immo totum alium apportabunt orbem <sup>4)</sup>). Et quid ni nouum ? quum hactenus ignotum prorsus et incertis depictum limitibus orbem, iam deinceps tanquam

<sup>1)</sup> On Tuesday, August 30, 1541 : VAnd., 233.

<sup>2)</sup> Viz., Knobelsdorf.

<sup>3)</sup> The following 14 lines are quoted by Prowe, i, ii, 284.

<sup>4)</sup> Frisius refers here, and in what follows, to Copernicus' great work on the movements of the celestial bodies.



e cœlo asportatum notissimum simus habituri ? <sup>1)</sup> Quot enim erroribus, inuolucris, labyrinthis, quot denique enigmatibus plusquam Sphyngicis inuolutam habuimus nostram Astrologiam ? Ego sane multa possem enumerare, quæ nunquam mihi satisfacere potuerunt. Quale est, quod Martis motum sæpe a calculo vel exactissimo secundum tabulas, tribus signiferi partibus abesse obseruauerim ; quod Lunæ magnitudo non tantum varietur ad nostrum conspectum, quantum notant grauissimi huius artis authores ; quod anni quantitas nunquam inuenta sit exacte conformis veritati ! <sup>2)</sup> Nihil nunc dicam de motu Firmamenti et apogiorum, qui, ut ne umbram quidem habuit veritatis, ita omnibus ridiculus approbatur. Omitto etiam plura alia de omnium fere stellarum longitudine et latitudine, ne D. T. R<sup>me</sup> obstrepam incivilius <sup>3)</sup>. Hæc si reddiderit auctor ille vest[er] sarcta et tecta (id quod maxime animus presagit ex eo procemio quod premisit), nonne hoc est nouam dare terram, nouum cœlum ac nouum mundum ? Neque ego nunc disputo de hypothesibus, quibus ille utitur pro sua demonstratione, quales sint, aut quantum veritatis habeant. Mea enim non refert terramne dicat circumuolui, an immotam consistere ; modo syderum motus temporumque interualla habeamus ad amussim discreta et in exactissimum calculum redacta. Sola me mora omnium pessime habet : cupio enim iamiam videre huius negotii finem, et non pauci sunt passim viri eruditi, quibus non minor inest animi cupiditas hæcce videndi, quam mihi <sup>4)</sup>. Quapropter, Ornatissime Præsul, non parum mereberis graciæ cum apud infinitos haud infimæ doctrinæ viros, tum apud posteros omnes, si (quod tibi arbitror neque graue esse neque arduum) calcari- bus tantum usus hoc opus promoueas ! Non te latet enim, qua ratione sæpe accidat a decessu auctoris, ut libri, opera, supellex denique tota, diripiantur, abeantque in obliuionem, quæ alioqui multis ex usu essent futura ! Scis, arbitror, Dignissime Præsul, de quo loquar, nam et mihi præsentī olim de hoc authore celebri fecisti mentionem cum de terræ cœlique motu inter nos conferremus.

<sup>1)</sup> The following 7 lines are quoted by Prowe, II, 393.

<sup>2)</sup> The following 8 lines are quoted by Prowe, II, 393.

<sup>3)</sup> The following 8 lines are quoted by Prowe, I, II, 284.

<sup>4)</sup> The following 7 lines are quoted by Prowe, II, 393.

Quod superest, me D. T. R<sup>mæ</sup> quam commendatissimum esse cupio, precorque Deum Opt. Max. ut D. T. R<sup>mæ</sup> dignetur quam diutissime sospitem servare. Louanij, decimo tertio Kal. Augusti 1541. D. V. R<sup>mæ</sup> deditissimus

Gemma Frisius.

R<sup>mo</sup> in Ch<sup>o</sup> P. & D. D. Joanni Dantisco, Ep. Varmiensi...

On November 23, 1541, Eustace a Knobelsdorf announces to Dantiscus <sup>1)</sup>, that he left Louvain before he got the letter that allowed him the change; — he praises the Paris University on account of what he calls the fine lectures <sup>2)</sup>, and is very sorry not to have come straight here, 'posthabito Lovanio'. — He therefore promises to work hard, so as to regain what he lost. He would like to stay one more year. As to the 'causa' in Rome, a bull of nomination, he has taken due care of it.

On December 17, 1541, Eustace a Knobelsdorf once more writes to Dantiscus from Paris <sup>3)</sup>: he thanks for the letter he received, and for the help it brought: he has to spend a lot of money, in so far that he does not know how he will get back to the *patria*. He is greatly pleased that Dantiscus is satisfied with Paris; he refers, — not to the most dubious companion Jayme de Enzinas, who took him there, — but to the actual dangers of living in this great town, and to the *Gallorum mores*: especially to their axiom: 'nihil, nisi presente pecunia!' He hopes soon to go to Rome, and to study Greek. In case Dantiscus wants any books, they might be easily sent via Antwerp.

From 'Senis', Sienna, Nicolas de Granvelle writes to Dantiscus on December 20, 1541, and thanks him for the letter received, and for the present of 'cornua onagrorum' sent through de Schepper; they recall the old friendship, and suggest promises of mutual help.

<sup>1)</sup> DE, 431: Upm, 155, 51, sq; the letter reached Dantiscus on Jan. 30.

<sup>2)</sup> Yet he does not mention what opinion the one who led him to Paris, Jayme de Enzinas, had of them: cp. p 342.

<sup>3)</sup> DE, 432: Ccm, 1599, 83, sq; it reached Dantiscus on April 7, 1542.

<sup>4)</sup> DE, 433: Upm, 155, 53; it reached Dantiscus on April 8.

## ERMLAND 1542

On January 30, 1542, Cornelius de Schepper announces from Brussels to Dantiscus <sup>1)</sup> that he has come from Germany, where he stayed with the landgrave of Hesse and the Elector of Cologne; both of whom recalled Dantiscus splendidly. He found on his return two letters, which had been delayed: one referred to three casks of Danzig beer despatched; the other to horns and claws of an *onager* offered to Granvelle, which had remained in the hands of 'Joannes Ernestus de Esens, donec sciret quorsum illas mitteret' <sup>2)</sup>). As to the latter, I wrote at once to Granvelle, asking him where he wished them to be sent: he answered after waiting long, that he would like me to forward them to John of Borgoigne, who, in our time, was a 'metator hospitiorum Cæsaris et insignis usurarius', and who is still exerting that 'palestram strenue' at Antwerp; — which I did. Granvelle sent a letter, which I am now forwarding. The *cerevisia* arrived safely at Bruges, whilst Queen Mary of Hungary was there: she, too, drank of it, and gave some to the Princess of Chimay, of French origin, sister to the Queen of Scots: she had never drunk any beer yet, and we said it was *Danicum Vinum*. So she drank, but got a 'nausea ut ad insuetum potum. Sit autem illis insuetum, to our palates it is gratissimum; and many say it contains vim laxativam et stomachalem ex asara baccara, aut lauri bacchis, quas infundi putant. At any rate, it cured my wife of a cough of several months, following on a cold. So I thank you most heartily'. — He further sends news about Cæsar, about Hungary and Buda; also about Tunis, about its taking, and the subsequent clades: 'Cornelius a Segherscapelle <sup>3)</sup>, frater uxoris meæ, quum submersus crederetur, incolumis, sed nudus, venit Barcinonam'. Prayers are going to be said in gratitude for the Emperor's safe arrival in Spain <sup>4)</sup>: his life at present is more worth than anything. — I deplore that the French are growing in strength thanks to

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<sup>1)</sup> DE, 434: Fbm, 6, 51-56; it reached Dantiscus at Heilsberg on April 8. Cp. HTL, II, 386.    <sup>2)</sup> DE, 427 and 432.    <sup>3)</sup> Cp. DE, 403, *pr*.

<sup>4)</sup> His admirable courage in the disaster is praised in OFCarV, 34, b, 35, a.

the allies whom we abandon : namely Savoy and the Duke of Lorraine, the German bishops and Princes ; whereas we, who expose our lives in the war against the Turks, are in danger at home. Happy those who like Dantiscus, live in peace in their own country ! In France, Montmorency has lost favour, though he enjoyed abundant sympathy, and though he is full of zeal for peace. His antagonist, the Admiral, is growing in power <sup>1)</sup>, and that is due to the influence of a woman over the King, even to the disadvantage of his own children <sup>2)</sup>. De Schepper further expresses his opinions about the state of things in Germany and in France. 'We, in Belgium', he continues, 'are kept ready for an attack : by means of a messenger, an attempt is made at reviving the peace with Frederic of Holstein, which was drooping ; in reply, he rightly judges that the *'studium tranquillitatis publicæ'* is very small indeed : Sweden is preparing for war, and so is Denmark. If that is found to be true, all trade will be stopped. What good can come of it for the general welfare ? — After the *clades* at Buda, Godschalk went to the mountains to take care of Queen Mary's property, and was requested by the people to abscond, along with Bartholomew Haller and with Nicolas Olah, being *'Cæsarei'*, and therefore hateful to the Turks. Olaus remains with Ferdinand, and Haller is in Nuremberg. As to Godschalk, he has returned here, and sends his greetings. — *'Archiepiscopus Panormitanus bonam agit vitam Brugis'*, having retired from all political affairs, living in his Provostry. He, too, sends greetings. — George of Austria <sup>3)</sup> became Archbishop of Valencia at Erard de la Marck's decease, and, soon after, coadjutor of the Bishop of Liège, Cornelius de Zevenberghe <sup>4)</sup> ;

<sup>1)</sup> Cp. *CMH*, II, 76, *sq* ; Hudson, 237, *sq*.

<sup>2)</sup> Namely, Anne de Pisseleu, duchess of Étampes (1508-1585).

<sup>3)</sup> Cp. before, *pp* 202-03.

<sup>4)</sup> Cornelius de Berghes was coadjutor of the Bishop of Liège Erard de la Marck from 1530, but on account of his weak health, he had retired to the Abbey of la Cambre, where, on February 16, 1538, he was told of his appointment as his successor. He was inaugurated on June 6, 1538, and as he had done before, he introduced many useful measures, although being in a very poor health. He therefore postponed being consecrated bishop, and even priest, and requested a coadjutor. As thus a member of the imperial family, George of Austria, Bishop of

he consequently journeyed from Spain through France, thinking all to be in peace, and he is now being conveyed there from one prison to another in revenge of the death of Cæsar Fregosus and Antony Ryncon, the King's familiares, who were caught and killed 'dum secundo Pado deveherentur'. My opinion about that incident is, that by keeping him a prisoner, Francis I might find the occasion to make Liège revolt against their Bishop, and thus get some one, who is not a relation of the Emperor, but one of the Arenberg family, more in favour with France : thus helping to realize the joining of their country with Gelderland. — 'Dominus Maximilianus ab Egmonda, Comes de Buren et Ysselstein, recte valet' ; he is now in Friesland <sup>1)</sup>. John, Count of East Friesland, brother of Emon, who died, married one of the 'filiabus nothis' of Maximilian of Austria : he, too, is going to Friesland. The younger Lord of Gaasbeek <sup>2)</sup>, the Dnus. de Heulle <sup>3)</sup>, and Frederic a Melun <sup>4)</sup> 'prospere agunt'. One of these days Dom. a Praet <sup>5)</sup> gave to his son as wife, a daughter of the Lord of Beveren <sup>6)</sup>, a mutual friend, who himself suffers from podagra. — The news from Hungary is bad ; but every-

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Valencia, was appointed, but he could not reach Liège and be inaugurated before August 17, 1543, being held a prisoner on his passing through France. He actually succeeded as Bishop only on June 24, 1544. Meanwhile Cornelius' sickly state made his stays at Liège very short and rare, and even caused him to live a secluded life after 1544, about which hardly any details are known, in so far that his death, which seems to have happened in the last weeks of 1560, had been announced at different times : cp. *BelgChron.*, 243 ; *BerghAutr.*, 1-41.

<sup>1)</sup> Cp. before, p 43.

<sup>2)</sup> Henne, vii, 307 : the second son of Maximilian de Hornes, Martin, succeeded him as baron of Gaasbeek ; he was so prodigal that the creditors laid hold on his property in May 1559, and Gaasbeek became a possession of the Egmont family.

<sup>3)</sup> Of the family *van Heule*, — connected with Heule and Lichtervelde, or Leeuwerghem, — often quoted in Flanders genealogies, there was at this time a Daniel van Heule, Lord of Lichtervelde, married to Jane de Bailleul : he died in 1540 ; his brother Roland van Heule, married Ghislaine de Bailleul, sister of his brother's wife : *Brug&Fr.*, vi, 209-10.

<sup>4)</sup> Frederic de Melun, Lord of Hellemont, greatmaster of the artillery, died in 1550 ; he pacified Brussels on a day of trouble in 1542 : Henne, iii, 149, vii, 385.

<sup>5)</sup> Cp. before, pp 38-39.

<sup>6)</sup> Probably Adolph of Burgundy, Lord of Veere and Beveren : cp. before, p 135.

thing seems dark everywhere : for instance, Germany. — ‘Horrenda, quæ quottidie dicuntur de Anglis : faciunt ut verear ne et illic ullo sit loco ! Quid de nobis ? — Apud Francos adeo dissolutus est clerus, — de capitibus loquor, — ut timere cogar ne parum sit ouibus consultum !’ — And Spain, where ceremonies are more than precepts ? — and Italy ? and Rome ? — Wolphgang Haller and Lazarus Tucher send their greetings : the former has three daughters, and his wife is *gravida* again. — I am writing from Brussels : my wife is in Bruges with her two daughters, of whom the one of her first husband, is soon going to marry <sup>1)</sup> ; my son, now nine, is taught here by a ‘*virum religiosum et morigeratum*. — *Bacularius noster senior, tandem pertesus aulæ, nactus sacerdotiolum non sufficiens ad se alendum, recepit se Lovanium, ibique in studio perseverans, expectat legitimum tempus quo recipere poterit fructus præbendæ in Traiecto Inferiore, quam vigore precum imperialium est assequutus* <sup>2)</sup>. — *Leuinus Panagathus* <sup>3)</sup> est ex *fœcialibus Cæsaris* ; eumque sequutus in *Aphricam ex Hispaniam* ; luctatur adhuc cum *paupertate*. — Few are left of the old courtiers : amongst them *de Courrières* <sup>4)</sup> et *Montfalconetum*. The Count de Rœulx, the great ‘*economus*’ of Charles V, is now governor of Flanders and Artois <sup>5)</sup> ; *Dnus. de Bossu*, suffering from *podagra*, has followed Charles *per equa et iniqua* <sup>6)</sup>. The Count William of Roghendorff, having lost two wives, has died <sup>7)</sup> ; his son came here a few days ago : what he wants, I do not know ; his ‘*mores*’ are ‘*aulicissimi*’ : ‘*diceres ad aulam natum*’. — Eustace Alleopagus <sup>8)</sup> has gone from Lou-

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<sup>1)</sup> No doubt Catherine Laurin : cp. DE, 403, *pr*.

<sup>2)</sup> This, no doubt, refers to Maximilian of Waelscappelle, who became Canon at Utrecht, and, later on, Provost of Leyden : cp. PighE, 83, 292, 294.

<sup>3)</sup> Cp. p 53.

<sup>4)</sup> Cp. p 291 : in 1555, the government of Lille, Douai and Orchies was entrusted to John de Montmorency, Lord of Courrières : Henne, x, 255.

<sup>5)</sup> Adrian of Croy, Lord of Rœulx, who had been in France and Italy ; from governor of Artois, he became Governor of Flanders in 1539 : Henne, iv, 82, vii, 5, &c.

<sup>6)</sup> Nicolas de Bossuit, who wrote about geography : Henne, v, 59.

<sup>7)</sup> William de Roghendorf, an Austrian Lord, helped the Emperor in his administration : Henne, i, 198, ii, 201, iii, 345 : he resigned the governing of Friesland in 1521.

<sup>8)</sup> Eustace of Knobelsdorf : cp. p 341.

vain to France, but left a good renown for easiness and modesty ; letters can be sent through me. Called away from home to Court, where I am ordered to journey to Spires, I find that Godschalk has written a page to be joined to this letter, which I close myself with the usual greetings. — R. J. Dantisco, Ep. Varmiensi, D<sup>o</sup> et Patri.

On January 30, 1542, Godschalk Ericksen, Saxo Karlus, adds a page to de Schepper's letter of the same date in Brussels : he relates that he often is at meetings or in societies in which Dantiscus is highly praised ; he congratulates him on his new dignity, and he recalls 'beatam illam 'Jopensem cerevisiam' <sup>1)</sup>). Broken in health as I now am, I think night and day of a 'sacerdotium'. I have a canonry at Mayence, but cannot enjoy it, quia non possum stemma meum ex Holsatia et Dania, adversante Duce Holsatii, Maguntiam deducere. Through the kindness of the Rever<sup>mus</sup> of (Lund, now of) Constance, and that of King Ferdinand, I got a nomination to a Canonry at Liège ; but the 'Episcopus modernus, Dyckgravius Sevenbergius <sup>2)</sup>), puero suo providit, in contemptu *Precum Regalium*, contra quem Romæ in Auditorio Rote jus experior ! If, as I hope, that prebend will be given *de jure* to me, I will certainly retire to Liège to rest ; I am enjoying, besides, an annual pension, granted by the Emperor ; another, of 80 Carolinorum florenorum ex Abbatia Sancti Nicolai, prope Furnes <sup>3)</sup>), which will allow me to live : I am telling all this out of old attachment and friendship'.

From Fulda, George Witzel wrote to Dantiscus on February 8, 1542 <sup>4)</sup> : he thanks him for his letter and for the help he sent in September 1541, which reached him in the following January. He explains that he is now living at Fulda, — at least as long as the country keeps true to its name *Buchonia*, inspired by the beeches, 'nam', he adds, 'sensim luterascunt'. He hastens to tell his friend that his enemies never rest from telling untruths about him, in so far that he notes them down in a volume, his *Farrago*. He promises to have some of his

<sup>1)</sup> DE, 435 : Fbm, 6, 55 ; for *Jopensem*, cp. Jopas : before, p 230.

<sup>2)</sup> Viz., Cornelius de Berghes : cp. before, p 349.

<sup>3)</sup> Torfs, 1, 244 ; *BibBelg.*, \*48.

<sup>4)</sup> DE, 437 : Upm, 155, 55-58 ; *WitzSchr.*, 179-82 ; it reached Dantiscus at Marienburg on May 8.

writings sent to Dantiscus, and also to his canon Theodoric von Rheden : he will order them from Würzburg or from Mayence, where they are all available. He particularly thanks Dantiscus, whose help is highly wanted by him, since he is 'coniugatulus, quantumvis parce victitans'. He further imparts his opinion about the state of the country, and the danger threatening Christianity : it enjoins us 'to pray the Lord', he says ; 'Nisi enim Ipse custodierit Ecclesiam, in vanum laborant custodes Principes'. He requests to be told where books ordered are to be directed to ; help and money will always be safely sent through Michael Holding, the Mayence suffraganeus since 1538 : — in 1550, he became Bishop of Merseburg.

On May 25, 1542, Eustace a Knobelsdorf wrote to Dantiscus from Paris <sup>1)</sup> : he bitterly complains about want of money, and about his vain efforts to obtain any from de Schepper, who at the time was in Germany ; he mentions that a Spanish friend advanced him some, — yet he neither adds who, nor what that friend was <sup>2)</sup>, who had succeeded in making him turn his back on a town and a country, where he had staunch helpers, like de Schepper and Gemma Frisius. No doubt to excuse and justify himself as much as possible for having deserted Louvain, he adds that he has good professors of languages in Paris : yet two of the three he mentioned, Bartholomew Latomus <sup>3)</sup> and Joannes Straselius <sup>4)</sup> are old

<sup>1)</sup> DE, 438 : Upm, 155, 61, *sq* ; it reached Dantiscus on August 10.

<sup>2)</sup> No doubt the unruly Jayme de Enzinās, who wanted back his money, as he was leaving Paris : cp. *p* 342, and, for the brothers Enzinās, *HTL*, iv, 143-51.

<sup>3)</sup> Bartholomew Latomus, Masson, Lapidica, born in 1498 or 1499 at Arlon, studied first in Freiburg and then in Louvain, where he was a most zealous hearer in the *Trilingue*. He was appointed professor in the Royal School of Paris in 1534 ; yet, quite disappointed, *he left by 1539 for Italy*, and was replaced by Peter Galland. He became doctor of laws in Bologna, and worked from 1540 as councillor of the Archbishop of Treves, until his decease on January 3, 1570. Cp. *HTL*, ii, 591-602, &c, i, 525 ; *MonHL*, 432, 441, 456-57 ; Allen, v, 1252, 12 ; *ActaMori*, 25, 165 ; *Busl.*, 20, 299 ; Lefranc, 120, *sq*, 136, *sq*, 183-89, &c ; FG, 370-71 ; *BibBelg.*, 106. — No doubt, Knobelsdorf knew Latomus only by name and reputation !

<sup>4)</sup> John van Strazeele, Straselius, a native of West-Flanders, was



Trilinguists, the third being Peter Galandinus <sup>1)</sup> — and Latomus for certain had left since two years when Knobelsdorf arrived !

On August 26, 1542, John de Weze, — who, as already said <sup>2)</sup>, had become, in 1537, Bishop of Constance, as well as Abbot of Waldsassen and Reichenau, after having been Archbishop-elect of Lund for fifteen years, — wrote from Rome to Dantiscus <sup>3)</sup> : he had gone there for matters about his diocese, and met one of Dantiscus' nephews, Gaspar Hannovius <sup>4)</sup>. He announces that he is ready to do what he can for his friend, and he excuses himself for not adding any news about Germany or Hungary, which he is sure Dantiscus knows far better than he does.

On September 3, 1542, Eustace of Knobelsdorf once more appeals to Bishop Dantiscus from Paris <sup>5)</sup> ; he is without money, as nothing is to be expected from Antwerp, probably on account of the critical conditions created by the French King, who wants to assault the Emperor's states. He thus is obliged to send even the present letter by England ; — at any rate, he fears to get lost in the turmoil, — having been apparently abandoned at the time by his 'Spanish Friend' <sup>6)</sup>.

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taught by Livinus van den Cruyce ; also by Vives, who refers to him in his *De Conscribendis Epistolis* (VOO, II, 287). He afterwards studied at the *Trilingue*, working very hard at Greek. He was for a time in James van Halewyn's service, and left it to replace Peter Danes as Greek professor in Paris in 1534. He died in 1559. Cp. *HTL*, II, 415-16, &c, III, 90, 295 ; *Lefranc*, 150, *sq.*, 163, 182, 205, &c ; *BibBelg.*, 567.

<sup>1)</sup> Peter Galland, Gallandinus, replaced Latomus as professor of Latin Eloquence in 1539, and became his official successor by 1541. He pronounced the funeral Oration of Francis I, on May 7, 1547. Cp. *HTL*, IV, 129, 132, II, 598-99 ; *Lefranc*, 121, 160, 166, 204, 214, 232, *sq.*, 381.

<sup>2)</sup> Cp. before, *pp.* 24-25 ; *Cran.*, 57, 2 ; *HTL*, II, 411, 591, 599, III, 283, 286, &c, IV, 116-18 ; *PighE*, 9, 12, 488.

<sup>3)</sup> DE, 439 : Ccm, 243, 239 ; it reached Dantiscus on December 8, 1542.

<sup>4)</sup> Cp. further, DE, 474.

<sup>5)</sup> DE, 440 : Ccm, 1599, 229, *sq.* ; it reached Dantiscus on November 27.

<sup>6)</sup> Cp. before, DE, 438.

## ERMLAND 1543

The first weeks of this year were unfortunately marked by an illness which overtook the world renowned erudite Nicolas Copernicus. The Bishop was deeply impressed, and lost no time in communicating the sad news to his Louvain admirer Gemma, whom Copernic's assistant, Joachim Rheticus, called : *alter hac ætate Copernicus* <sup>1)</sup>. From the reply which the latter wrote, it appears that, in addition to the sorrowful announcement already expressed in the rough draft, Dantiscus made some inquiries about the various lectures given in Louvain and wished for some idea about the cost : to his letter of January 29, 1543, he received Gemma's feeling reply of April 7, on May 26 : unfortunately the celebrated Copernic had died two days before <sup>2)</sup>. Cp. the introduction to DE, 429, pp 343-44.

On January 29, 1543, Bishop Dantiscus wrote to Gemma Frisius 'ex arce Heylsbergh' and announced Copernic's illness in a letter, of which the rough draft is preserved <sup>3)</sup>. The Bishop wishes well to his friend and to his 'Jacobina', and forwards this message through Christ. Conarsky, who is sent to the Court in Brussels by the Polish King. The year before, Dantiscus had enjoined Eustace de Knobelsdorf to write to Gemma about the studies on mathematics of Nicolas Copernicus, 'qui iis diebus ferme extreme laborat paralisi,' and had given his works to a mathematician to be printed. 'I made an epigram to one', he added, 'but I do not know what it will come to <sup>4)</sup>. If I can help you in any way, tell me. — Complectere meo nomine conjugem, etiam si multis volueris vicibus. If you, Gemma, have anything to edit in mathematics, send it here through the ambassador : it will be printed at the expense of the King of Poland.'

In the first weeks of 1543, Dantiscus directed another letter to de Schepper, of which only the rough draft is preserved <sup>5)</sup>. It seems to be intended to be sent along with the copy of a message which probably interested his friend, and was to serve the purpose whenever necessary. He refers to some of his friend's jokes about drinking.

<sup>1)</sup> Prowe, II, 392.

<sup>2)</sup> Cp. pp 172-73 ; DE, 444 ; Prowe, I, II, 251, 328, 337, 554, &c, II, 140, sq, 157-68, 277, 280, 381, 393, 417, 540, 544 ; *DenkmErm.*, 95, 101 ; *Cracow*, 29, 156.

<sup>3)</sup> DE, 441 : Fbm, 70, 198 ; Hipler, 565. Cp. *HTL*, II, 558, sq.

<sup>4)</sup> Cp. before, p 340.

<sup>5)</sup> DE, 442 : Fbm, 70, 198.

Writing from Nuremberg on February 13, 1543, Nicolas Perrenot de Granvelle <sup>1)</sup> thanks Dantiscus for the letter he received from him last year when he was returning from Spain, and especially for the *cornua* <sup>2)</sup>; he refers gratefully to the old friendship which still continues.

On April 7, 1543, Gemma Frisius wrote to Dantiscus most interestingly about the life and costs of students in Louvain, as well as about the group of professors who then were at work there : this is the text of that remarkable letter <sup>3)</sup> : Reuer<sup>me</sup> D<sup>ne</sup>, salutem et officiorum meorum commendationem. Vix tandem legi, Rever<sup>me</sup> D<sup>ne</sup>, summo desyderio longoque temporis tractu expetitas R<sup>mæ</sup> D. V. literas, plenas in me amoris et benevolentiae, pro quibus ne Cræsi quidem diuitias (ut ita loquar) in præsentiarum mihi concessas velim, quamquam enim aliqua in parte argumentum satis triste tractant : vbi scilicet manum illam tot Heroibus notissimam, ac regibus quoque adamatam, adeo languere narrant, ut iam sine vicario nihil agere possit <sup>4)</sup>. Altera tamen parte maximum mihi eximerunt metum, et insigni perfuderunt gaudio. Iam dudum enim apud nos increbuerat rumor, et nonnullis quoque persuasit longum silentium R<sup>mam</sup> D. Vestram simul et scribere et vivere desijsse. A qua suspitione liberati serio nunc exultamus, et ut eandem R<sup>mam</sup> D. V. longa et meliori valetudine donare velit Is, in cuius manu sortes nostræ sunt, precamur ex animo.

Apud Generosum et Nobilem D. Oratorem Serenissimi Regis Vestri <sup>5)</sup> cœnauit nuper in edibus Magnifici D<sup>ni</sup> Cornelii Scepperi, forte Bruxellam vocatus ob malam valetudinem Illustris D<sup>ni</sup> a Prato <sup>6)</sup>; ac tum mea omnia, quæ parum ipsi D<sup>no</sup> Christophoro usui esse possunt, in promptitudinis animi mei

<sup>1)</sup> DE, 443 : Fbm, 70, 134 ; it reached Dantiscus on March 10, 1543.

<sup>2)</sup> Cp. before, p 347.

<sup>3)</sup> DE, 444 : Upm, 155, 70-71 ; *GemFrisius*, 411-13 ; it reached Dantiscus at Cracow on May 26. Cp. *HTL*, II, 418, 425, 536, 538, 549, 562.

<sup>4)</sup> Viz., the total prostration of Copernic by his illness.

<sup>5)</sup> No doubt ' Christophorus Conarsky, Orator Regis Poloniae ', who asked for the details about studies and their cost in Louvain for Dantiscus' nephews : cp. pp 355, 357.

<sup>6)</sup> Cp. before, pp 38 and 224 ; he died on October 7, 1555 (Henne, x, 255).

signum, ut debui, obtuli, cui sane nomine *R<sup>mæ</sup> D. V<sup>ro</sup>* obsequium aliquod præstare cuperem. Sed reuertenti mihi post tres dies Louanium, interea videre nunquam ipsum contigit, itaque non potui pro animi voto meam erga *R<sup>mam</sup> D. V.* voluntatem declarare. Si tamen nepotes *R<sup>me</sup> D. V.* contigerit huc ad nos pervenire, id quod summopere desydero, spero effecturum me, ne vana videri possit hæc mea pollicitatio. De statu vero litterario nostræ Academiæ *R<sup>mæ</sup> D. V.* significandum statui : Doctores nos habere in quouis disciplinarum et artium genere excellentes. In Iure Ciuili D. Ioannem Hazium <sup>1)</sup>, D. Amicum <sup>2)</sup> et D. Gabrielem <sup>3)</sup>, viros omnes non minus facundos quam eruditos ; in Canonibus, D. Dominicum <sup>4)</sup>, D. Michaellem Druysium <sup>5)</sup> et Licentiatum Wilmarum Bernardum <sup>6)</sup>, quorum et vita doctrinæ excellentiæ respondet ; Theologorum vero (quos merito primo ordine recensere debueram) magnus et apud nos et numerus et splendor. Inter quos acutior videtur et senior M. N. Iacobus Latomi <sup>7)</sup>. Sed quid ego cæcus de coloribus ? Doctores tandem medici aliqui hic plures sunt quam ægroti, et fuerunt plures quam auditores. Sed indies quoque nomen claritasque Scholæ medicæ Louanii sese ad sydera tollit ; accessit enim nuper per Magistratum Louaniensem instituta noua Medicinæ lectio <sup>8)</sup> præter consuetas ; cepimus quoque anatomen celebrare, id quod hactenus plane neglectum fuit magno auditorum detrimento ; nos quoque pro nostra tenuitate Mathemata hac quadragesima cepimus declarare, ac indies satis frequenti auditorio perficimus.

Quod ad impensas annuas attinet, non est respondere facile. Sunt enim variæ apud nos classes, varii ordines. Quisque pro sua et dignitate et precio diuerso accipitur. Sunt qui in Pædagogijs victitant 36 aureis Carolis, hoc est 18 ducatis. Sunt in eisdem Pædagogijs alterius classis conuictores, qui 24, sunt qui 25 ducatos annue pendunt. Simili quoque ratione apud Doctores, aut alios viros doctos viuitur. Maxima vero ex parte et passim hac tempestate 25 ducatis victus emitur. Noui

<sup>1)</sup> John de Haze : cp. p 359.

<sup>3)</sup> Gabriel Mudæus : cp. p 360.

<sup>5)</sup> Michael Drieux : cp. p 359.

<sup>7)</sup> James Latomus : cp. p 361.

<sup>2)</sup> Peter Amicus : cp. p 359.

<sup>4)</sup> Dominicus Cakaert : cp. p 359.

<sup>6)</sup> Vulmarus Bernaert : cp. p 360.

<sup>8)</sup> Cp. further, p 362.

quoque alios qui in Doctorum edibus 30 ducatos pro victu numerant. Victus vero nomine cibum, potum, cubicula et lectum tantum numeramus; ligna, *candelas*, vestitus, aliaque huiusmodi, proprijs quisque sumptibus sibi comparare debet.

Sed tanta est apud nos bellorum tumultuatio, ut non videam, qua via nepotes R<sup>mæ</sup> D. V. ad nos perrumpere possint. Anno elapso Geldrenses et Cliuenses Regis Galli instinctu et nomine totam Brabantiam fere deuastarunt, ac Louanium omni præsidio destitutum, fere per insidias occuparunt. Quo tempore et ego pro mœnibus quadriduum adstiti, iam factus miles, non admodum voluntarius; vidique hostes bombardarum nostrarum globis disiectos et strenue repulsos. Vnde tunc cecini :

VICIMUS aUXILIO ChrISTI post VINCULA Cephæ <sup>1)</sup> !

Sed hæc iam apud R<sup>mam</sup> D. V. notissima esse arbitror <sup>2)</sup>; potuissem alioqui ingens volumen harum rerum narratione implere, neque adhuc finis aliquis apparet, sed tantum progymnasmata quædam videntur, præut nunc omnia furorem Martium referunt, omnia sursum deorsum volutant. Sed dabit Deus his quoque finem spero !

Opus illud mathematicum summi viri D. Nicolai Copernicij summo desyderio expecto, quod impressum iri D. Eustachius <sup>3)</sup> mihi narrauit. Sed et sub prelo esse iam nunc referunt nonnullorum monimenta virorum ex Germania prodeuntia. Et commodum sane nunc hoc opus exoritur, ut occasum tanti viri perpetua luce illustret, — quanquam optem viro illi nestoreis annis digno vitam opere suo durabiliorem : quam ut R<sup>mæ</sup> D. Vestræ et illi concedat Deus Optimus Max. quotidianis precibus oro. — Vxor mihi charissima, Barbara nomine, neque re Latina vel Græca, sed humanissima, ut amplexibus meis gaudet, ita amplexum amicitiae R<sup>mæ</sup> D. V. summopere desyderat, veteres quoque R<sup>mæ</sup> D. V. clientuli quam commendatissimi R<sup>mæ</sup> D. V. esse cupiunt. Ex Louanio, vii Aprilis Anno M. D. xliij. Reuerendissimæ D. Vestræ obsequentissimus Gemma Frisius.

Rev. in Ch. Pr<sup>t</sup> ac D<sup>no</sup> J. Dantisco, Ep<sup>o</sup> Warmiensi, etc<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>1)</sup> Viz., the feast of 'S. Petri ad Vincula', August 1.

<sup>2)</sup> Cp. *MonHL*, 625-31, and Goes' *Oratio*, *ib.*, 646-61; Henne, VII, 345-83.

<sup>3)</sup> Eustace Knobelsdorf.

In reply to Dantiscus' inquiry, Gemma Phrysius gave, on April 7, 1543, several details about the Louvain lectures, and about the facilities and the cost of living there <sup>1)</sup>. He mentions various professors of Jurisprudence, starting with John de HAZE, of Tourcoing, who became member of the Academic Council on November 28, 1517, and, about that time, reader of feudal law; further D. V. J. on May 22, 1520, and professor of the *Institutes* on October 28 following. He died on March 28, 1547, as a sexagenarian, and was succeeded by Mudæus. His daughter Barbara married Elbertus Leoninus on June 7, 1548 <sup>2)</sup>.

A second professor of laws, Peter de VRIENDT, or VRIENTS, AMICUS, of Ter Tholen, Zeeland, studied the Artes in Paris, from where he came to Louvain on February 13, 1515. He was tutor in Giles de Busleyden's family, until the boys were sent to Louvain. On December 18, 1520, Erasmus caused him to be appointed at Tournai, probably through Cranevelt: he there edited his *Institutionis Grammaticæ Libelli Duo*, on July 22, 1521. Returning to his studies, he became D. V. J. on September 13, 1530 at a promotion, at which were present Nicolas Everardi, the President, and Peter l'Apostole, Francis de Cranevelt and Louis de Schore, members of Mechlin Parliament. In 1533, de Vriendt was made professor of Civil Law, *Dictator Universitatis*, and, in 1541, University Notary: he died in 1556, being succeeded by John Wamesius <sup>3)</sup>

The fourth professor referred to, Dominic CAKAERT, of Dendermonde, studied in Louvain. where, on August 29, 1521, he became member of the University Council, and on December 1, 1523, professor of Canon Law; he passed his doctorate of both Laws on June 18, 1526 <sup>4)</sup>; he died on June 6, 1548, whereas his wife, Dymphna van den Wyngaert, survived him until January 28, 1570 <sup>5)</sup>.

The fifth jurispudent, Michael DRIEUX, DRIUTIUS, born at Volkerinc-hoven, near Cassel, studied in the Lily, being classed the 10<sup>th</sup> at the promotion of 1516 <sup>6)</sup>. Made professor on March 21, 1529, he promoted D. V. J.; on September 13, 1530, along with de Vriendt, in the presence

<sup>1)</sup> Some of these details have been made use of already in *HTL*, II, 560, sq.

<sup>2)</sup> Cp. VAnd., 155-56, 184-87, 210; *HTL*, II, 146, 148, sq, 215, 560; Mol., 545.

<sup>3)</sup> *LibIntIII*, 210, r; VAnd., 50, 72, 156, 186-91; Mol., 547, 740; *Busl.*, 19; *Cran.*, xxiii, p 687; *MonHL*, 597-98; Allen, IV, 1173, 9-21, 1212, 1-5; Hoynck, II, i, 110; *HTL*, I, 225, II, 126-27, 156, 418, 422, 426, 560, III, 126, 129, 138, IV, 25, 321; *ULDoc.*, I, 315.

<sup>4)</sup> At his promotion were present Peter l'Apostole, Francis de Cranevelt and Louis van Schore, Mechlin Councillors.

<sup>5)</sup> VAnd., 155-7, 184-6, 189; *HTL*, II, 73, 420, 425, III, 153; Mol., 545, 618.

<sup>6)</sup> His name is the 10<sup>th</sup> on *ULPromLc*, 6, amongst a list of the first 12 of 196; he is wrongly quoted in other lists.

of the President and of three members of Mechlin Great Council. After a prosperous professorate, during which he formed men like James Crucquius, he was chosen in the spring of 1559 as successor to Ruard Tapper, Dean of St. Peter's, and Chancellor of the University : he died on September 16 of that year, founding one of the finest Colleges of the University <sup>1</sup>).

The last of the jurists named, Vulmar BERNAERT, born at Eecke in 1510, taught philosophy in the Lily, where he had been classed the 3<sup>rd</sup> in 1528, and was a close friend of Andrew Masius. He was appointed professor of Canon Law in 1538, promoting D. V. J. on August 31, 1547. In 1552, he attended the session of the Council of Trent and, returning to Louvain, was elected several times as Rector ; he died on January 13, 1570, founding scholarships in St. Ives' College <sup>2</sup>).

Still the most interesting and most important of them all was Gabriel van der MUYDEN, MUDÆUS, the nephew of the great grammarian John de Coster, or Ceusters, Custos <sup>3</sup>). He was born at Brecht, near Antwerp, and took service as a boy in the house of Adrian of Utrecht and of others professors, where he made the acquaintance of Erasmus and of Vives, even before he became a zealous auditor of the lectures of the *Trilingue*. He promoted Master of Arts in 1523, and started jurisprudence, putting in practice a new method characteristic of the *Trilingue*, that was highly praised by Vives in his famous *Quodlibetæ* of December 1522 <sup>4</sup>) : instead of learning law from the *glossæ* of Bartholus and Accursius, he studied parts of the *Corpus Juris* itself, with the help of history, and of investigations into the conditions, which necessitated the measures to remedy those defects and shortcomings. Mudæus was so forward in his theories, incited as he was by the principles taught in the *Trilingue* for other fields of study, that he was expelled by his fellow-students from the meetings of their *Collegium Baccalaureorum*. Fortunately he became the instructor of the influential Laurent du Blioul, whom he helped in his examinations, passing at the same time with him the test of the Doctorate in both Laws on May 6, 1539. He was

<sup>1</sup>) Vern., 107 ; VAnd., 185-86, 403, &c ; Cran., vi, xxx, 83, e, 95, g ; MonHL, 129-30 ; HTL, I, 215, II, 421-22 (and authorities quoted), 425, III, 481-82, 485, &c, IV, 15, sq, 45, sq, &c ; ULDoc., III, 258-63 ; Mol., 137, 546, 643.

<sup>2</sup>) Cp. VAnd., 151-57, 189, 211, 296, sq, 363, sq, 380, 403 ; Vern., 97 ; Mol., 548, 630 ; MasE, 12, 15, 96, 98, 104, 107, 111, 345 ; HTL, II, 425-27 (and sources quoted), 86, 217, &c, IV, 321, 443, 526 ; Auw., 354 ; Coll-Torr., 77.

<sup>3</sup>) Cp. HTL, I, 200-05.

<sup>4</sup>) Vives had accepted to replace one who had been appointed as *quodlibetarius* for 1522, but who fell ill at the last moment ; he prepared, in very few days, discourses about the right Humanistic studies, which gathered crowds as never had been seen before, and reaped a success without equal : MonHL, 388-89.

appointed professor of *Institutes* in 1537 on the express condition that he should teach the law according to the secular routine; in 1547, he became Primary professor of Civil Law on a similar stipulation. Yet, besides the *regular* series of lectures, he organized another, quite *personal*, in which he explained the full reality of an unclogged juridical science, which soon became so renowned that he gathered an extraordinary number of assiduous auditors, who at times exceeded the two thousand. He did not edit himself any of those novel explanations by which he introduced logic deductions and documentary research into jurisprudence. Yet he had as auditors not only celebrated foreigners, or students who, like Matthias van Wesembeek, became themselves famous as juridical authors in the Universities of different countries; but, before all, a rich and glorious series of highly celebrated men of these provinces, from Francis Baudouin, Hopper, Tack and Wames to Tegnagel, Peck and Molinæus. No wonder that Cujas affirmed about him: 'Ante illum talem in Belgio non habuistis, nec post illum habituri estis'. Unfortunately the extraordinary amount of intellectual activity entailed a premature decease on April 21, 1560. His work continued, and prospered, and developed so that he soon was accounted as the greatest, and by far the most influential jurisprudent of the Netherlands; 'Imo Germani, Galli, Itali, Hispani et quicumque alii frui ejus beneficii potuerunt', as Feyerabendt declared <sup>1)</sup>.

Where Gemma, describing the theologians of Louvain, points out James Latomus as the *acutior* besides the *senior*, he actually talks as 'a cœcus de coloribus'. He probably ignored that he was not only an old enemy of Erasmus, but a total and obstinate opponent to the *Trilingue* and its method, — as has been at length described in its *History*. He even roused against that School and her professors men like Titelmans and Clenardus <sup>2)</sup>. After several years of absence, he was appointed again in 1535 as professor, but was hardly productive, and died on May 29, 1544. Cp. before, p 92; *HTL*, I, 324-34, 347, 566-69, &c, II, 221-22, 250-53, 273-74, 282, 286, 344, 414, &c, III, 167, 189, IV, 86; *Auw.*, 239, 242 (his nephew); *MonHL*, 195-99, 507, 510, &c.

Gemma Phrysius mentions in his letter that, on account of their frequent absences and insufficient erudition, the Town authorities of Louvain dismissed the medical professors Arnold Noot and Leonard Willemaers <sup>3)</sup>, and replaced them, about Christmas 1542, by Jeremy Thriverus, creating a new lecture of anatomy, which he had recently started on his own initiative.

<sup>1)</sup> Cp. Vern., 97, 289; VAnd., 155-56, 187-88, 198, 244, 380, 403; Mol., 547, 740; Paquot, III, 72; *HTL*, II, 209-18, 418-19, &c, III, 517-20 (and sources quoted), IV, 318-19, 343, 348-50, &c; *Auw.*, 64, 320, 364, 429-30; PighE, 74, 217, 301, 494-96; H. de Vocht, *Gabriel van der Muyden, Mudæus*: Antwerp, 1940.

<sup>2)</sup> Cp. before, pp 78-79.

<sup>3)</sup> Cp. *HTL*, II, 516.



That Jeremias de DRIVERE, THRIVERUS, Triverius, was born in 1504 at Brakel, — hence his name, BRACHELIUS, — a village near Audenarde; he studied in Louvain, and was placed the first at the promotion to Masters of Arts in 1522. He was taught Greek at the *Trilingue*, and made great use of the Greek medical authors. He was accepted as member of the University Council on November 3, 1531, and he promoted Doctor of Medicine on May 6, 1538. By then, he had made Andrew Vesale's acquaintance, and although he had written several — old-fashioned — medical tracts <sup>1)</sup>, he placed himself at his friend's disposal, so as to familiarize himself with his new methods. As the lectures of Medicine were very badly attended on account of the evident negligence of the former professors, the Town Council encouraged Thriverus, who fully understood the urgent need of a rational teaching of anatomy, especially since his fellow-student and colleague, the great Vesale, was then captivating by it the attention of the whole of Europe. He was made to start a lecture of that part of the branch on June 12, 1541, which being found most useful, led to the dismissal of the two professors. — Thriverus was, later on, joined in his teaching by Gemma <sup>2)</sup>, who had become famous as practician long before 1546 <sup>3)</sup>. Here Gemma does not mention Thriverus' name as he was probably a stranger to Dantiscus. He died in December 1554; his son edited by 1592 his father's *Methodus Medicinæ Universæ* <sup>4)</sup>.

On April 18, 1543, Eustace a Knobelsdorf writes from Paris to Dantiscus <sup>5)</sup> to thank him for the letter and the money sent; he announces that he is leaving for Orleans, where he intends studying Canon Law; he has written some poems about Paris and Orleans, which he will send <sup>6)</sup>.

On November 17, 1543, Knobelsdorf writes from Orleans to Dantiscus <sup>7)</sup> thanking him for the twenty 'Joachimos', and declaring that the Bishop of Ermland is the glory of Poland through his science. He himself wishes to come home, but is in debt, and begs for more money.

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<sup>1)</sup> Such as *Commentaria in Hippocrati Aphorismos, in Artem Galeni Medicam, in Celsum de Sanitate tuenda, &c.*

<sup>2)</sup> Cp. before, pp 73-74, 224.

<sup>3)</sup> Cp. *HTL*, II, 562.

<sup>4)</sup> Cp. Vern., 302; VAnd. (Triverius), 219, 232, 244; Mol., 566; Guicc., 50, 235; *ULAnn.*, 1846, 217-45; *MonHL*, 690; *HTL*, II, 516, 532-42, 544, 560-63, 623, III, 59, 109, 327, 333-35, 534, IV, 41, 43-44, 352, 415, 516; Paquot, VII, 179-85; *SaxOnom.*, 631.

<sup>5)</sup> DE, 445; Upm, 155, 72, 73; it reached Dantiscus on June 30.

<sup>6)</sup> Viz., the *Lutetiæ Parisiorum Descriptio*, 1543, and the poem celebrating Joan of Arc, at Orleans: cp. *HTL*, IV, 132-33; & bef., pp 341-42.

<sup>7)</sup> DE, 446; Upm, 155, 75-76; it reached Dantiscus on February 1, 1544.

## ERMLAND 1544

Compared with his preceding missives, this following letter shows to all evidence the total absence of straightforwardness and veracity in GNAPHEUS, leader of the Elbing School <sup>1)</sup>. He had had no end of trouble on account of his creed, although seriously warned in time by Dantiscus ; he now had to leave by order of the King of Poland ; the intercession of his friends in Elbing had hardly any effect <sup>2)</sup>, and the Bishop of Plock, Vice-Chancellor Samuel Maciejowski, had even requested Dantiscus on August 15, 1541, to inform him at once, if Gnapheus should ever open a school anywhere in Poland <sup>3)</sup>. The latter had just then accepted the offer of Albert I of Brandenburg to become his councillor at Königsberg in 1541, and he, subsequently, was active when a University was being founded, which was highly desirable then for Polish and East Prussian students. As is mentioned in this letter, it was founded thanks to the powers conceded in Rome by Paul IV through Cardinal Bembo, with whom Sabinus, on his journey to Italy, had become personally acquainted. That George Sabinus (1508-1560) <sup>4)</sup>, was to be the first Rector <sup>5)</sup> ; Gnapheus endeavoured all the same to provide a professor of theology, as results from a letter to Luther of November 29, 1542 <sup>6)</sup>. By 1544, the *Collegium Albertinum* thus started with a distinctive anti-Catholic character <sup>7)</sup>. Gnapheus was at the head of a *Pædagogium* attached to it. It explains how in those years he wanted to secure the help of the Pole John a Laski, organizer of the Emden shelter for all Protestants <sup>8)</sup>. — After all, Gnapheus did not enjoy very long the situation he had built up with great pains at Königsberg ; his religious principles displeased Staphylus and his party <sup>9)</sup>, who caused him no end of trouble and ‘excommunicated’ him in June 1547 ; they even managed to have him dismissed in that same

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<sup>1)</sup> Cp. before, p 305 ; Tschackert, I, 253-55.

<sup>2)</sup> Writing before August 20, 1540 to the town of Elbing, he complains that in a letter from the Bishop of Ermland, he is accused of being a *Sacramentarius* and an *Anabaptista*, of which he says to be innocent, as he is not connected with any sect, but tries to do what he considers his duty : Tschackert, II, i, 404.

<sup>3)</sup> *CatCzart.*, II, 260 (*coll.*, 1599, p 3).

<sup>4)</sup> Cp. further, pp 369, sq ; he had become Bembo’s personal friend in 1533 : cp. Prowe, I, i, 335, 353 ; Allen, XI, 2964, pr ; Tschackert, I, 247, 256, 281-87.

<sup>5)</sup> *Melanch.*, 354, 362, 573, 603.

<sup>6)</sup> Published by Krafft, 84-86.

<sup>7)</sup> *RefPol.*, 75-76.

<sup>8)</sup> Cp. further, pp 364, sq.

<sup>9)</sup> Gnapheus was good as pedagogic worker, but he had not a scientific basis as divine ; in that respect he found many contradictors amongst the professors, one of whom, Staphylus, even in the latter forties returned to Catholicism : Tschackert, I, 336, 287, &c.

year <sup>1</sup>). He then resorted to Emden, where he became secretary of Countess Anna of East-Friesland, and the educator of her children. He died on September 29, 1568, as steward at Norden, East-Friesland <sup>2</sup>).

John a LASKI, LASKY, LASCO, born in 1499 at Lask, at 28 km. S. W. of Lodz, Poland, was the second of three brothers sent to Italy by their uncle John Laski (1456-1531), Archbishop of Gnesen and Chancellor of Poland <sup>3</sup>). Jerome, the eldest, who has been often mentioned in these letters, distinguished himself in the Hungarian question as ambassador and statesman <sup>4</sup>); whereas the youngest, Stanislas, was for some years at the Court of Francis I, with whom he was even made a prisoner at Pavia <sup>5</sup>). As to John, he studied at Bologna from 1513 till, for certain, 1518; meanwhile he had been made canon at Leczyk in 1517, at Cracow and at Plock in 1518; in 1521, he was appointed dean of Gnesen. In the summer of 1521, he accompanied an ambassador to Blois, and he spent the following winter and the spring of 1525 in Basle, where he studied and staid for a good while with Erasmus, whose collection of books he then bought as an inheritance <sup>6</sup>). He was subsequently appointed provost of Gnesen, and even Bishop of Veszprem in 1529, as well as archdeacon of Warsaw in 1538. — In those years he seems to have come under the influence of an Ermland canon, Alexander Sculteti, who had lost all faith; yet who was so crafty that, although he lived an unruly life, he managed to gain and keep the protection of the administration of the Church in Rome against his own Bishop, and even against his King <sup>7</sup>). Quite on the contrary, Lasco had, at least, the honesty of openly declaring his opinions. From 1537 to 1539, he resided in Louvain, where he found many adherents to his religious views. Although a priest, he married there in 1539 a Gudula, who was one of those whom he had attracted unto his party, and who bore him a child Barbara. Still when the authorities wanted to apply the laws in the matter of faith, he left the town, where, in 1543, several executions took place <sup>8</sup>). He had gone to West-Friesland, where, in 1542, he

<sup>1</sup>) Cp. Tschackert, I, 328-36, II, i, 404, *sq.*, II, ii, 142, *sq.*, 160-62; some time before August 1551, Gnapheus managed to have a justification accepted by Duke Albert of Brandenburg: *ibid.*, II, ii, 267.

<sup>2</sup>) Cp. *Acolast.*, xii, &c; Keussen, 494, 87; FG, 379; MeLEB, 398; Prowe, I, ii, 240, 344; HTL, I, 221, II, 207, 478-79, 566, III, 21, IV, 128; *Au.*, 49, 257; NBW.

<sup>3</sup>) Cp. Allen, VII, 1855, *pr*; HTL, IV, 145.

<sup>4</sup>) Cp. Allen, IV, 1242, 25; MasE, 86; OlaE, *passim*; HTL, IV, 145.

<sup>5</sup>) Cp. before, p 25; Allen, V, 1502, 9.

<sup>6</sup>) Allen, VI, 1593, 133; DNB.

<sup>7</sup>) Cp. the introductory notices to the chapter *Ermland 1546*: it was Dantiscus' and de Schepper's conviction that Sculteti was the cause of Lasco's defection and they must have known.

<sup>8</sup>) Hessels, II, 79, 87; *Lasciana*, 365-66; Gabbema, 37-43; *Lasco*, 196, 274, *sq.*; *LouvBoon.*, 97-98.

started at Emden an anti-catholic settlement, to which resorted all those who wanted safety in their heterodox belief and practice.

By 1548, when difficulties started in Germany, Lasco left for London, where he was well received and entertained even by Thomas Cranmer, whom, in return, he 'caused to recover from his dangerous Lethargy'<sup>1)</sup>. With the approval of the authorities, he established a church with a civil service for the benefit of all those who had found a refuge there for their faith; although he, for many points, disapproved of the ceremonies of the English Church, he gained a great influence even at Edward VI's Court<sup>2)</sup>. His wife died there of consumption in August 1551, but he remarried on January 29, 1553. At Queen Mary's accession in 1553, he left with his family and many friends, and wished to settle in Denmark, where he was not allowed even to land. He was similarly sent away from Lübeck and Hamburg. He thus returned provisionally to Emden, where he arrived in March 1554. For a time, he was at Frankfort, organizing a church for Reformed refugees by 1555, and had as secretary John Molanus, an old student of Louvain<sup>3)</sup>. By 1556, he finally returned to Poland, where he managed to get the King's permission, and died on January 13, 1560. He was an austere Calvinist, and had published several tracts, such as a *Forma Ministerii in Peregrinorum Ecclesia Londini*, 1550; and a *Tractatus de Cæna Domini*, 1552. — Cp. *DNB*; Gough, 463; *Lasco*; *Lasciana*; FG, 379; *Enzinas*, I, 10, sq, 103-05; Allen, v, 1502, 2, vi, 1593, 133; *ActaMori*, 64, 74; *Cran.*, 26, e; *Strype*, II, 365, 390, sq, 415, III, 56, 205, sq; *Blunt*, II, 163; *Gabbema*, 7-135, and *passim* 493-517; *Hessels*, II, 29, sq, 37, &c; *Cranmer*, I, 336-42, II, 878-86; *PollCran.*, 216, 266-68; *RefPol.*, 38, 53-56, 64, sq; *McCrie*, 198, 375; *HTL*, II, 263, 350, 394, 466, 470, 590, &c, III, 254-55, IV, 131, 151, and authorities quoted on pp 145, sq.

On July 14, 1544, William Gnapheus writes from Königsberg to John a Laski, 'Ecclesiarum Phrysiæ Orientalis inspectori vigilantissimo, apud Æmdenses agenti'<sup>4)</sup>: 'Gaudeo, Vir Præstantiss., ternas meas literas tibi, quod scribis, redditas; magis vero gaudeo quod iisdem respondere vel tandem non sis dedignatus. Imo, cum videam te multo cum fœnore, meum in te qualecunque officium rependisse, non possum quin simul justam tuam excusationem accipiam, simul, pro tanta tua erga me benevolentia, gratias agam. Quod vero adductis rationibus, nescis, deploresne magis, an gaudeas acceptam conditionem, vehementer doleo. Etenim sic constitutum iri sperabam istius Ecclesiæ vestræ faciem, per fidele tuum ministerium & sedulum ipsius populi obsequium, ut

<sup>1)</sup> *EdCP*, 173, 231.

<sup>2)</sup> *EdCP*, 230-32.

<sup>3)</sup> *Auw.*, 160-61.

<sup>4)</sup> *Gabbema*, 25-29.

exteris quoque Ecclesiis, in quibus ecclesiastica disciplina a bonis omnibus desideratur, ea exemplo esse posset. Cur enim dignum & optabile non judicarem, ut, quæ tam in recipiendo verbo, & eradenda missarum idololatria, quam explodenda monasticorum hominum hypocrisi cum superstitione conjuncta, prima esset Ecclesiarum, eadem etiam testatæ resipiscentiæ, & plantatæ in Domino disciplinæ luculentissimum imprimis specimen ederet. Sed cum videam, ex Ecclesiæ tuæ descriptione, me spe mea pene prorsus falli, jure optimo istos, qui jugum Domini tam contumaciter detrectant, & aversantur, iis similes facio, qui neque ad tiliarum cantum saltent, neque ad lugentium nœniam plorent. Quid reliquum est igitur, nisi ut excusso pedibus pulvere testeris palam, judicium Domini illis imminere, qui pedes Euangelizantium pacem, prædicantium bona, vel aversantur, vel pro ludibrio habere non verentur. Quid autem foris quero quod deplem, cum domi habeamus affatim, in quo superos omnes inclamemus? Nam si nostrorum hominum ingenia propius intuear, si pastorum nostrorum mores & vitam, ut de doctrina taceam, expendam, verear ne operam ludas, si ecclesiasticam disciplinam nobis inferre studio habeas. Obstiterint enim vel animorum ferocia, vel philautia, vel consuetudinis tyrannis, ut ne luxum & pervicaciam addam. Adeo hic insolens sit & nefarium *Auriculas teneras mordaci radere vero*. Adeo durum est, consueta relinquere, & Dei gloriæ suam cupiditatem, suique amorem posthabere. Quod eo dico, non ut te ab hac provincia nemini bono pœnitenda, deterream, sed ut ostendam mundum ubique sui similem esse, & non minus hic, quam isthic, jugum Domini detrectaturum, si quis nos ad iustam disciplinam ab effreni quidlibet agendi licentia revocare studeat. Quo minus consilium videtur, ut hoc tuum ministerium temere ponas, quin potius si urgebis virtutem tuam, ut vocationem hanc certam facias, non dubito, quin Dominus messis respiciat aliquando, te operarium suum fideliter in domo sua versantem, & euangelizanti verbum donet virtute multa, ut nihil minus, quam in vanum curras. Quod vero de Euangelicorum quorundam tyrannide quereris, justus quidem dolor est, & rem ita habere ipsi quoque experti sumus. Siquidem non ob aliud quidam nostratium hominum hinc ejecti fuere, quam quod ab istis fidei nostræ dominatoribus, alicubi dissentiant.

Quanquam hoc unum Ecclesiæ huic plausibile nuper accidit, quod sublata modo sit, elevationis idololatria, idque ex Principis longe optimi, & publico primorum Patriæ decreto. Cæterum hoc dolendum existit, quod nulla hic Ecclesiasticæ disciplinæ ratio habeatur, nihilque ex receptis, & longo usu confirmatis ceremoniis mutatum aut restitutum sit, quum expediret sacram synaxin quam simplicissime peragi ad Christi institutum. Quin Paulo religio fuit, quicquam hic tradere Corinthijs quod a Domino non accepisset. Jam vero animum tuum exosculor, quem ad ferendam facultatum direptionem, si qua tibi in patria incidat, confirmasti. Macte virtute, Vir optime, & stationem tuam guaviter tueare. Si enim fideliter certaveris, reposita tibi manet corona illa immarcessibilis, quam pastores gregis dominici reportaturos edixit Apostolus. De libello nostro quidquid T. P. visum fuerit statuere, non improbavero <sup>1)</sup>, utpote quem tuum fecerim, & commodum istuc nescio quo fortunæ casu, appulisse mihi videtur Sartorius meus <sup>2)</sup>, ut, si quid de hujus historiæ fide vel vacilles, vel de ejus martyrio (Pistorium <sup>3)</sup> loquor) certius aliquid & compertius scire cupias, testem habeas locupletissimum, qui bona etiam pars ejus tum persecutionum mecum fuit, concaptivus nimirum nobis frater, qui utinam rerum suarum statum mihi veteri suo & constanti amico perscriberet, ut ipsius vel dolore doleam vel bono gaudeam. — Quod porro D. Joannem Prysæum attinet <sup>4)</sup>, ex syngrapha nobilis illius, qui in ære Prysæi sese esse conscripsit, facile liquet, quantum illi pecuniæ debeatur. Gratam vero rem viro bono feceris, si quicquam, hoc est debiti ex syngraphæ inditio, cujus ad te exemplum mitto, bona fide exscriptum, ad te receperis, atque hic postea creditori suo rescribi jusseris. Commendo tuæ humanitati cochlearium quendam Iacobum Hageum, loripe-

<sup>1)</sup> Will. Gnapheus had some trouble with the Inquisition : *CorpInq.*, iv, 18, sq, 354, v, 173, 382; so had his mother and sister : v, 372-74; HoopSch., 351, sq, 392, 538, sq.

<sup>2)</sup> John Sartorius, rector at Amsterdam, 1525, and schoolmaster at Noordwijk, 1527 : *CorpInq.*, iv, 18, sq, v, 10, 27, 33, 76, 312.

<sup>3)</sup> John de Backer, Pistorius, of Woerden : cp. *CorpInq.*, iv, 18, sq, 285, 342, 375, 408, sq, 412-99, v, 9, 28, sq, 78-80, 92, sq, 420; HoopSch., 253, 361-79, 389.

<sup>4)</sup> Prysæum : John Pryseus was the Duke of Brandenburg's medical doctor : cp. p 368.

dem, concivem meum, qui tua potissimum opera in civitatem ab exilio revocatum se scribit, non deprehendi hominem, quandiu nobis convixit, seditionis quippiam unquam vel spirasse, nisi quod ab Anabaptismi religione non ita potuerit revocari, hypocrisi quorundam potius quam vera pietate fasciatus. Salutabis mihi Petrum Trajectinum, & Doctorem nostrum Vesterburgum <sup>1)</sup>, cui dices principem nostrum clementissimum æquiores in nostrates animum pridem induisse.

Sed quod pene oblitus eram, instruitur hic magnis sumptibus Academia. Sabinus designatus est ejus Rector; accersuntur multi Professores, sed desiderantur Auditores. Summus Pontifex, quemadmodum Sabino per literas pollicitus est Bembus, confirmaturus est Principis institutum <sup>2)</sup>. Theologus quidam Lithuanus auspicatus est Psalterii interpretationem, & disputaturus est, quæ T. H. hic mitto axiomata <sup>3)</sup>. Vale ex ædibus nostris Regiomonte. xiv. Julii, Anno M.D.XLIV. — Nuncius ille tuus coactus hic fuit ex meo simul & D. Christanni nostri consilio, totam septimanam expectare. Hoc volui nescius ne esses, ne quid suspiceris fortasse, hominem bonum negligentius sua curasse. Præstantiæ tuæ studiosissimus Gulielmus Gnapheus.

In the forties of the sixteenth century, an *Eburo*, a native of Liège territory, John PRYS, Pryseus, or Priseus, reached East-Prussia, probably swept on by need, as he had the bond of a nobleman, who owned to him a considerable lot of money. He was known to Gnapheus, as well as to Westerburg, as is announced in Gnapheus' preceding letter, July 14, 1544, and he wished to be appointed as the medical doctor of Duke Albert of Brandenburg. The latter made use of him on July 24, 1544, to announce some particulars in the secularizing of Prussia to Charles V, as well as to effect with Granvelle and Viglius whatever was to be arranged in that matter. It probably gave satisfaction: for, on August 22, 1544, John Pryseus was appointed physician in ordinary to Duke

<sup>1)</sup> Gerard Westerburg, born from a patrician family in Cologne, Karlstad's brother-in-law, was at first a disciple of Nicolas Storch, head of the Zwickau Prophets; he returned to Cologne, where he made an active propaganda; he had studied in Cologne and in Bologna and was Doctor Juris; he finished his restless life after 1549 at Emden: Keussen, 504, 18; Knod, 625; Krafft, 84-91; Tschackert, I, 321-36, II, ii, 26, 29, 33, 40, 78; HoopSch., 616; Enders, III, 351-52, V, 126-29, &c; Drouven, 33, 78-79; Wied Varr., 61-65, &c.

<sup>2)</sup> Cp. Tschackert, I, 389, a, II, ii, 368, b, sq.

<sup>3)</sup> Cp. p 363.

Albert and Duchess Dorothea of Brandenburg; to that promotion may also have contributed the fact that he was the author of '*De Morbi Gallici Essentia et Argenti Vivi Quidditate Libellus*'. In the latter part of that same year 1544, he complained to Duke Albert, that he had always detested discussions about the celebration of the 'Last Supper', and he requested his intervention in favour of his son-in-law, who was at variance with Gnapheus, whom he, however, always wanted to treat as a friend. On that occasion, he wrote to the Duke: *Utinam Lutherus non fuisset tam stulte in multis credulus, et sæpe audivisset patientius alteram partem, habuisset pacem longe majorem, et vidisset suam ecclesiam multo tranquillior!* — A last mention of 'D. Brisio' is that, which, on September 2, 1545, attests his presence at a meeting under the Duke Albert, at which the Statutes of Königsberg University were altered or augmented <sup>1)</sup>.

George Schüler, SABINUS, was born at Brandenburg on April 23, 1508; he studied in Wittenberg, boarding for ten years in Melanchthon's house. He applied himself especially to Latin Poetry, and took the name *Sabinus* from Ovid <sup>2)</sup>, using it for his *Elegiæ*, edited in 1530; he also provided translations from Isocrates and Lucian. — He left for Italy in 1533, after promising to marry the eldest daughter of his host, Anna, who then was hardly ten. He described that journey, which he started by a sojourn as guest of the Cardinal of Mayence, relating it gratefully at length. In Italy he made the acquaintance of Pietro Bembo, and largely profited by the experience of that erudite, who was then residing at Noniano, near Padua, on the Brenta, after having been made famous as early as 1506 by his *Gli Asolani* <sup>3)</sup>. He made the acquaintance of Damian a Goes, who dedicated to him a poem '*ex Arce Hallensi*', on January 1, 1537 <sup>4)</sup>. He further became a friend of Baptista Egnatius, who introduced him to Erasmus <sup>5)</sup>, as well as of Jerome Aleander, who, on September 1, 1534, created him Poet-Laureate and Comes Palatinus of the Lateran, which allowed him to give, on his turn, in 1535, the title of *Doctor Medicinæ* to John Carion, his colleague in the service of Albert I, Elector of Brandenburg <sup>6)</sup>. He had returned from Italy in 1534, and, on November 6, 1536, he married Anna Melanchthon <sup>7)</sup>; for a time, he served Cardinal Albert of Brandenburg, of Mayence. He meanwhile had accepted the position of professor of

<sup>1)</sup> Cp. Tschackert, I, 310, 328, II, ii, 78, 79-80, 81, 90, 107.

<sup>2)</sup> *Epistolæ Heroidum*; also *Metamorph.*, XIV, 775, 797, 800, 832, XV, 4; through his poetry he became a lifelong friend of Petrus Lotichius Secundus: W. Henkel, *P. Lotichius*: Bremen, 1873: 8, 12, 17, sq.

<sup>3)</sup> Allen, VIII, 2106, pr; *BemBr.*, 25.

<sup>4)</sup> GoesO, I, 4, v-m, I, v. <sup>5)</sup> Cp. Allen, XI, 2964: August, 29, 1534.

<sup>6)</sup> Wette, IV, 598-99; *Auw.*, 231; Carion afterwards assisted at his marriage. Cp., for Carion, *UniMarb.*, 42; Menke, 35, sq, 138, 143, sq.

<sup>7)</sup> Anna's sister, Magdalena, became C. Peucer's wife: *Peucer*, 11.



Eloquence of Frankfort on the Oder, for besides being a poet <sup>1)</sup>, he was a Latinist. To him Viglius wrote, on September 17, 1536, a long letter, excusing his not accepting the place of professor of laws and of Councillor to the Duke <sup>2)</sup>. By 1540, he was made professor in the *Studium Particulare* of Königsberg, and had so much influence on Albert of Brandenburg that he made him start a University by 1544, of which he was the first Rector.

He occasionally wrote letters to Bembo, who, in 1539, was created Cardinal, and he visited at times the poet Dantiscus, who, in those years, wrote his *Hymni*, and even composed a few *Hendecasyllabi* to Sabinus <sup>3)</sup>. The latter's marriage was far from being a success, and his wife died at Königsberg on February 26, 1547, being hardly twenty-five. A few years later, he married Anna Cramer; but he lost his Frauenburg friends, when, in 1549, he brought to Königsberg Hans Luther, Martin's eldest son. Through Osiander his office as Rector was made most disagreeable in 1555 at the Königsberg troubles; it was realized, moreover, that he lacked a stern scientific knowledge, being rather an idle, ambitious 'poeta levissimus', in so far that he had to resign, and to return to his old professorship at Frankfort, where he died on December 2, 1560. Cp. *DantCar.*, 210-16 (especially 1, 39-41, 2, 1-12, 3, 1-9); Muther, 324-67; *Melanch.*, 354, 362, 573, 603; Tschackert, 1, 236, 240, 247, sq, 256, sq, 281, 287-88, II, ii, 360-61; Allen, XI, 2964, pr; Voigt, 90, 95, 122, 125, 133, 135, 337, 343, 345, 376, 380, 439, 443, 521, 605; MeIEW, I, 445; MeIEL, 291; MeIEB, 223, 315, 326, 329; *PastReun.*, 13; *ADB*; *ContarE*, 231; *Hessus*, II, 54, sq, 69, 74, 188, sq; Roth, 54; *TschackBr.*, 38, 41, 46, 48; Janssen, I, 306; Prowe, I, ii, 335, 353; *Sleidan.*, 325-27; Köstlin, II, 431, 462; *MonHL*, 619-20; *HTL*, III, 54; *Auw.*, 231.

On December 5, 1544, Justus Lewis Decius <sup>4)</sup> writes from Cracow to Dantiscus <sup>5)</sup>, providing news about Ferdinand and about Hungary. He also announces that 'Scepperus missus est ut reddat et recipiat civitates' by and to France. He also mentions Leonora, the 'madama de tempi'; also the marriage of a daughter on Epiphany day: he had to ask dispensation in Rome for consanguinity in the fourth degree; he closes his letter with greetings.

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<sup>1)</sup> Cp. Schroeter, 74-80, 129, sq, 146; *EllLyr.*, xxxii, 7-10; Baumgartner, 617; Hallam, II, 243; *Corvinus*, 65; *CorvE*, 91; *Mameran.*, 66, 171; *Grisar*, I, 649.

<sup>2)</sup> Hoyneck, I, i, 18, 133-36; *UniFrank.*, 134, 141; *UniMarb.*, 40.

<sup>3)</sup> *DantCar.*, 210-16; Tschackert, II, ii, 182.

<sup>4)</sup> Cp. *Cracow*, 120, 192.

<sup>5)</sup> DE, 449: Fbm, 6, 65; it reached Dantiscus on December 17.

## ERMLAND 1545

From Rome, Nicolas Lok, who, from a cleric, had become a *miles* in the Pope's service, announces on March 20, 1545 to Dantiscus <sup>1)</sup> that the Holy Father quite understands that, on account of his age, he cannot come and take part in the Council; he mentions that there will be the Cardinals of Paris and of England, as well of de Sancta Cruce.

The following letter evokes from the past, the author of geographical maps and genealogical tables, Livinus Algoet <sup>2)</sup>, who had left Erasmus' service and was recommended by de Schepper about November 1531 to Mary of Hungary as secretary <sup>3)</sup>, which was the occasion of finding a wife in Ghent, as Olah explained at length to Erasmus on July 26, 1532 <sup>4)</sup>. Soon after, on April 19, 1533, Erasmus replied to Olah, and gave a sketch of the young husband of which the latter years confirmed the truth: 'Livino bene cupio', he wrote, 'sed doleo illum tam læva esse mente vt toties oblatam occasionem semper amittat e manibus. Erat natus ad litteras, et conuenerat vt Louanij daret operam medicinæ. Lusit illic; mox Luteciæ fecit idem. Tandem venditis libris et consumptis omnibus, institit mendicare, venans hinc atque hinc munera. Nec in ea re felix. Augustæ satis arrisit aula. Collegit bonam pecuniam, prodegit vniuersam. Monui vt exemplo Scepperi venaretur vxorem bene dotatam. Duxit nudam. Nunquam vlla in re paruit amicorum consiliis, et ipsi more læua mens est. Nunc quod vitæ genus spectet, nescio. Accepi litteras tuas, quibus significabas de temere inito matrimonio; verum id prudens dissimulaui certis de caussis' <sup>5)</sup>.

On May 6, 1545, Livinus Panagathus, *Heraldus Cæsareus*, wrote to Dantiscus from Worms <sup>6)</sup>: R<sup>me</sup> in Chr<sup>o</sup> Pater ac Domine, D<sup>ne</sup> Colen<sup>me</sup>. Præmissa paratissima obsequiorum meorum oblatione: mirabitur, sat scio, R<sup>ma</sup> D. V. vnde gentium hæ literæ mittantur, & ab eo, quem iamdudum fortasse ad superos commigrasse arbitrata est, vel cuius saltem apud

<sup>1)</sup> DE, 451: Upm, 155, 91; it reached Dantiscus on June 26.

<sup>2)</sup> Cp. before, p 53; he composed, when in the Emperor's service, his genealogy, and is the author of some maps, such as that of the *Septentrionalium Regionum Suetiæ, Gothiæ, Norvegiæ, Daniæ*: cp. F. van Ortroij, *Œuvre Cartographique des de Jode*: Ghent, 1914: 63.

<sup>3)</sup> Cp. before, pp 112-14.

<sup>4)</sup> Cp. Allen, x, 2693, 14-99.

<sup>5)</sup> Cp. Allen, x, 2792, 41-52.

<sup>6)</sup> DE, 454: Ccm, 1599, 523; it reached Dantiscus on October 13, 1545.

eandem nulla memoria reliqua sit. Hic ille est qui in Comitij Augustens. anno xxx. confecit chartam illam marinam Vniuersalem R<sup>mæ</sup> D. V. postea traditam. Quæ pro opera jmpensa mihi tunc numerari iussit decem coronatos per Michaellem Ganden., cubicularium suum <sup>1)</sup>, cum obligatione aliorum totidem aliquando numerandorum. Vetus proverbium apud nos est, vetus debitum præstare veteri jnuidia. Et quamuis nihil dubitem quin D. V. R<sup>ma</sup> eorum adhuc memor sit, tamen hæc ita accipi nolim, vt huiusmodi R<sup>mæ</sup> D. V. in memoriam reducere videar, & debitum postulare. Sed eo duntaxat spectant, vt et superstitem me adhuc sciat eadem R<sup>ma</sup> D. V., et mea opere et uti et abuti possit, si qua in re ea opus habeat. De rerum autem mearum statu, quid aliud scribam, quam quod totus miseræ Aulicæ deditus sim ! Inseruiui ad aliquot annos Ser<sup>mæ</sup> D<sup>næ</sup> Reginæ Mariæ Gubernatrici &c. Postmodum, hac relicta, contuli me in Hispaniam : jbique decedente Imperatrice, obtinui officium Heraldî, siue Fecialis. Eo hactenus functus sum, & in presentiarum fungor. Et quia id officium vsque adeo liberum est, viuo apud D. Joannem Obernburger<sup>2)</sup>, secretarium in Cancellaria Cæsarea. Illic fungor officio amanuensis, vel scribæ Cancellariæ, in describendis priuilegijs, & alijs literis, & interim subinde opera mea vtitur Cæsar in conscribendis rebus Geographicis, chartisque, quarum est studiosissimus. Hæc est summa rerum mearum. Si R<sup>ma</sup> D. V. memoriam aliquam sui apud me relinquere dignabitur, vel huic meæ miseræ ex sua munificentia et liberalitate, ob obsequium alias præstitum, succurrere, ad Mag<sup>cum</sup> D. Cornelium Scepperum, Patronum meum vnicum, tuto destinari poterit, quidquid id fuerit, & ego id omni officiorum genere promereri conabor erga R<sup>mam</sup> D. V., quam feliciter valere opto, eidemque me humillime commendo. Wormatiæ, vj Maij M. D. XLV. E. R<sup>mæ</sup> D. V. Humillimus Inseruitor Leuinus Panagathus, Heraldus Cæsareus.

<sup>1)</sup> Michael de Vriend : cp. before, DE, 310, p 247.

<sup>2)</sup> John Obernburger, one of Gattinara's collaborators, is referred to as the inspirer of some alterations in the service and in the way of treating some matters, which the Chancellor approved of, and which were introduced into the *Conceptum Ordinationum Cancellariæ*, finally decided on by April 9, 1550 : Walther, 104, sq, 113, 191.

On July 17, 1545, Cornelius de Schepper sent from Harderwijk, Gelderland, to Dantiscus a letter with news <sup>1)</sup>. He has followed Queen Mary with her Court to Friesland, and got Dantiscus' letter at Vollenhove from Theodricus, the Bishop's 'tonsor, inquilinus loci, ex fratre nepos et hospes'. He expresses his shame and regret for his three years' silence, which is owing to his restless life, not to a want of affection. He has to communicate a list of sad events : René, son of Henry of Nassau, was killed by a missile at St. Didier, France, without heir <sup>2)</sup> ; that war also took away the Dominus de Halewyn <sup>3)</sup> ; then by the end of the hostilities, 'ante Cathalaunos' <sup>4)</sup>, Cornelius a Zegerscapelle frater vxoris meæ, simili morte, pila ferrea ictus <sup>5)</sup>. Godschalk fell from his horse at Valenciennes, got fever, and died on September 28 <sup>6)</sup> ; in 1543, Matthias Laurinus, privignus meus [Schepperi], quem antea vidisti, was wounded from *pillis* at Sittard 'in vigilia Pasche ; equo dejectus, post decem menses revaluit anno superiore <sup>7)</sup> ; nunc est in comitatu consilarii Gerardi Vel[t]-wici,', Imperial secretary, on his way to an embassy in Turkey <sup>8)</sup>. Of the old people few remain : they all ask after Dantiscus. — Maximilian of Egmont, Count of Buren and Ysselstein, Governor in Friesland <sup>9)</sup>, got your letter, and will

<sup>1)</sup> DE, 456 : Upm, 155, 97-100 ; it reached Dantiscus on October 13.

<sup>2)</sup> René, Count of Nassau, son of Henry, Prince of Orange, appointed *stadholder* of Holland, Zeeland and Friesland in 1540, took an active part in the war against France, and died prematurely on July 21, 1544 : *Auw.*, 420-21, 424-26 ; *SweMon.*, 354-56 ; Henne, VII, 304-06, VIII, 177-79.

<sup>3)</sup> Claud de Halewijn, Lord of Nieuwerlet, was wounded at Vitry, July 26, 1544 : cp. Henne, VIII, 158, 181.

<sup>4)</sup> Cathalaunos (final letters indistinct) : *Catalaunum* is the Latin name of Châlons-sur-Marne.

<sup>5)</sup> Zegerscapelle : cp. DE, 403, *pr* ; *Cran.*, 95, *e* ; *HTL*, II, 385-86, III, 15, 94, &c ; DE, 434 (*p* 348) announces that *nudus* he reached Spain.

<sup>6)</sup> Godschalc, viz., Ericksen : he died on September 28, 1544 : cp. before, *p* 15, and FG, 361-62.

<sup>7)</sup> Matthias Laurin, de Schepper's *privignus*, Lord of Leeskens, was from 1546, alderman of *le Franc de Bruges*, and often mayor to his decease on December 1, 1592 : he had married Radegonde Duquesnoy, Lady of Wulpen Islands : cp. DE, 403, *pr* ; *Brug&Fr.*, I, 366 ; Paquot, VII, 388 ; *HTL*, IV, 185.

<sup>8)</sup> Gerard van Veltwyck, of Ravenstein : cp. further, DE, 471.

<sup>9)</sup> Cp. bef., *p* 43 ; also *HTL*, I, 485-86, II, 125-26, III, 332, 411 ; *Auw.*, 327.

therefore protect Theodoricum tuum. — Henricus Stercke <sup>1)</sup>, Claud Bouton, D<sup>nus</sup> de Corbaron, præfectus Stabuli Reginæ <sup>2)</sup>, Henricus de Witthem, D<sup>nus</sup> de [Beersel] junior, anno 28<sup>o</sup> Burgis tibi [, Dantisce,] plurimum familiaris <sup>3)</sup>, Petrus Clericus Antwerpianus, cui fuit cognomentum Nigro, olim Maximiliani ab Egmonda præceptor, conviva frequens apud te Bononiæ ad Coronationem Imperatoris <sup>4)</sup>. Please do write to them. Then there is the war : the taking of Boulogne from the English by the French. Charles is in Worms : I come rarely to his Court, as I am accustomed to Queen Mary's, being 'sorte mea contentus', without any ambition. I have two children from my wife, a boy and a girl : she is with her mother ; he is in Louvain. 'Catharina, privigna mea, ante biennium nupsit viro nobili et docto ex familia Borsalorum, ex quo filium peperit' <sup>5)</sup>. I heard about your state from Theodoricus, and I feel surprized that you often go to Court again. In fact what Courts now generally are in need of, are exactly men like you, Dantiscus ; — and that is evident from what happens in Friesland Transamasa. John a Lasko now is super-intendent <sup>6)</sup>, where the widow of Count Enno reigns : through John's influence, the Mass is abrogated, not to mention other changes. Thus one man spoils all. Lasko is in full agreement with Menno Simons, Phrysius <sup>7)</sup>, and with David Joorus, Hollandus <sup>8)</sup>, the Anabaptists, who, however, totally disagree with each other. Therefore they had gone to Friesland to see to fellow-believers ; they now find shelter in Prussia, with all ex priests and ex-nuns. In France impiety has started on the example of Italian society. I quite ignore

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<sup>1)</sup> Henry Sterck, receiver general of the Domains, Treasurer of the Golden Fleece, who died on June 5, 1548 : *GesSterck*, 27 ; *BasBrux.*, I, 109.

<sup>2)</sup> Claud de Bouton, Lord of Corbaron : cp. Henne, I, 147 (commander of the archers of the Guard), III, 120, 127, 130, 244, &c (tutor of William of Nassau), VIII, 178 ; Bergh, II, 218.

<sup>3)</sup> Henry of Witthem, Lord of Beersel, Governor of Namur : Henne, VII, 374, x, 85 — the MS has here 'Borsele' ; — Burgis, *viz.*, Burgos.

<sup>4)</sup> He was a poet, whom Dantiscus met in Italy ; he was Janus Secundus' friend : *JSecO*, 18, 185, 298-300 ; *VigIEB*, 5 ; *Cran.*, *lvii*, 217, 42, *sq* ; *HTL*, II, 437, 441. <sup>5)</sup> Cp. DE, 403, *pr*. <sup>6)</sup> Cp. before, pp 364-65.

<sup>7)</sup> Menno Simons : *HoopSch.*, 61, 486, 622 ; also further, DE, 476.

<sup>8)</sup> *Viz.*, David Joriszoon, of Delft : cp. *HoopSch.*, 224, 356-58, 432-35, 540-45 ; cp. DE, 476.

what there is in England ; but in Spain we both know ; in Scotland, some are good, some bad. May God send some help !

A few lines are added about two bishops of England, where the King, after having given proofs of his clear-sighted judgment, became so blinded by matrimonial intrigues that he not only changed secular laws of his own country, but replaced the Old Ecclesiastical Hierarchy by a governmental administration, living himself a life that was exactly opposite to that of the 'Head of a Church'. One of them, Cuthbert TUNSTALL, born in 1474, studied in Oxford and Cambridge, and finished his training in Italy, graduating doctor of laws in 1498-99 in Padua, where, by 1501, he became a familiar friend of Jerome de Busleyden <sup>1)</sup>. On his return to England before 1506, he made the acquaintance of James Lefèvre, of Etaples <sup>2)</sup>, and he was hailed by Linacre and Grocyn, Latimer and the young More, whereas Erasmus mentions him in several letters written from Italy <sup>3)</sup>. He was ordained in 1511, and appointed as Wolsey's Chancellor. With Richard Sampson, Thomas Spinelli, John Clifford and the 'young More', he was sent, by 1515, as ambassador to Charles V, who wished to have some of the commercial treaties with England ratified at his accession. He often resided under one roof with Erasmus, but did not realize to the full, — as Thomas More did — the impression produced by the free and flourishing Netherlands, and the experience of world-wise men, like Erasmus, Busleyden and Peter Gilles <sup>4)</sup>. He was appointed Bishop of London in July 1522, and was sent, in March 1525, to Charles V with Sir Richard Wingfield to sue for the freedom of the prisoner made at the battle of Pavia. He was entrusted with other missions, such as that of witnessing the Peace of Cambrai in 1529, and, in 1530, of treating with Francis I for the paying back of the money borrowed to obtain the liberation of his sons <sup>5)</sup>. He was made Bishop of Durham in February 1530, and backed the King in the case of the Divorce, — which he bitterly regretted when he saw that the opposition to Rome was not merely personal, but was extended to the entirety of faith and of country. He passively obeyed civil power <sup>6)</sup>, but kept as much as possible in his diocese, regretting bitterly his acquiescence to Henry VIII's commands, after whose death he even accepted the loss of liberty and preferments, rather than acting against the dictates of his conscience : by 1550, he was confined to the Tower, and deprived in 1553 of his bishopric. It was restored to him when Queen Mary came to the throne, but as he refused the oath of supremacy at Elizabeth's accession, he was once more deprived of his see in 1559, and assigned to live as a prisoner at Dr. Parker's house, where he died

<sup>1)</sup> Cp. *Busl.*, 33, 372.      <sup>2)</sup> *Busl.*, 372-73, &c.      <sup>3)</sup> Allen, 1, 207, 22.

<sup>4)</sup> That impression created the grand masterpiece *Utopia* : Louvain, Th. Martens, 1516.

<sup>5)</sup> Cp. *MargAutE*, 221-25.

<sup>6)</sup> Even the King felt for Tunstall, excusing his absence at the Parliament in January 1534 : *Fisher*, 420-21, 305.

on November 18, 1559. Cp. *DNB*; *Busl.*, 33, 63, 69, *sq.*, 83, *sq.*, 325, 372, 457, 469, 473; Wood, I, 97, *sq.*, and Cooper, I, 198-202, 552, both with lists of writings; Allen, I, 207, 22; Stapleton, 24; *Fisher*, *passim*; Gough, 759; Maitland, 423; *CatLamb.*, 112; *Cran.*, 26, c, 80, 5, 159, d, 163, 16, 167, 12; *HTL*, I, 3, 388, 406, 430, II, 81, 251, 361, 494, III, 150, &c, IV, 112; Gairdner, 22, 50, 78, 91, 216, 276, 295, 301, 307, *sq.*, 311, 319, 327, 337.

Stephen GARDINER, born about 1495 at Bury St. Edmunds, was, by 1511, in Paris, and studied in Cambridge, becoming doctor of both Laws, 1520-22. He was appointed lecturer and Master of Trinity Hall in 1525, when Wolsey made him his secretary, and fully employed him in the question of Henry VIII's Divorce; he was rewarded for his services by the see of Winchester on Nov. 27, 1531. At the break with Rome, in 1534, he wrote *De Vera Obedientia* (Berthelet, 1535), renouncing submission to the Pope. Yet he expressed his sadness and his regrets of backing Henry VIII in private meetings, and even in sermons <sup>1)</sup>, and as a result of some embassies, he suggested the Act of the Six Articles, of 1539, to put as a brake on the abolition of rites and doctrines by Cromwell <sup>2)</sup>. He was refused the permission to say Mass in Louvain in August 1541, and his breach with Rome was fully exposed by Dean Ruard Tapper <sup>3)</sup>. He was better treated when, from the first days of November 1545, he arrived at Bruges on his mission to Charles V, who took him to Turnhout, and to the Chapter of the Golden Fleece at Utrecht, beginning at the end of the year. He had been welcomed by Louvain University on that occasion <sup>4)</sup>. In 1544, he had had printed there his *Conquestio ad M. Bucerum de impudenti ejusdem Pseudologia* <sup>5)</sup>. In fact, he had shown the evident signs of a change, in so far that he disapproved of Henry VIII's marriage with Catherine Parr, whom he even intended prosecuting for heresy. At Edward's accession he was so decided in his opposition to the extending Reformation, that he was committed to the Fleet from September 1547 to January 1548. Requested to preach on June 29, 1548 before Edward, he made it an encomium of the Eucharist, which caused him to be committed to the Tower, and deprived of his bishopric and his University chancellorship. Both were restored to him along with liberty at Mary's accession <sup>6)</sup>. He crowned her and blessed her marriage with Philip of Spain; he re-wrote his *De Vera Obedientia*, and issued a reply *Contra Convitia Martini Bucerii*, which was printed in Louvain in 1554. He died of the gout at Whitehall on November 12, 1555. Cp. *DNB*; Allen, VI, 1669, *pr*; Cooper, I, 139-40, 547; Stone, *passim*; *Fisher*, 78, 161, 185, 303-05, &c; *Cran.*, 281, c; *MonHL*, 31, 499, 564-73, 582-83, 599, *sq.*; *ActaMori*, 20;

<sup>1)</sup> *Fisher*, 303, 304.

<sup>2)</sup> Cp. *MonHL*, 604.

<sup>3)</sup> Cp. *MonHL*, 566-70, 573.

<sup>4)</sup> Cp. *MonHL*, 582-83; *HTL*, IV, 281-84.

<sup>5)</sup> It was followed in 1546 by an *Epistola ad Bucerum qua... urget ad respondendum*.

<sup>6)</sup> He enounced his deep regret about his former opinions : cp. *Fisher*, 304, *sq.*, &c.

*HTL*, I, 66, II, 17, IV, 245, 275, 281-89, and references quoted, 423, 521, 526; Maitland, 213-14, 251, 425; *CatLamb.*, 46; Gairdner, 227, *sq.*, 241-43, 248, *sq.*, 271-75, 285-87, 291-92, &c.

On September 1, 1545, Cornelius de Schepper sent a letter to Dantiscus from London <sup>1)</sup>; he heard that his 'Thierry' was ill when he wrote last from Harderwijk <sup>2)</sup>. He had returned to Brussels and, after a day or two spent with his wife and family, he was dispatched to France and England to get peace. The sea was unsafe. He reached London on August 18, and was successful, thanks to his experience, gaining, besides, a knowledge of both navies. He saw the King at Guildford and at Hampton Court. He describes the state of England. Eustace Chapuys <sup>3)</sup>, who had been Orator there, had been replaced by Francis van der Dilt <sup>4)</sup>, of Antwerp, an *eques doctus*; he had resided in Spain in 1528, in the household of the Archbishop of Toledo, and he was very much liked: you must have known him there. He was recommended by many letters from Erasmus, in whose house he had lived, along with John a Lasco, and with some of your young Poles. Eustace has gone to Louvain to spend the rest of his life in study and prayer, ill as he is <sup>5)</sup>. Dilt has ruled Antwerp twice; he is in great favour with King Henry and with his *primores*: I am living in his house. Tunstall is still in the North, at Durham; he has become estranged from Court <sup>6)</sup>. Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester <sup>7)</sup>, whom you knew at Bologna, is a great friend of the King: he wrote against Bucer: so no Zwinglians, nor Œcolampadians are suffered here; but no monks, nor Latin Catholics either, and the Pope is only an ordinary bishop. For fear of the King, there is no decided heresy yet. Mention is made of the war with France; the Scots wish for intelligence about Dantiscus and Poland. News from Spain and Austria. George of Austria, formerly Bishop of Brixen, and Archbishop of Valencia, is

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<sup>1)</sup> DE, 459: Upm, 155, 109-112; it reached Dantiscus on October 13. — Queen Mary of Hungary had already entrusted de Schepper with the question of Peace: SleidE, 91, 103.

<sup>2)</sup> Viz., the letter immediately preceding this one: the 'Thierry' is no doubt Dantiscus' *tonsor* Theodoricus: cp. pp 373-74, 392.

<sup>3)</sup> Cp. DE, 417, pp 330-31.

<sup>4)</sup> Cp. DE, 459<sup>bis</sup>: p 378.

<sup>5)</sup> Cp. before, p 331.

<sup>6)</sup> Cp. before, p 375.

<sup>7)</sup> Cp. before, p 376.



now Bishop of Liège, for Cornelius of Zevenbergen has resigned <sup>1)</sup>; still, as George himself prefers study and a private life, he has taken a coadjutor : de Schepper advises his great friend Dantiscus to write to him. He mentions the war against France, and sends greetings to Bernard and George, recommending Dilft to fill the place of Ericksen as friend.

Francis van der DILFT, Lord of Doorne and Leverghem, was born at Antwerp : he studied in Louvain from October 30, 1519, and attended Goclenius' lectures : on his recommendation he was even accepted in Erasmus' household in August 1524, where he repeatedly returned. He resided in Spain, where he distinguished himself by his cleverness and his eloquence in the Emperor's employ ; he was knighted, and after some services well performed at Antwerp, — where he meanwhile had married, — he was sent as successor to Chapuys as ambassador in England in December 1544. With de Schepper, he was even planning to conduct Princess Mary to the Netherlands, when death overtook him at Antwerp on June 14, 1550. Cp. *HTL*, II, 171-76, 301, *sq.*, &c, III, 550, 556-57, IV, 23, 284, 514 ; *Cran.*, lviii, 139, *b-h*, &c ; *MonHL*, 50, 619 ; *Mad-den*, 195, 198, 271, 284 ; *FG*, 338.

On one of his journeys through Germany, he called on Melanchthon at Jena, and must have talked so enthusiastically about the *Trilingue* and his master Goclenius, that on March 23, 1528, Melanchthon wrote to Goclenius, requesting his friendship through the mediation of his visitor. In his letter he mentioned his own favourite pupil, the John Reifferstein, who edited his master's poems in the autumn of 1529, who must have known the Louvain professor, as he constantly praised him : ' Et habeo ', he wrote to Goclenius, ' quendam domesticum præconem tuarum laudum, Johannem Reyffersteynium '. He further refers to Greek and Roman proverbs, as well as to one of Eobanus Hessus' writings : *De Contemptu Studiorum*, ad doctissimum virum Phil. Melanchthonem <sup>2)</sup>.

On September 1, 1545, Francis van der Dilft, Imperial Orator in England, writes from London to Dantiscus <sup>3)</sup>, congratulating him on his vigilance, and expressing the fervid wish to be his friend on the encouragement of his old companion de Schepper, who is sending his heartiest greetings.

<sup>1)</sup> Cp. *BerghAutr.*, 42, *sq.*, 244, *sq.* It is recorded that the Liège suffragan Gedeon van der Gracht (1491-1554), appointed on January 10, 1536, as Bishop of Castorie to help Cardinal de la Marck, also officiated for his successors de Berghes and George of Austria, and that the latter even granted him a pension of one hundred florins from December 20, 1544 : *BerghAutr.*, 58.

<sup>2)</sup> *MeIEC*, 419, 401.

<sup>3)</sup> *DE*, 459bis : *Upm*, 155, 107-08 ; the letter reached Dantiscus on Oct. 13.

On October 29, 1545, the French *orator* Claude Dodieu, Dodæus, formerly secretary of Gabriel de Grammont <sup>1)</sup>, an old friend of Dantiscus from the days they were together in Nuremberg <sup>2)</sup>, wrote to him from Trent <sup>3)</sup>, where he was waiting for the opening of the Council. He there met Olaus Store Magnus, the Archbishop of Uppsala, and finding that he, too, knew Dantiscus, wrote to him and thanked him for his example of wise constancy in faith and in all other things <sup>4)</sup>. After Dantiscus left Court, Dodæus resided in Spain until 1537, and by 1540 he was sent to Flanders : he was recalled in July 1541, when Antonio Rincon, envoy to Constantinople, and Cesare Fregoso, on his way to Venice, were arrested by Spanish soldiers near Pavia, and killed, — which caused the Bishop of Liège, George of Austria, coming from Valencia, to be kept a prisoner until the spring of 1543 by way of reprisal <sup>5)</sup>. Dodieu went to rest in Brittany, and was appointed Bishop of Rodez. He expects from the Council an effective remedy for faith and Church, and closes the letter with hearty wishes.

Of September 26, 1545, there is a letter to Dantiscus from his nephew Gaspar Hannovius in Rome <sup>6)</sup>, who thanks him for all his kindness, and gives a detailed account of Rome, and of the relations with Poland, and with the churches in Ermland — to which a large amount of cipher is used. He sends news about Dr Hosius, announces that the Archbishop of Uppsala wishes to be appointed at Cologne, and gives no end of information in cipher about Alexander Sculteti (designed by the token II), who is Bishop Dantiscus' malevolent opponent <sup>7)</sup>. On November 16, 1545, Hannovius sent another letter <sup>8)</sup> with news from the Church and the struggle against Protestantism ; he mentions a tract by Henry Bullinger, and his errors on St. Paul's Epistles *ad Hebræos* & *ad Romanos*.

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<sup>1)</sup> *Fisher*, 158.

<sup>2)</sup> Cp. *Gleanings*, E : June 15, 1532 and of later dates.

<sup>3)</sup> DE, 460 : Fbm, 6, 109 ; it reached Dantiscus on December 31, 1546.

<sup>4)</sup> Cp. before, p 265.

<sup>5)</sup> Cp. before, p 202.

<sup>6)</sup> DE, 462 : Fbm, 6, 71-76 ; it reached Dantiscus on November 21.

<sup>7)</sup> Cp. further, pp 381-82.

<sup>8)</sup> DE, 462<sup>bis</sup> : Fbm, 6, 77-83 ; it reached Dantiscus on February 1, 1546.

He sends Albert Pighius' *Explicationem Controversiarum præcipuarum in Comitiis Ratisponensibus exagitatarum* and his *De Authoritate Ecclesiæ*. He offers to take his nephew John Leman, Lehemannus, but bitterly complains about Alexander Sculteti, who has been allowed a passport : Hosius and himself think that it is to be feared that 'posteriora fiant deteriora prioribus <sup>1)</sup>).

## ERMLAND 1546

As years advanced, the letters addressed to the zealous Bishop of Ermland imply an increasing amount of events, most of which can be checked and explained, whereas others have become upsetting problems. They evidently give an insight in the most important questions then debated all over the Christian world, but they also show the inextricable difficulties they caused to Ermland — and to any other — diocese, of which we hardly can realize the critical character at present. In truth, the duty, which Dantiscus accepted with his appointment as Bishop was as high in importance as it was heavy and dangerous in its execution, especially on account of the total absence of his own sacerdotal training. Indeed, in the years preceding that on which he accepted the mitre, he had had, not only a frivolous intercourse with a Perla and a Grynea, but even a highly blamable connection with the Isabella, — as most probably he had never thought of becoming a priest, and, for certain, not a bishop. Yet, far from hiding those swervings, he humbly and courageously owned them, so as to make them into an insistent warning for others. In fact, he made his errors to a continuous admonition through his example of self-sacrificing correction, humbly acknowledging his failings to save his brethren from all danger. The means he used were certainly appreciated by all those who were well intentioned, as appears from his influence on the great Copernic. Unfortunately he met with grave difficulties caused by personages, who, instead of admitting their own wrong, objected to him his proper deficiency and the shortcomings caused by the complete absence of any proportionate preparation. Before all, as has already

<sup>1)</sup> Cp. further, p 381 ; also *Gleanings*, c.

been pointed out <sup>1)</sup>, Dantiscus wanted to do his utmost to make his clergy give the good example, which he expected more especially from those placed in authority. In fact, there had been some deplorable transgressions of the most essential rules by many a member of the Ermland Chapter.

Amongst those who caused such difficulties to the Bishop, was Alexander Sculteti. He belonged to a family that had provided in the first decennia of the sixteenth century, three canons to Frauenburg. One, Bernard, was the Dean of the Chapter, who often resided in Rome from 1500, where he was requested as assistant by Paul of Middelburg, the reformer of the Calendar, and served Pope Leo X as chaplain from 1513 to 1517 <sup>2)</sup>. Another was John, originary from Königsberg, who had studied theology, and was the Chapter's Archdeacon <sup>3)</sup>. The third, Alexander, became Frauenburg canon, and availed himself of the unobjectionable renown of his relatives to excuse his own disposition : he actually used it to disculpate his evident violation of moral precepts. Soon after 1519, he had been allowed to make the geographical description of Livland, and, by 1529, he intended undertaking the same work for Prussia, with the assistance of Copernic <sup>4)</sup>. In that year 1529, he evidently showed his character when he requested and obtained a privilege in Rome, which freed him from the jurisdiction of his Bishop, — who, however, was most obliging to him ; he was thus placed straight under that of the Pope <sup>5)</sup>. He had been disappointed at some of the measures taken by Dantiscus, who had decided on keeping his diocese in good order, and insisted on it that those expected to give the good example, should not fail in their duty. He thus, at once, came into conflict with Sculteti, who did not live in chaste conditions ; he moreover openly declared that he accepted several of the teachings of the Reformers, and was even spreading them. As the King of Poland had made a law sending away from his territories all those who adhered to any non-catholic belief, the Bishop tried to induce his canon to see to his security ; but all his efforts were vain ; since Sculteti did even his very best to gain more adepts, he was abandoned by the Bishop, who let him be exiled by the King. Sculteti at once went to Rome, where, thanks to the memory of his namesakes and relatives, as well as to some influential protectors, he managed after several years of pleading, to have even the Chapter put into the wrong <sup>6)</sup>, —

<sup>1)</sup> P 309.    <sup>2)</sup> Prowe, I, i, 266, sq. ii, 70, &c.    <sup>3)</sup> Prowe, I, ii, 119, sq.

<sup>4)</sup> Prowe, I, ii, 347, sq.

<sup>5)</sup> Prowe, I, ii, 347, n.

<sup>6)</sup> A similar misappreciation of right and justice happened in May 1545 in Rome when the saintly Abbot of St. Trudo's (Saint-Trond), George Sarens, was excommunicated, and his lawless provost, who, disregarding all authority, lived with a few accomplices on the exclusive produce of the Abbey, not to mention any of the other excesses in which they indulged, was put into his place, — at least for a few months : *MonHL*, 482, sq.

which Dantiscus did not learn any more ; — whereas, all the time, the King stuck to his first sentence, and did not revoke the banishment pronounced against the man who was cheating so disgracefully his Roman judges <sup>1)</sup>. It has to be remembered that the part which Sculteti took at the time in the religious evolution, is not generally mentioned, especially since he was as shrewd as to proceed principally by private interviews and secret communications. If those facts are beyond our knowledge, they were within that of their clear-sighted contemporaries, and we are thus informed that, for certain, broad-minded, and yet judicious men, like de Schepper and Dantiscus, were convinced that the defection of John a Laski from faith and truth <sup>2)</sup>, with its calamitous sequel of the systematic communicating of error and heresy in East Friesland, was caused by the sad influence of Sculteti. — Yet on November 13, 1547, John Hannow announced from Marienburg <sup>3)</sup> to his uncle that it was rumoured there that Sculteti had received a ‘*salvum conductum*’ for his return ; fortunately it was soon found out by Dr. Hosius that no such document had ever been granted <sup>4)</sup>.

On March 24, 1546, Cornelius de Schepper once more writes from London <sup>5)</sup> : he insists on always being Dantiscus’ son, and is very sorry not to have been able to do much to finish the war ; he expresses his sickness of it. He further gives his opinion about the state of the Emperor’s affairs, about Trent, and about heretics. He also communicates news about his family : his wife’s daughter has had a second child, but one of his *privigni* is suffering <sup>6)</sup>. Dilft sends to Dantiscus his kindest greetings.

On April 14, 1546, Eustace a Knobelsdorf writes from Frauenburg to Dantiscus <sup>7)</sup> that one of the canons, Mauricius, died the day before in his arms of the pest ; he requests Dantiscus’ kindness and suffrage to appoint him in his place. — That demand was soon granted, for, on April 28, Eustace

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<sup>1)</sup> In several biographies, such as that of Copernic by Prowe, there occur any amount of wrong constructions of texts, and a malignant partiality in judging facts and circumstances.

<sup>2)</sup> Cp. before, pp 364, 379 ; also *HTL*, iv, 145, sq, ii, 350, iii, 254 ; *Lasco*, 275, sq ; *Auω.*, 160, sq.

<sup>3)</sup> He had been provided with a house by John a Werden.

<sup>4)</sup> Cp. the letter Fbm, 6, 60, — which reached Dantiscus on Nov. 16, 1547.

<sup>5)</sup> DE, 466 : Upm, 155, 114-15 : it reached Dantiscus at Marienburg on May 9. Cp. SleidE, 103.

<sup>6)</sup> Cp. DE, 403, pr.

<sup>7)</sup> DE, 467 : Upm, 155, 116 ; the letter reached Dantiscus on April 16.

thanks his Bishop for the help he gave him to secure Mauricius' canonry <sup>1)</sup>.

The projected marriage of James Gracian de Alderete with Dantiscus' daughter had been announced to him, and the necessary approval requested; unfortunately the several letters sent on that occasion were kept on the way, so that, when the various circumstances seemed to urge the conclusion of the contract, the ceremony took place, and was also communicated to the father: he thus received at the same time the news of the project, and of its realization. He was deeply hurt, so much the more, as several other letters of friends and acquaintances mentioned the husband's skin disease, and even a supposed understanding of him with the mother was suggested. It was quite natural that Dantiscus was unwilling for a good while to be forgiving and generous <sup>2)</sup>. It caused a large amount of letters, which, as they hardly have any connection with the history of the Netherlands, and repeat the same assertions and arguments, have been omitted. Still the last missive on the subject in the collection is reproduced here: it is written by James Gracian, who, as an old student of Louvain, quite naturally refers to friends and acquaintances made in Brabant <sup>3)</sup>. He and his wife Juana Dantisca are mentioned in the biography of Vives, where it is pointed out that they had several children, all of whom being ornaments to their parents and to their native country; further, that, at the birth of her twentieth child, the mother's portrait was painted by one of their sons, and adorned by her husband with the distich:

Bis decies gravidæ talem nunc cerne figuram:

Qualis erat facies virginis, ipsa docet <sup>4)</sup>.

Their many descendants gloried in the name of their mother; one of their sons, Antonio Gracián was, during several years, secretary of the Holy Office in Rome <sup>5)</sup>; another, Jerome, D. D., a Carmelite, was, for a time, spiritual director of St. Teresa, and Archduchess Isabella's confessor in Brussels: he died in September 1614, leaving several much praised religious treatises <sup>6)</sup>. Other descendants made themselves famous as authors: a Baltasar wrote *Agudeza y Arte de Ingenio*, 1648; and a Lucas, 'criado de su Magestad', *Galateo Español, aora nuevamente impresso, y enmendado*: Madrid, 1722; others continued for two centuries the succession of Royal 'criados', and proudly bore the patronimic of 'Gracián Dantisco' <sup>7)</sup>.

<sup>1)</sup> DE, 469: Upm, 155, 118; the letter reached Dantiscus on April 29; cp. Prowe, I, II, 337, 341, 381.

<sup>2)</sup> Cp. DE, 420: pp 293-94.

<sup>3)</sup> HTL, II, 353, 404, 408-12, 417, III, 20, 79, 81, 371, IV, 144, 515.

<sup>4)</sup> *Viv Vita*, 208; HTL, II, 411; cp. before, pp 286-87.

<sup>5)</sup> Altamira, III, 557; HTL, II, 411, III, 81, IV, 524; Gomez, 10.

<sup>6)</sup> Cp. HTL, III, 81, IV, 524; Paquot, XIV, 400-15.

<sup>7)</sup> HTL, II, 411, III, 81, IV, 524; Altamira, III, 601, 634-35; *Viv Vita*, 207-8.

On June 3, 1546, James Gracian de Alderete wrote from Madrid to Bishop Dantiscus <sup>1)</sup> : I learn from your letter to Alphonsus de Aragonia that the calumnies about me have reached you, as well as the letters written by men like Granvelle and by Covos. As to your missive of last February 5 (1546), it must have been lost. I myself had thought that all was finished between us, especially after the message which I received from the Archbishop-elect of Lund. Still, I was called up by letters from Peter de Soto, Cæsar's father confessor, and from others in Court, and they asked me to recommend to you Alphonsus de Aragonia, who was going to Sarmatia, — which they would not do if they thought I had no authority with you. You wrote to Alphonsus that I am suffering 'morbo diurno', which concords with what those say who also accuse me to you 'cum socru Jsabella rem habere, et alia non minus nepharia', with which you have charged me lately by letter ; accusations, namely, 'hominum mendacium, ἀθεῖον et Lutheranorum, qui nos Hispanos pejus cane et angue oderunt'. Since the time I married the Dantisca, I have never been ill, 'sed valui, valeoque cum uxore & liberis, munere Dei Opt. Max., qui mihi hoc & alijs huiusmodi beneficijs rependit : opus bonum quod Eius contemplatione tantum operatus sum, dum Dantiscam inopem, egenam, desertam ac miserabiliter derelictam, indotatam, vxorem duxi, <apud> matremque meâ pecuniâ adjutam locauj, eo tempore quo illius pudicitia erat periclitura ; huius autem uita infamia laborabat : utraque certe, vel fame peritura, aut questum corporis turpiter factura, ni preveniens subuenissem ; idque contemptu alibi dote quam tunc temporis ingentem potui acceperisse. Nec me pœnitet facti' : for, what is done for the good, is richness ; 'et ipsi Juanæ Dantiscæ satis magna dos est sua virtus, probitas, et non cessuri nisi diis sine crimine mores, nudaque simplicitas, purpureusque pudor'. — When you say that I married her 'te prorsus inscio, nullo tuo accedente consensu', you forget what you wrote seven years ago from your Castrum Lubavensem : 'pro tua virtute, meaque in te animi propensione, — consummato modis legitimis matrimonio, non deerit tibi beneficentia mea'. You

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<sup>1)</sup> DE, 470 : Km, 230, 175-81.

also wrote it to the Bishop of Palencia ‘*Doctori Gueuare, Senatori, Mgro Polo, Gonzalo Perez, Reynaldo Strozi, Alberto Cuon, et aliis*’. I wrote the announcement to you, and you said that you had received it in three copies, which I dispatched, aided by your countrymen, on the advice of *Ulrico Eynger*, compatri tuo, who was then still alive <sup>1)</sup>. This question, which has already been hanging nine years, is to be decided by the Lord, and I therefore quote the testimony of one deceased. — You doubt whether Dantisca is not your daughter, as you imply in a letter to Alphonsus, but the child of one in your ‘*familia, sed quod illa domus tuæ erat vernula, beneficiisque tuis educabatur; quod pater illi testamento nihil legauit*’, & a : a ‘*vir gravis*’ could never write such things, except to an ‘*Alphonsum ignotum tibi et harum rerum omnium ignarum*. — Tu autem cura ut uxor in ea qua nunc est ætate, pro paterno tuoque decore, instituat<sup>ur</sup> et educetur’ : *that* you wrote to me : not once, but also, in your own hand, to Isabella, the mother, which letters I have here, and keep ; though there is no need for those who know you : they are convinced that she is ‘*tua, ex facie et corporis lineamentis* !’ Moreover, there is the deed of deposition of several witnesses, that your daughter should be allowed, as *unica heres*, to inherit of Isabella, who, last year, was dying, and was not allowed to make a will *jure regni*, unless, by ‘*depositione testium*’, it ‘*constaret Judici eandem ipsam Dantiscam utriusque filiam naturalem esse*’. Moreover you are not likely to be so liberal as to entertain for several years somebody else’s daughter ! I would have done better if I had listened to her (*viz.*, my Juana), quæ mihi hoc semper occinebat, ut spem omnem recta in Dominum Deum collocaremus, quem unum præcipue Patrem et benefactorem agnoscebat ! Vt te iam tandem hac parte sollicitudini eximiamus, securumque reddamus ne tantopere labores satagasve negandæ filiæ, quam nemo, quantumvis bonus magnusque, sibi filiam non exoptaret atque gloriaret ! Certe, nobilissimi quique viri illi honores habent, ac honestissimæ quæque matronæ huius Aulæ dignantur ac gaudent in templis, in synedrijs & congressibus,

<sup>1)</sup> Cp. before, p 245 : *Ulric Ehinger* (*Eytzinger*).



eam sibi associare et adungere, tum propter integritatem vitæ, morumque candorem, tum propter dignitatem uiri. Vt et obiter respondeam scommati, si modo me tantum concernit, dum dicis : non se digno caruisset matrimonio : quasi ipse aliquis de media plebe essem capite census, vel diminutus potius : nam neque illa erat digna meliore viro, sive ad patriam, & genus, sive ad natales, sive ad conditionem vitæ meæ id referas, nullatenus aliis isthac parte cessuro. Quod in epistola you further object, I answer, that, after you left Toledo, I did not stay there myself, nor did I see either mother or child, but followed the Empress, whom I served, until the time that the Court returned to Valladolid, when I wrote to you, ne utraque turpiter periret. Sortitus sum hospitium domus Jsabellæ, matris ipsius Dantiscæ, uxoris meæ, quam neque agnouissem post multos annos pre malis transfigurata, nisi ex memoria faciei tuæ, qua illa cognoscitur : nempe quoties illam uidebam, te ipsum intueri uidebar'. You will see from my letter, of which I will send one more copy to convince you, that I am pleased in the 'familiaritas et consuetudo' of many right men, who know me since many years : they would not have written to recommend me to you, nisi rei ueritate optime nossent & Dantiscam tuam esse filiam, & nos tum corpore, tum mente sanos, longeque alios quam opinione tua nos fingis. We write this by a certus nuncius, to show that we are neither what Lutherans and liars say of us, more to follow their own bad bent, than to harm us. We ourselves are prosperous, almost as if through the very fact that we despise all earthly goods, in order to do what is right ; for we do not want your help : we do not write to you 'tuam opem egentes conjuges, qua inopia subueniri possit ! Sufficit enim desyderijs nostris stipendium honorificum, quod a Cæsare ratione muneris mei quotannis accipio, quoad succedamus hæreditati matris meæ, feminæ tum nobili, tum diuiti, iampridem uiduæ relicte. Preter alia beneficia, quæ per ipsum Deum ex munificentia nostrorum Principum in nos manant, emanabuntque in filios, ubi ad ætatem peruenerint, veluti ex illorum promissis accepimus, quæ nobis ueriora oraculis habentur : ne quis omnino nos disertos credat, quasi potius ab homine quam a Deo pendeamus ! Reliqua si uoles a D. Stenalao accipies fidelius quam

ab alijs. Et valeat quam felicius D. T. — Madriti, III. nonas Junij 1546. E. R. D. T. seruus Jacobus Gratianus Alderetus.

In the following letter, de Schepper refers to one of his colleagues in the Emperor's service, Gerard van VELTWYCK, who was a student in Louvain, when Dantiscus was in the Netherlands. He was born at Ravenstein, on the left bank of the Maas, in North Brabant, and he studied at the Castle, promoting the first as M. A. on March 19, 1528 <sup>1</sup>). He continued his training as lawyer, and working zealously at the *Trilingue*, especially under Goclenius and Campensis, made himself fit for his later career as juridical diplomatist. He made a name as Orientalist, and was highly appreciated by Andrew Masius, as well as by Paul Fagius and John Widmanstadt <sup>2</sup>). He was appointed as juridical councillor by Charles V about 1540, and took at once a most active part in the transactions about the religious questions at Worms, being Gropper's collaborator for the *Interim* against Bucer and Capito <sup>3</sup>). In July 1545, he was sent on embassy to Constantinople, and was accompanied by de Schepper's stepson, Matthias Laurin, son of Peter and Anne-Isabella d'Onche, who had recently been appointed to that service <sup>4</sup>). The highly satisfactory way in which Veltwyck had conducted his Turkish embassy, from which he returned by July 1546, along with the suffering stepson of de Schepper, gave great pleasure : he had delivered a remarkable speech to Soliman, as can be judged from the Latin text which he, later on, issued, along with the relation of the whole mission, dedicated to Nicolas de Granvelle <sup>5</sup>). It was as the beginning of a series of distinctions. Indeed, he entered the Privy Council, and was appointed Treasurer of the Golden Fleece. He acquired the estate of Bouchout, and his desire to adorn it with beautiful plants and flowers, most of which he had brought home from his journeys, made him enter into connection with the great botanist Rembert Dodoens, — who dedicated to him his *De Frugum Historia* <sup>6</sup>), in due appreciation of what he had done for botany : 'Tu solus occurris', he wrote to Veltwyck in his dedicatory epistle, 'qui secretiorem illam plane divinam Physices ac Iatrices partem... cum omnis generis disciplinis conjungeres,... plurimas orbis partes, Italiæ fere omnes, Alpium aliorumque montium præruptissima loca, corporis tui etiam periculo, hujus studii causa peragraveris' <sup>7</sup>). — Meanwhile Viglius wanted to

<sup>1</sup>) Cp. *ULPromRs.*, 76 ; *VAnd.*, 244 ; *BibBelg.*, 285.

<sup>2</sup>) *MasE*, 17, 164, 193 (+), 196, 205, 351 ; *HTL*, II, 119, 559, III, 161, 284, IV, 150.

<sup>3</sup>) Cp. *Pastor*, v, 299, sq ; *PastReun.*, 235-36, 239-41, 245, 394 ; *Cong-Schr.*, xviii ; *RefDeutsch.*, II, 232 ; &c.

<sup>4</sup>) Cp. *DE*, 403, p 316 (Matthew), 456, p 373 ; *PighE*, 231 ; *Brug&Fr.*, I, 366 (Matthieu).

<sup>5</sup>) Cp. *BibBelg.*, 285.

<sup>6</sup>) Antwerp, John van der Loe, 1552.

<sup>7</sup>) *Dodoens*, 21-22 ; *HTL*, III, 339-43, IV, 323, 358, 371-74 ; still *Dodoens*, although basing himself chiefly on plants he manipulated, did not

have him sent as Treasurer of the Golden Fleece along with its Chancellor Philip Nigri to the Council of Trent, not merely for the advantage of the Order, but for his own great capacity and his erudition, both of which were universally acknowledged <sup>1)</sup>. Unfortunately he had to announce with deep regret to his friend Philip Cobel <sup>2)</sup> Gerard's decease in Brussels in the night between January 5 and 6, 1555, at the age of fifty <sup>3)</sup>. 'Proh dolor', the general secretary, John de Langhe, wrote to Masius from Brussels, January 27, 1555 : 'perdidimus dominum Gerardum Veltwicum, me absente, virum qualem hæc regio non habet parem in rebus præsertim bellicis tractandis, quod vel capitales ejus inimici nunc fatentur, ac fatum ejus dolent. Sed quia hominem nosti, tacebo' <sup>4)</sup>. Notwithstanding his many occupations he had published in 1539 a rhythmic description of Jewish customs and their inanity : *Schevilé Tohu, Itinera Deserti* <sup>5)</sup>; it did not prevent John Isaac from expressing his warm praise of him in his second book of *Defensio Veritatis Hebraicæ adversus Guill. Lindanum*. — Cp. *BibBelg.*, 285 ; *VAnd.*, 244 ; Henne, v, 39, sq ; *HTL*, III, 355-58, IV, 122, 185, 367, 517 ; *PighE*, 231, 494 ; *MasE*, 17, 164, 193, 196, 205, 351 ; *PastReun.*, 234-36, 239-41, 245, 394.

On June 12, 1546, Cornelius de Schepper, writing to Dantiscus from Binche <sup>6)</sup>, regrets that the Bishop's letter was late in being handed to him, his return from England having long been delayed : I remember, he said, having announced the decease of René of Orange, that of Godschalk Ericksen, and of Cornelius of Zegerscapelle <sup>7)</sup>. My 'privignus' Matthias Laurin, came back ill from Constantinople <sup>8)</sup>. As to the Gerard van Veltwyck, whom Matthias accompanied, he is a native of Ravenstein, who studied Greek and Latin and also Hebrew in Louvain <sup>9)</sup>; he afterwards went to France and to Italy, where he applied himself to divinity and medicine, and

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banish from his treatises Dioscorides' and other authors' baseless assertions : — quite different from Charles Clusius' principles, who, as a decided disciple of the *Trilingue*, excluded from his descriptions whatever botanical detail that was not sanctioned by the plant itself : *Clusius*, I, 328 ; *HTL*, IV, 369.

<sup>1)</sup> Cp. this letter, DE, 471 ; *MasE*, 193.

<sup>2)</sup> Philip Cobel, councillor, had been judge at Spire ; he was often sent on missions ; he died in the middle of the sixties : Hoyneck, I, II, 359, sq, 365, 391. <sup>3)</sup> Hoyneck, II, I, 304-05 ; *MasE*, 193, 196.

<sup>4)</sup> *MasE*, 193.

<sup>5)</sup> Venice, Bombergen, 1539.

<sup>6)</sup> DE, 471 : Upm, 155, 119-37 ; it reached Dantiscus on January 8, 1547.

<sup>7)</sup> Namely in his letter of July 17, 1545 : DE, 456 ; cp. DE, 403, *pr*.

<sup>8)</sup> Matthias Laurin had accompanied Veltwyck to Constantinople ; cp. before, p 387 ; *PighE*, 230-32. <sup>9)</sup> Cp. *pr*.

became most familiar with the bishop of Vabre, *Vaburiensis*, whom he accompanied when he came as ambassador to the Emperor's Court <sup>1)</sup>; by 1540, he entered Charles V's service, and was most helpful at the *Conventus* of Worms; during his expedition to Africa, Veltwyck stayed with Granvelle and his son, the future Bishop of Arras <sup>2)</sup>; he afterwards went with Charles to Spain, Italy and Germany: his great acquaintance with languages made him to be sent to Turkey, where he was very dexterous <sup>3)</sup>. He is my good friend and he knows you too, for he was studying in Louvain under Goclenius, Rescius, and especially Campensis, who were his masters in the days that you were here at the Court, and paid a visit to the *Trilingue* <sup>4)</sup>. He wrote against Bucer, or Melanchthon, or one of the Reformers, though I do not know whether it is printed <sup>5)</sup>; possibly either Bucer or Gropper introduced him, and made him defend his opinion in the controversy. Nobody writes against heretics in the Netherlands as they are condemned; there is only Herman Lethmaat, of Gouda <sup>6)</sup>, dean of Our Lady's, at Utrecht, who promised thirty-six books,

<sup>1)</sup> He was sent as ambassador to Charles V about 1540.

<sup>2)</sup> He was consecrated at Valladolid on May 21, 1543.

<sup>3)</sup> He was sent to Constantinople in July 1545. — Amongst his staff was de Schepper's *privignus*, son of his wife, Matthias (or Matthew) Laurin, as announced to Dantiscus on July 17, 1545: DE, 456; cp. Paquot, xiii, 234; PighE, 231. He was the son of Peter Laurin, Lord of Leeskens (who died on February 27, 1521/22) and of Anne-Isabella d'Onche: *BrugInscr.*, i, 160; *Brug&Fr.*, i, 365; *HTL*, ii, 68, 167, iii, 356; cp. before, p 387. — Veltwyck was also accompanied on that embassy by the medical doctor Hugo Favolius, a native of Middelburg, Zeeland, who related the whole of the journey in his *Hodæporicon Byzantinum*, which was printed in Louvain in 1563, and dedicated to Cardinal Granvelle: *HTL*, iii, 356; *BibBelg.*, 285. Favolius died in 1585: *SaxOnom.*, 459, sq; *Mendoza*, 13, 46.

<sup>4)</sup> Cp. VAnd., 244; *BibBelg.*, 285.

<sup>5)</sup> *BibBelg.*, 285; Foppens, 361-62.

<sup>6)</sup> Born about 1491 at Gouda, he studied in Paris, where he became D. D.; he made the acquaintance of Vives, and, through him, that of Erasmus. Adrian VI had him appointed as canon at Utrecht, 1522; he became dean in 1530, and Vicar-General in 1534. He was from 1521 for a time in Archbishop John de Carondelet's service. He died at Utrecht, December 6, 1555. Cp. Opmeer, i, 480, b; *Cran.*, 56, a, &c; *MonHL*, 385-90; *Auw.*, 296-97; *Busl.*, 284; *HTL*, i, 525, 600, ii, 92, 124, 212, 255, 303; *HEpU*, 33; Allen, v, 1320, pr; *SonnE*, 11-12.

but only wrote two <sup>1)</sup>. There is also a *Vita Buceri*, which unmasks that impostor, who made as victims Herman de Wied <sup>2)</sup> and the family of Nassau-Zenete <sup>3)</sup>, though Philip, Duke of Aarschot, is better taught, and quite opposed to that heretic <sup>4)</sup>. I deeply deplore the evil done by the Pole Alexander Sculteti <sup>5)</sup> to a Lasky <sup>6)</sup> and thus to the Phrysians, and even to the *Cauchi* ! <sup>7)</sup> Maximilian ab Egmont, Count of Buren, is quite well again <sup>8)</sup>. Quite well also are the friends Cl. Bouton, H. de Witthem <sup>9)</sup> and Peter Boysot, who, from controller, has become marshal 'sive præfectus hospitiorum' <sup>10)</sup>; also Johannes a Loven, metator. — There is peace in Belgium, thanks to the mastery over Luxemburg <sup>11)</sup> and Hainaut, the countries through which France might enter; thanks also to an army which is our own, and not composed of foreigners; it already kept back from Belgium the heretics of the Rhine. — As to the history of Boulogne, I consider it, as you do, a punishment of St. Thomas of Canterbury on the spoilers of his tomb <sup>12)</sup>. — The German Princes, being Pro-

<sup>1)</sup> Besides his *De instauranda Religione Libri IX* (Basle, 1544), dedicated to Charles V, he wished to publish *Suspirium, Seu Desiderium Matris Ecclesiae super redintegrandâ Religione*, in 35 books, which were never printed; he also prepared works by Theophylact: *HEpU*, 33, b; *BibBelg.*, 382; *ByzLit.*, 133, sq.

<sup>2)</sup> The letter calls the Cologne Cardinal 'H. de Weyda', possibly referring to a polemic writing in the struggle against John Gropper.

<sup>3)</sup> Viz., Henry III of Nassau, Prince of Orange: *Auw.*, 420-22, and before, pp 262-63; he had as third wife Doña Menzia de Mendoza, Marchioness of Zenete: *HTL*, III, 24, 43, 101-02, 461, IV, 97. Cp. bef. pp 13-14.

<sup>4)</sup> Philip de Croy, Duke of Aarschot, ambassador: *HTL*, IV, 96, 113, 203; *Auw.*, 519; *PighE*, 105, 134; *Henne*, IX, 341, X, 58.

<sup>5)</sup> Cp. *pr* to Ermland 1546, pp 380-82.

<sup>6)</sup> *P* 364 & Gnapheus' letter, July 14, 1544.

<sup>7)</sup> Those of 'Cuyck'.

<sup>8)</sup> Cp. before, p 263; also *HTL*, I, 485-88, II, 125, sq, 451, sq, III, 332, 411; *Auw*, 327; *Frisia*, 61, a.

<sup>9)</sup> Cp. before, p 374.

<sup>10)</sup> Peter Boisot, a Burgundian, was master of the receipts by 1525, commissary of the provisions in 1543, and director of armaments, 1544, though he occasionally commanded in the army; by 1555, he was Lord of Ruart, Tourneppe and Huyssingen, and was appointed treasurer general at Charles' abdication: *Henne*, V, 314, VIII, 95, 121, 169, X, 255.

<sup>11)</sup> That 'mastery' had been greatly helped before by de Schepper: cp. pp 97-99, 112-13.

<sup>12)</sup> Cp. F. A. Gasquet, *Henri VIII et les Monastères Anglais* (trad. J. L. Philippon): Paris, 1894: II, 388-92, where the profanation of Canterbury is related, and on pp 402, sq, its result.

testant and adverse to Charles V, sent to the two Kings of France and England, John Sturm <sup>1)</sup> and John Sleidanus <sup>2)</sup>, either for peace or other designs : they do not seem to be successful : they are 'lucifugi'. — De Schepper refers to his life at Mary of Hungary's Court, and at his home, and expresses his loyalty to the Lord and to his Masters. — 'Your daughter Juana, he writes, has an excellent husband, who, for all dowry, wants only that his wife may bear the name of her father, whom she fully represents. I do not approve in the least of your displeasure at the use she granted of her body without asking you : how could she actually have asked ? Even if the husband were 'ulcerosus', he fully makes up by honour for what may fail him, in a way, in health ; I have not only heard about that from Gonzalez Perez ; but, coming from England, last year, I met at Antwerp the 'Dominus de Courrières' <sup>3)</sup> and the marshal Cilij <sup>4)</sup>, also Henry Sterck <sup>5)</sup>, and others, who blamed you for not acknowledging him, as well as her. I myself I urge you to agree with them. — My loathing of the matheseos — evidently the astrologers', — started before I was taken up by any other work : your own horologium of yore <sup>6)</sup> has proved false, for your mother is still alive, and the archives tell me that I am a year younger than I thought. — John a Lasky is not a right

<sup>1)</sup> John Sturm, of Sleida, head of the school of Strassburg (1507-1589) : *SaxOnom.*, 152.

<sup>2)</sup> John Philipson, of Sleida, Sleidanus, the Strassburg jurisconsult and historian (1506-1556) : *SaxOnom.*, 224.

<sup>3)</sup> The Dom. de Courrières — cp. before, p 294, — was John de Montmorency : Henne, II, 207, v, 207, VI, 337, x, 66, 73, 255 ; Hoyneck, I, 36, 176. II, II, 19, 35, shows him to be Governor of Lille, Douai and Orchies, and mentions his faith to King and Cardinal.

<sup>4)</sup> The marshal Claud de Cilly, squire, son of an ambassador of that name, is mentioned in 1537 amongst the officers of the Count of Buren's army : Henne, III, 181.

<sup>5)</sup> Henry Sterck was an imperial councillor and accountant : cp. bef., p 374 ; *HTL*, II, 369-70 ; *BasBrux.*, I, 109 ; *GesSterck*, 27.

<sup>6)</sup> It no doubt alludes to de Schepper's very first edition : *Assertionis Fidei Lbi VI adversus Astrologos, sive de significationibus coniunctionum superiorum planetarum anni M. D. XXIV. futurum cataclysmum prædicentes*, issued at Antwerp on May 16, 1523 : *BibBelg.*, 148 ; *HTL*, II, 166 ; — what he adds about the *horologium*, may refer to the *genitura*, which Gemma offered to Dantiscus on Aug. 1, 1536 : DE, 331, p 272.

Pole : he is a heretic <sup>1)</sup> : to him come 'co-religionists' from Strassburg ; to him also come others : thus the son of Charles of Burgundy, of Bredem, heir to the Lord of Falais, who married Brederode's sister <sup>2)</sup> ; also a de Buzanton, of Hainaut, two de Berchem's of Antwerp <sup>3)</sup>, besides monks and nuns that run away from their convents ; some even go as far as your country : thus the Polyphemus, qui olim Gandavi fuit Carthusiensis <sup>4)</sup> ; thus also priests like Gnapheus, who opened a *ludus literarius* in Elbing, as he did before in Haga-Comitis <sup>5)</sup> ; thus also others, especially Anabaptists. — In France, atheism is raging ; Stephen Dolet, who bitterly criticized us, Belgians, is [going to be] burned <sup>6)</sup>, getting thus his right reward, considering the way they treat Pope and Cardinals on one side, and heresies on the other. As to the King, he is ruled by 'Domina de Estampes' <sup>7)</sup>. In England, the exterior rite is good, but all discipline is absent. In Scotland, things are going worse, as results from the murder of the Cardinal of St. Andrews, by a *puer* <sup>8)</sup>. — Your Theodoric, tonsor tuus, is surprised that you are in 'aula', but in Prussia an *aula* is merely a *domus*. — My *legatio Anglica* is being prepared again ; I am sending greetings from Tunstall <sup>9)</sup> &

<sup>1)</sup> Viz., on account of his anti-Catholic 'settlement' at Emden : cp. before, pp 364-65, and DE, 456 (last passage), p 374.

<sup>2)</sup> Charles of Burgundy, Lord of Bredem : Henne, III, 283, v, 166.

<sup>3)</sup> Two of them, Corneille and Henry de Berchem, took part in the defence of Antwerp against Martin van Rossem, 1542 ; another, James, was a musician : Henne, I, 63, III, 359, v, 104, VII, 370.

<sup>4)</sup> Cp. further, p 396.

<sup>5)</sup> Cp. before, p 305.

<sup>6)</sup> Dolet was burned as atheist in Paris in Place Maubert on August 3, 1546 (*HTL*, III, 34-35) — which suggests that either the detail was added to a letter written in the first half of June, or that the news of his condemnation had been changed into that of his execution ; for Stephen Dolet (Aug. 3, 1508-Aug. 3, 1546), cp. R. C. Christie, *Étienne Dolet* : London, 1899 ; Allen, XI, 3005, 18 ; *Cran.*, 260, 5 ; *ActaMori*, 28 ; FG, 338 ; *HTL*, I, 212, 390, II, 577, sq, III, 29, sq, 34, sq (and authorities quoted), 103, 194, 389 ; *Auw.*, 507 ; Hudson, 248, 250.

<sup>7)</sup> Viz., Anne de Pisseleu, Duchess of Étampes : Hudson, 241.

<sup>8)</sup> David Beaton (possibly Bethune : 1494-1546), was archbishop of St. Andrews : by 1544, he condemned George Wishart as heretic and had him executed ; in revenge of which the latter's friends attacked the prelate, and killed him on May 29, 1546 : Sanderson, 427-30 ; Gardiner, 412-14 : *Knox*, 49-53 ; *DNB*.

<sup>9)</sup> Tunstall : cp. p 375.

Gardiner <sup>1)</sup>, who came to Court last winter in Greenwich, where van der Dylft was. Cranmer, whom I met in Ratisbon, is totally different from them <sup>2)</sup>, and I am greatly surprized at what you wrote to me of having had a boy entrusted to that Cranmer, who blessed the marriage of King Henry with Ann Boleyn ! <sup>3)</sup> Still I will help you in marrying one of the Princesses of Poland. — Princess Mary of England is now thirty-two ; she is docta, knowing Latin and Greek, Spanish and French <sup>4)</sup>. Philip of Bavaria wooed her this spring. — To this country there also come other royal children and Queens. — Stanislas Lassota therefore was sent here by your King ; he brought much corn into England, which made him well liked, at least until he lost favour, and went off with a golden chain from the King. There are other candidates for marriages, for example the Scotch King. — Stanislas Lassota gave himself out as the brother of Jerome a Lasco, the prudent diplomatist with the Turks. — My opinion of Anna Boleyn is (*a passage in cipher*) <sup>5)</sup>. — I shall like to hear about the state of Church and things in Hungary and Poland, and their connection with the Turk. I know a Polish Bishop, Gambara <sup>6)</sup>, an Italian born, who *sciuit, voluit, potuit*. — De Schepper alludes further to Samuel, Bishop of Cracow, Poland's pro-chancellor <sup>7)</sup>, and to Hungary, and its troubles and quarrels (*another passage in cipher*). — Mention is further made of the Duke of Orleans, who promised to be a good king, and who died from the pest, whatever rumour is spread to the

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<sup>1)</sup> Gardiner : cp. p 376.

<sup>2)</sup> Thomas Cranmer (1489-1556), theologian and churchman, chief supporter of Henry VIII's divorce, was appointed English Primate. Under Mary, he was committed and executed in 1556 ; he has been frequently referred to in the preceding pages. Cp. *DNB* ; *PollCran.*, 198, 19 ; *MonHL*, 41, 567 ; *ActaMori*, 12, 16, 18, 20, 57 ; *HTL*, 1, 277, 386, III, 474, IV, 150 ; *Auw.*, 240 ; *LaemKirch.*, 73.

<sup>3)</sup> Cp. DE, 338 and 414 : pp 280 and 326. Cp. Gough, 250-51, 270.

<sup>4)</sup> Cp. Stone, 21, 26-27.

<sup>5)</sup> Efforts were made to rehabilitate Anne Boleyn, — although she certainly drove Henry VIII to dismiss his rightful wife.

<sup>6)</sup> No doubt Peter Gamrat : cp. further, p 395.

<sup>7)</sup> Probably Samuel Maciejowski, Bishop of Plock, and of Cracow, Polish chancellor : *CatCzart.*, 1, 7, 9, 41, 42, 51, 52-55, II, 257 (1597), 258 (1598).



contrary. He also refers to the war against the Turks, to the state of Buda, to the death of the Polish Queen Elizabeth, to the Emperor's health, to Worms and the religious quarrels, to II <sup>1)</sup>, to the captivity of Henry of Brunswick; to Maurice of Saxony; to the Protestants; to Spain and projects of marriage with France, England and Portugal; to George of Austria. — French men-of-war had come in sight of Zeeland, and people dreaded them; Maximilian of Burgundy <sup>2)</sup> and myself, we could soon dissipate their fears. — Greetings have duly been imparted to de Praet, de Corbaron and Courrières <sup>3)</sup>; van der Dilt is still in England: he suffers from podagra. I offer my greetings to your brothers Bernard and George. — At Ghent, the castle is building; your former œconomus Michael de Vriend <sup>4)</sup> has married; you will find there yet the DD<sup>i</sup> de Scardauw, de Huele, Charles Utenhoven and the abbot of St. Peter's; further your former *inserviens* Triest; also James de Schorisse and the D<sup>nus</sup> de Beveren, nasu porcino, who retired from the army and married. Adolph a Scornaco, my quondam bacularius, has become doctor and canon at Maastricht <sup>5)</sup>; Levinus Panagathus is in Court, 'tædio, vti multi putant, vxoris, quæ parum honesta agit fama' <sup>6)</sup>. Wolfgang Haller is œconomus of Queen Mary of Hungary, and has five children; the Duke of Aarschot <sup>7)</sup> is all right: of

<sup>1)</sup> Probably Alexander Sculteti: cp. pp 381-82.

<sup>2)</sup> Maximilian of Burgundy, Lord of Beveren, Veere, Flushing, &c, born on June 28, 1514, was the son and successor of Adolph of Burgundy (cp. before, pp 135, 336), who died on December 7, 1540. He rendered great services since 1542 as Admiral, as well as 'stadholder' of Holland and Zeeland from 1547, so that he was made Knight of the Golden Fleece in 1546, and created marquis of Beveren, Veere, &c by Charles V on October 21, 1555. He died without heir on June 4, 1558, and his widow, Louise of Croy (cp p 395, Aarschot), married John of Burgundy, Lord of Fromont and Han-sur-Sambre. Cp. Henne, III, 235, VIII, 340, X, 254; Guicc., 72; HTL, II, 460-65, 522, IV, 515; Busl., 338, 343; Auw., 69, 71, 72, 89, 515; and before, p 336.

<sup>3)</sup> John of Montmorency: cp. before, pp 43, 294.

<sup>4)</sup> Cp. before, p 247.

<sup>5)</sup> Cp. before, DE, 303: p 242; from DE, 417, p 330, it seems that by 1540, he was active in the Imperial Chancery, — at least if the reconstruction of the torn letter is exact.

<sup>6)</sup> Cp. p 53, &c.

<sup>7)</sup> Philip II of Croy: he had inherited the possessions of the Duke de Chievres & Marie-Madeleine de Halmale; in return for a cession of a right, he was offered, in April 1533, the title of Duke of Aarschot: Henne, II, 346.

his three children the eldest married a daughter of the Duke of Guise ; a daughter, Maximilian of Burgundy <sup>1)</sup>. Marquis Anthony de Bergen, son of John, died just five years ago <sup>2)</sup> ; a daughter married the Count of Arenberg, *filium generis D<sup>ni</sup> Florentii de Egmonda, Comes de Buren et Ysselstein* <sup>3)</sup>. — The Archbishop of Cologne is in league with Bucer. De Schepper further mentions the Cardinal of Mayence ; Martin van Rossem and D<sup>ns</sup> de Cornetz, heads of the Gelderland armies ; also the Duke of Milan, the Council, the Archbishop of Magdeburg. He sends greetings of Mary of Hungary to Dantiscus, and writes (*in cipher*) ‘*de annatis*’. He thanks for the coins : he gave them to his wife and children : are they quite like Judas’s drachms ? He mentions Gelders and Germans and their devotedness to the Emperor. He wants the ‘*encomium Petri Gamrati, Gneznensis Archiepiscopi & Episcopi*’ (of Cracow) <sup>4)</sup>. Please send greetings to Lazar Tucher <sup>5)</sup>. — I returned from England after Easter, and am now with Queen Mary at the castle of Binche : in the late war, it was attacked in vain by the Dauphin ; Mary received the town from the Emperor ; so she likes to stay here, and intends also retiring here. There seems to be peace made between Eng-

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<sup>1)</sup> Maximilian, the Lord of Veere, Beveren, &c : cp. p 394.

<sup>2)</sup> Antony de Berghes, son of John, Lord of Walhain and Melun, served in the army, and then, certainly from 1517 (Allen, III, 717, 22) studied in Louvain with Gilles Rengot, under Adrian Barlandus, who dedicated to him Æsop’s *Fabulæ* ; later on, under Vives, who inscribed to him his *Prælectio in Georgica*, 1518. He also attended the lectures of the *Trilingue*, and then became cup-bearer to Henry VIII in November 1519, staying at the Royal Court (Allen, III, 969, 24) : he had there as tutor Adrian Ælius Barlandus, whose relative Hubert Barlandus ascribed to him his *Velitatio*, 1532. By that time, he was prefect of Namur ; in the next years, he became Knight of the Golden Fleece, Count of Walhain and Marquis of Berghes : he died in June 1541, as Governor of Luxemburg : *Cran.*, 5, a, 62, a ; Henne, I, 271, II, 7, 14, III, 244, 263, VI, 83, VII, 306 ; Allen, III, 760, *pr* ; Daxhelet, 247-48 ; *HTL*, I, 260-61, 357, 448, II, 87, 518, 521, III, 45 ; *BN* ; *BB*, A, 154, 6.

<sup>3)</sup> Comes de Buren &c : cp. before, p 43.

<sup>4)</sup> Peter Gamrat was first bishop of Plock, then of Cracow, and also Archbishop of Gnesen : *CatCzart.*, I, 51-53, II, 256, 258, 260, 267.

<sup>5)</sup> Lazarus Tucher was one of the friends of Dantiscus in Brussels : cp. DE, 374 (December 21, 1537 : p 303) and 434 (January 30, 1542 : p 351) ; he is also mentioned in *CatCzart.*, II, 257 : 1165 (1540), 260 : 587 (1545).

land and France at some conditions; there was here a duel between two Spaniards, who served, the one, France, the other, England: the latter won. As the French might attack Namur, Queen Mary is building a new town, Marienburg.

Amongst the abundant news imparted in this letter, there is some which corrects and completes the information up to now available about Felix Konings Rex, Polyphemus, of Ghent: being engaged as amanuensis by Erasmus in the autumn of 1528, he carried letters to Belgium, and learned there the recent death of his wife and child; he related it to Tielmann Gravius in Cologne, who mentioned it in his letter of October 16, 1528, entrusted to him <sup>1</sup>). When despatched afterwards to Dole and Besançon, he got there into a quarrel and an unequal fight with a friar, Carinus, which made him flee to Basle, and, being followed to that town, from there into the army with all possible speed <sup>2</sup>). Erasmus did not regret his loss, as clearly appears from the character which he attributed to him in his Colloquy '*Cyclops*', giving him the name of *Polyphemus*, which the recipient considered as a title to glory. After several employs, he reached the Court of the Duke Albert of Brandenburg at Königsberg, whose first librarian he became on December 5, 1534, and whose family-laundress, Catherine of Kralingen, who had left Holland for her Lutheran conviction, he married. He died from the plague in the beginning of October 1549. Cp. FG, 406-07; Roersch, I, 83-99; Allen, VIII, 2130, *pr*; *Cran.*, 242, *b*, 275, *a*; *Acta-Mori*, 65; *HTL*, I, 278, 393, II, 27, 140, 392, 457, III, 33, 110, IV, 99; Tschackert, I, 231, *sq*, 314, II, I, 308, 365, &c, II, 235, 241; also his connection with his countryman Gnapheus, II, I, 415, II, 26-27, 210, &c.

In addition to all those particulars, new details are provided by the present letter, in which de Schepper, who knew *his* people, declares that Konings had been a Carthusian for some time in a Ghent convent. Since, on the other hand, the pious Bishop of Ermland could hardly promote anybody to the position of Librarian of the laicized head of the German Order, it certainly is not to Dantiscus that Felix could owe his promotion as keeper of the Königsberg book-collection.

On August 21, 1546, Gaspar Hannovius writes from Rome to his uncle <sup>3</sup>), relating what is going on, and what is decided on by the Cardinals; he sends news about benefices in Lübeck, Breslau and elsewhere, and wishes for the Heilsberg sacellanus John Langhanke some sacerdotium. He announces that Alliopagus Knobelsdorf has been in Wittenberg, and

<sup>1</sup>) Allen, VII, 2068, 11, *sq*.      <sup>2</sup>) Allen, VIII, 2112, 31-43; March 2, 1529.

<sup>3</sup>) DE, 474; Fbm, 6, 95, *sq*; it reached Dantiscus at Braunsberg on September 29, 1546.

fears that he has incurred irregularities <sup>1)</sup>, and yet he was made the successor to canon Mauricius. He further announces that his own brother John enjoys his prebend, and mentions that Sculteti is still in Rome <sup>2)</sup>).

On September 12, 1546, Charles Utenhovius writes from Ghent to Dantiscus <sup>3)</sup> : he recalls their old life in Bononia, and mentions the rumour of death that reached him ; he also refers to de Schepper. He has now retired 'ad rusculum Marchemianum' — Elseghem, Merkeghemhoek <sup>4)</sup> — to study. 'Arnold Storm', your old hospes, 'octogenarius, valet' : he resigned his pretura ; Pynkia, his daughter, is married, and so is her sister. I myself have six sons and one daughter. Michael Vryndius, your old œconomus, also married, and took as wife, a rich, though older, woman <sup>5)</sup>. Robbius noster practises at Antwerp : he remarried, and is still *facetus* ; 'Dom. a Fossis senior, D. Gulielmus a Wala (whose niece I married), & D. Scriba Edingus' have died. Cornelius de Schepper will write about the other courtiers. There is no news here, except the explosion of the Mechlin Zandpoort, August 6, 1546 <sup>6)</sup> (which he briefly describes) : it greatly damaged the 'hostel' of the Hoogstraetens and that of Margaret of Savoy, besides the Church of St. Peter, as well as the home of the Nassau family, and what they call the (*domus*) *Lombarda* ; similarly the convent of the Augustines. and the houses in the 'vicum quem Tutorium (Vocht) vocant' ; many details are given about the people that were killed.

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<sup>1)</sup> Cp. before, p 342 : there certainly were not then anymore the reasons that inspired Dantiscus' visit in 1523 : cp. before, p 9.

<sup>2)</sup> Cp. before, pp 381-83.

<sup>3)</sup> DE, 475 : Upm, 155, 138-39 ; it reached Dantiscus on February 4 ; cp. FG, 437.

<sup>4)</sup> The place is at 8 miles to the W. of Audenarde.

<sup>5)</sup> Michael de Vriend or Vrients, the old servant, and, as results from this letter, the steward of Dantiscus : cp. before, pp 247, also 96, 113, 133, &c.

<sup>6)</sup> Antony Corvinus translated a Leyden pamphlet into German : *Warhafftige anzeigung der schrecklichen ... geschichten und vngewitters... aus Gottes verhengnis und straff zu Mecheln...* (Hannover, 1546) : Corvinus, 153, 203, 216 ; cp. *MalGod.*, 275, sq. Fonke, R. : *Die Explosion des Mechelner Sandtores (1546) in Flugschriften der damaligen Zeit.* 1932.

On October 18, 1546, a letter was written in Brussels to Dantiscus by his 'humilis inservitor & filius' de Schepper <sup>1)</sup> : it mentions the events in Germany, the movements of the Duke of Saxony ; the armies levied in the Netherlands to liberate the territory, being removed as the Emperor now wants them in Germany ; it refers to the Count of Buren <sup>2)</sup> and his military operations about Bingen on the Rhine, &c. — It relates with many details the Explosion of the Mechlin *Zandpoort* <sup>3)</sup> : the enemies of Charles V say that it is a punishment, as only his powder is blown up : still it seems that he is well provided of that article. De Schepper also gives some information about the war in Germany, and that in Friesland, from which the Count of Buren was absent : Winand a Breyel, commander of the Teutonic Order of Biesen, went there, and restored order. Still they think there of making a revolution and of doing away with nobility and convents, through the influence of John a Lasko <sup>4)</sup>, of David Georgii <sup>5)</sup> and of Memno Symonis <sup>6)</sup>. — The *gener* of de Schepper, husband of his wife's daughter Catherine <sup>7)</sup>, died leaving one child, Maximilian, and a sad spouse ; he was from Vøere, and was bearing the burden of the administration of that town <sup>8)</sup>. Of the old friends, de Schepper mentions Gemma Frisius, who is still in Louvain, and is becoming famous as doctor : on the year before, he had even been often called to Brussels to take care of the Emperor. — He, de Schepper, cannot understand the hatred of Hamburg and Bremen for Charles V.

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<sup>1)</sup> DE, 476 : Upm, 155, 140-43 ; it reached Dantiscus on February 4.

<sup>2)</sup> Viz., Maximilian of Egmont, created Lord of Buren, the glorious army-leader : cp. before, pp 43 and 373.

<sup>3)</sup> Cp. preceding letter.

<sup>4)</sup> John a Laski : cp. p 364.

<sup>5)</sup> David Joriszoorn : cp. p 374.

<sup>6)</sup> Menno Simons : cp. p 374.

<sup>7)</sup> Catherine Laurin, daughter of Peter Laurin, Lord of Leeskens, and Anne-Isabelle d'Onche, who married Corneille de Schepper in 1528, her first husband having died on February 27, 1521. Catherine married Wulfard van Borselen, captain of Sluis, who died in 1546 : DE, 403 : pp 316-17 ; *Brug&Fr.*, I, 365-66, III, 51.

<sup>8)</sup> One of his ancestors 'Wolfardus, Dominus Borsaliæ & Comes Magni prati' was a Knight of the Golden Fleece who died before 1478 : Guicc., 69 ; *Brug&Fr.*, v, 333, sq.

On November 12, St. Lebuin's feast, 1546, Maximilian of Egmont wrote from Deventer, to Dantiscus <sup>1)</sup> : 'S. P. Reuerendiss. Presul. Recepi literas R<sup>e</sup> D. V., quo nihil letius mihi optari possit : presertim cum de prospera valetudine tua certior sim factus. Ego si possim D. V. R. digna in re inseruire, lubens fecero ; novi nihil hic quod scribere possim, et vt omnino barbarus latino sermone sum factus, rogo boni consulet hanc meam epistolam tam barbare scriptam, et me sibi vt veriss. amicum ac inseruitorem habeat R. D. V., quam Deus Opt. Max. quam diutissime seruet. Datum Daventrie, ipso die Lebuini 1546. R. D. V. addictiss. amicus Maximilianus dEgmont <sup>2)</sup>).

On November 28, 1546, Cornelius de Schepper replied to Dantiscus' letter <sup>3)</sup>, about a Polish student who had had some trouble and had been attacked : de Schepper mentions that strangers are often wild and suspect, and we do not know them enough. He himself was in Germany when it happened, and on inquiry, he finds that the young man had not been ill-treated in Brabant, but at St. Trond, in Liège diocese, and that by his own countrymen, actual 'Gedani'. God may help the world : 'nam noua hæc, — as are now related — etiamsi quædam vetera emendatione egeant, periculosa sunt tam vicinis atque imminentibus malorum conatibus atque ausis, ne quid de opinionibus dicam'. He sends mutual greetings to the Bishop's *familia* from his own.

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Cornelius de SCHEPPER's letter — the last of this collection <sup>4)</sup> — fully justifies the close and lifelong connection between that diplomatic envoy and the clever politician, who had had

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<sup>1)</sup> DE, 477 : Ccm, 1599, 631 ; on it Dantiscus noted when it reached him : 'a Comite Burensi, 4 febr. 1547' : cp. pp 43, 317, 328, &c.

<sup>2)</sup> Cp. before, pp 43, 373 : he writes majuscules in the middle of some words instead of at the beginning : e. g., iPso.

<sup>3)</sup> DE, 478 : Upm, 155, 144-45 ; it reached Dantiscus on February 4, 1547.

<sup>4)</sup> Cp. AltRel., 135-45, 152, 159, 161, 334, 384, 390, 443, 529-33 ; — also Opmeer, I, 481, a ; Miræus, 15 ; SweABelg., 184 ; BibBelg., 148-49 ; Fland-Ill., III, 338 ; VigIEA, 22 ; FlandScript., 41-44 ; FG, 416-17 ; Paquot, XII, 295-302 ; Cran., 249, a-f, &c ; MonHL, 420 ; HTL, II, 166-71, 609, &c, III, 15, sq, 557-58, &c, IV, 128, sq, 185, 367, 443, 482, 508, 514, 516, 524 ; Acta-Mori, 33-34, 44 ; Busl., 321 ; Auw., 374, 402, 445 ; PighE, 232.

a great influence on his formation and development <sup>1)</sup>. De Schepper was the first of the Western countries who was sent on a mission to Turkey, and who obtained what was wanted <sup>2)</sup>. He left to posterity not only the detailed relation of that embassy <sup>3)</sup>, but also some other writings, the *Assertio Fidei adversus Astrologos* <sup>4)</sup>, contradicting their silly predictions for 1524, and the double *Apologeticum* in favour of King Christian II, 1523 and 1524 <sup>5)</sup>; also Queen Isabella's *Elegia*, 1525 <sup>6)</sup>, and a memorial poem on Severin Norby <sup>7)</sup>. He moreover at least prepared the *Rerum a Carolo V... in Africa bello gestarum Commentarij*, comprising the relation of the expedition against Tunis, August 1535, translated by John Etrobius, or rather Berot, of Valenciennes <sup>8)</sup>, and those by Paul Jovius, Nicolas Villagagnon and Christopher Calvetus Stella, issued at Antwerp by John Bellerus, 1554/55, the year of de Schepper's decease <sup>9)</sup>. He had also taken an interest in the chronicles about Flanders and the adjacent provinces, at which Christian Massæus, of Cambrai, had worked fifty years <sup>10)</sup>. They were printed thanks to de Schepper, and gave a history from the creation of the world to 1540. Still the French ambassador complained to Charles V that some passages were offensive to his King; so the Emperor rebuked de Schepper: 'Curendis historijs odij inter Principes semina seritis vos eruditi! Quod si libet res gestas scribere, ædite libros nobis mortuis, ut non cogamini inservire aliorum affectibus, exemplo C. Suetonij': at any rate the sale of the book was stopped <sup>11)</sup>.

The total extent of de Schepper's life, to which these letters refer, was taken up by his embassies, which provided him

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<sup>1)</sup> On many occasions de Schepper declares that he has been taught and formed by Dantiscus whom he calls his father (e. g., DE, 466).

<sup>2)</sup> OlaE, 269, &c; *SchepMiss.*, 34, sq, 93, 105, sq; Paquot, xii, 234; Auw., 374; CMH, iii, 108, sq.

<sup>3)</sup> St. Genois & de Schepper, *Missions Diplomatiques de... de Schep-per*: Brussels, 1856.

<sup>4)</sup> Cp. before, p 391; Antwerp, Fr. Byrckman: May 16, 1523; NijKron., i, 1867; Prowe, i, ii, 217, sq. <sup>5)</sup> Cp. p 17; Paquot, xii, 299.

<sup>6)</sup> Cp. p 18; Paquot, xii, 299, 301; NijKron., ii, 3670; AltRel., 161.

<sup>7)</sup> Cp. p 50; AltRel., 152.

<sup>8)</sup> Antwerp lawyer: cp. PighE, *passim*.

<sup>9)</sup> In-12, in italic letter, with several maps: cp. Paquot, iii, 408-09, xii, 300.

<sup>10)</sup> *BibBelg.*, 135.

<sup>11)</sup> Opmeer, i, 481, a; Auw., 445.

the title of nobility and that of *Eques Auratus*. His continuous journeys explain the large amount of letters to and from him in this Dantiscus Collection, and also in various others : such as those to and from the Antwerp Pensionary Adrian Herbouts <sup>1)</sup>, or those exchanged between him and Viglius <sup>2)</sup>. Several of his memoirs, or accounts of his missions to many a man of authority, subsist, as well as the replies entrusted to him from 1528 onward <sup>3)</sup>. Some of them are published, but others still await their being edited in sundry archives of Europe. Besides, he had at various times an amount of helpers — like his ‘bacularius’, Maximilian of Waelscappelle <sup>4)</sup>, or his friend Claud Cantiuncula, with whom de Schepper called on October 7, 1528 on Goclenius, and talked about their great Master of Basle, ‘vterque tui amans vt vix putem esse alios æque amantes Erasmi’ <sup>5)</sup>. Such also was Livinus Algoet, in whom de Schepper was greatly interested : he met him at Trent in 1530, and for a good while took care of him there and at Augsburg <sup>6)</sup>, as results from the long letter which, from the latter place, he sent to Erasmus on June 28, 1530, encouraging him against all attacks : ‘se... rogaturum’ he wrote, ‘ne te hominem tanta prudentia, tantaque cognitione permoverent libelli isti, qui aduersum te scribuntur ab hominibus quibus perniciem suam debet res Christiana : indignum enim esse vt permouearis’ <sup>7)</sup>. In that letter he also encourages Felix Konings Polyphemus, as well as Valdesius and Olah, as he did a few months later from Brussels, on November 17, 1531 <sup>8)</sup>. He also took into his service William Snoeckaert van Schauenburg of Bruges, who, journeying to Paris, was called ‘*Senocar*’ by the French,

<sup>1)</sup> They date from 1526 to 1530, and have been edited by P. Génard, in the *Bulletin des Archives d'Anvers*, 1864 : 602-618.

<sup>2)</sup> Cp. ViglEB, 19 : September 24, 1542 ; 21 : March 10, 1545 ; 38 : September 1, 1543 ; ViglEA, 22 : end of June 1553 ; — Hoyneck, II, i, 318 : September 8, 1544 ; AltRel., 531-33 : June 1543.

<sup>3)</sup> Cp. Lanz, 41, 179, 197, 224, 227, 299, 333, 401 ; Seck., I, 266, a, II, 157, b, 165. b, III, 257, a, 399, a.

<sup>4)</sup> Cp. before, p 351 ; also PighE, 83, and *passim*.

<sup>5)</sup> Allen, VII, 2063, 61-64 : October 7, 1528.

<sup>6)</sup> Allen, VIII, 2327, 4, 2294, 13 : June 6, 1530, March 28, 1530.

<sup>7)</sup> Allen, VIII, 2336, 62-66 : June 28, 1530.

<sup>8)</sup> Allen, IX, 2567, 3-17.



which suggested the name Zenocarus <sup>1)</sup>). Nor did his epistolary activity end when this present correspondence stopped; about that time he even was chosen to take the direction of the naval defence of the coast of the Netherlands.

On August 20, 1548, de Schepper lost his wife <sup>2)</sup>); by the end of the forties, he married Margaret Loonis, the fine, young and rich widow of Remeus Jacobus Roetaert, who had died on December 24, 1545 <sup>3)</sup>). Unfortunately he had a sad fall from his horse in Zeeland, from which he had to return to Brussels by ship and by a sedan chair <sup>4)</sup>), being, as Thomas Chamberlayne, English Legate, announced on June 7, 1551, about 'Skyperius' — 'lame, using two crutches, and skant able to go with the same' <sup>5)</sup>).

In the forties, de Schepper had become connected with John de Langhe, secretary of the Privy Council, and his friend Andrew Maes, for whom he tried to find an employ at the death of his master, the Bishop John de Weze, whose epitaph he helped to formulate <sup>6)</sup>). Meanwhile he had been entrusted by 1546 with the inspection of the maritime connection with Spain, so as to provide safety and protection against all enemies. He thus was interested, not only in occasional ladings, like that of herrings, expected in Flanders on May 28, 1553 <sup>7)</sup>), but in a wider view and a more intricate organisation, of which he actually was one of the chief promoters from 1545, as results from the series of documents from May 1546 to September 1552 <sup>8)</sup>).

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<sup>1)</sup> Paquot, XIII, 118-21; *HTL*, II, 170, sq; *SchepRech.*, 8, sq, 13, sq; *SchepMiss.*, 24, sq, 31-92; *FlandIll.*, II, 412.

<sup>2)</sup> James Jespersen composed an epitaph in verse on her: *BB*, J, 34.

<sup>3)</sup> Cp. *AnEmBr.*, II, iii, 127.

<sup>4)</sup> Cp. *HTL*, III, 16-17; *MasE*, 59, 63-66.

<sup>5)</sup> Cp. Tytler, I, 382; *MasE*, 70.

<sup>6)</sup> *MasE*, 59-60, 63-64, 70, &c; *HTL*, III, 16. That friendship with Masius provided on November 7, 1553 to de Schepper the use of at least part of a house in Brussels, belonging to his new protector, the Duke of Cleves (*MasE*, 136, 142, sq): the latter also offered fit employs as well to Masius as to the Bishop's nephew, Henry de Weze, instead of the administration of Waldsassen Abbey: *MasE*, 168, sq; *PighE*, 12, sq and *passim*.

<sup>7)</sup> *MasE*, 123, sq.

<sup>8)</sup> They form a volume of the Archives, *Cart. & Man.*, 181A, which had been lent to Louvain University before 1940, and which was left in the room of a student, who used it until he was called up to serve in

Not only did de Schepper execute his various duties with his customary ardour, but he suggested or started himself some most effective measures for the welfare of commerce and industry within the country ; at any rate he had a most effective part in the grand plan of connecting Brussels with Antwerp by the Canal of the Rupel, so as to remedy the uselessness of the Senne <sup>1</sup>). It caused as a renascence of his activity, during which, unfortunately, he fell ill, and died at Antwerp on March 28, 1555. He was laid to rest in the Chapel of his estate at Eecke <sup>2</sup>), and his praise was recorded as, moreover, it had frequently been proclaimed throughout the years of his admirable activity <sup>3</sup>).

Whereas the great administrator and animator was thus taken away from work and life before his time, his second wife Margaret Loonis survived him as long as November 8, 1596 <sup>4</sup>). He left only two children from his first marriage : one a boy, born before Febr. 8, 1533, called after him, was still taught by a tutor in January 1542 <sup>5</sup>) ; on July 17, 1545, he was a Louvain student <sup>6</sup>). He was Queen Mary of Hungary's page, and succeeded to his father as the Lord of Eecke, as well as

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the war, from which he did not return. It suffered at the upper side from a subsequent air attack, but was carefully mended and rebound, thanks to the care of Professor de Meyer, who, in the late forties, placed it at the author's disposal for the present work. Still apart from Christian II's letter of January 28, 1526, reprinted on pp 19-21, no other document is reproduced, neither Queen Mary's letter of September 8, 1551, nor one to Viglius [June 1550], as they do not refer to the subject.

<sup>1</sup>) Cp. *HTL*, II, 383, 610. — Cp. *PhilHessen*, 559 ; *Hessus*, II, 251.

<sup>2</sup>) Cp. *HTL*, II, 166-71, 383, III, 16, IV, 185 ; *Cran.*, 249, a-f.

<sup>3</sup>) Cp. *HTL*, II, 170-71, 609-10, and references quoted, III, 557, sq ; *Gem-Frisius*, 411 ; Guicc., 244, and 229, mentioning Corn. de Schepper's opinion that *Flandria* should be derived from *Flaidren*, arrows ; &c.

<sup>4</sup>) In the confusion of the closing years of the xv<sup>th</sup> century, that extraordinary survivance of de Schepper's widow had been taken up as hardly probable, and several biographies suggested the son Cornelius as her husband. That incertitude caused the hesitation expressed in *Cran.*, p 642, and in *HTL*, II, 169.

<sup>5</sup>) Cp. before, p 351 ; also the references in *OlaE*, 284 (Febr. 8, 1533), 388, 393 ; *Cran.*, 249, f ; *HTL*, II, 169, 385.

<sup>6</sup>) He, no doubt, was the 'Cornelius Scepperus nobilis', inscribed on August 28, 1542 on p 157, v, of *LibIntIV*, and also recorded in *LibRecI*, 339, v : he thus is referred to before on p 374.

in the survey and defence of the coast for marine and police between 1559 and 1577. He was the captain of two companies of infantry, commissioned by the Prince at the renewal of the Ghent magistrate in 1559, 1576 and 1577, and, along with Francis de Kethulle, Lord of Ryhove, he was sent by the States General to Termonde to treat with the captain of the garrison about the evacuation of the place. From a letter of August 2, 1572, addressed to the Council of Flanders, it appears that he then was at the head of the harquebusiers of Hulst to preserve that town from the attacks of the rebels <sup>1)</sup>. The Lord of Eecke, moreover, was one of the 'Consules Franconatus' of Bruges in 1566 and in 1569 <sup>2)</sup>; he probably died in the last seventies <sup>3)</sup>. At any rate, it was his sister Anne who, about 1588, ordered alterations as mistress of Eecke, and had their parents' grave repaired: she had married Cornelius de Coornhuyze, great Bailiff of Ypres and Audenarde, and she died a nonagenarian on October 16, 1619 <sup>4)</sup>. Their son 'Franciscus Coornhuyse, Dominus de Eecke', was amongst the 'Consules Franconatus' of Bruges in 1608 and 1611, and is recorded as *Eques Auratus* and as Councillor of State <sup>5)</sup>.

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<sup>1)</sup> *SchepRech.*, 10, where by mistake, he is considered as a nephew.

<sup>2)</sup> *FlandIll.*, II, 187: DE, 403, *pr.*

<sup>3)</sup> *HTL*, II, 169, 385; *AnEmBr.*, II, vi, 25, III, iv, 153-55, 217-18.

<sup>4)</sup> *HTL*, II, 169, 385; *ConPriT*, 71; *Brug&Fr.*, II, 164.

<sup>5)</sup> *Brug&Fr.*, II, 164; *cp. FlandIll.*, II, 188.

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## GLEANINGS

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As has been explained before in the Preface and the introductory pages, this collection gathers letters that are connected both with Dantiscus or his friends and with the Netherlands. Still there are several documents besides them, which offer interesting details about the great ambassador and his contemporaries, or afford noteworthy details about the life and its conditions in those days, which, although not associated with the great Prelate as well as with this country, provide a deeper and fuller understanding of the chief events and of the penetrating changes that were, at the least, preparing in the second quarter of the sixteenth century. For the fuller intelligence of the correspondence, those notices, grouped under the title of *Gleanings*, intend providing some serviceable information, even if not intently directed to the history of the Netherlands.

### A

Thus, although the letters to and from John de Weze, chief councillor and earnest collaborator of Charles V, are most interesting, some are only of remote importance for our countries, as they either offer only an employ in the Emperor's service in Austria to John a Laski <sup>1)</sup>, — or aim at an understanding between the latter's brother Jerome and King Ferdinand of Austria for matters that are quite particular to that region <sup>2)</sup>.

### B

One of Dantiscus' most faithful and efficient friends, Charles V's clever and most active secretary, Alonso de Valdes <sup>3)</sup>, used his attentive influence for the good of numerous acquaintances in the Netherlands, as his many letters amply prove. A few, however, of them have been omitted from this correspondence, since they either want a decided date, or lack all lasting significance, referring merely to an invitation to a meal, to the reminding of a promise, or to any other of the various accidents of life <sup>4)</sup>. — The same may be said of whatever another Spaniard, Jo. de Comalonga, wrote to Dantiscus on April 2, 1534, mentioning the acquaintance begun in Spain between them and their common friend Valdesius <sup>5)</sup>. — Equally indifferent is the letter by which, on August 4, 1531, Hemargh de Valle, a Castilian, sent his thanks and greetings to Dantiscus from Mexico, just mentioning that

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<sup>1)</sup> DE, 306 : Ccm, 247, 241 : July 18, 1535.

<sup>2)</sup> DE, 311 : Fbm, 4, 58 : Vienna, October 15, 1535.

<sup>3)</sup> Cp. before, p. 26.

<sup>4)</sup> Cp. DE, 38 (Fbm, 130, 29), 82 (*id.*, 1), 140 (*id.*, 17, 36, 37, 41), 165 (*id.*, 19), 167 (*id.*, 4, 9, 10, 15).

<sup>5)</sup> DE, 281 : Fbm, 3, 99 ; Upm, 154, 98.

country, and referring to Jerome Sayler, as well as to a benefice he wishes to obtain <sup>1)</sup>).

From the Italian Camillus Gilinus, Camillo Ghilino, orator of the Duke of Milan <sup>2)</sup>), there is a letter of September 28, 1531 from Ratisbon, announcing some news to Dantiscus, along with the mention that four knights brought his letter to Valdes, who was at prandium with him, with Nicolas de Granvelle and with Henry of Toledo <sup>3)</sup>).

## C

It is only natural that amongst the letters thus placed apart as not interesting the Netherlands, those to or from Poles, or, at any rate, personages connected with their country, are in majority. One of the first was sent by Leonard, Count of Nogarolles, on January 6, 1528, from Strigonium to Dantiscus, referring to Sigismund of Herberstein and Olah, acting as representatives of Austria and Hungary to Poland, who take Dantiscus' letters, and carry news about the trouble between King Ferdinand and the Vaivode Count of 'Scepusa' <sup>4)</sup>). — Two years later, Nogarolles was at Cologne, from where he wrote on October 28, 1531, having accompanied there the 'Marchio Brandenburgensis' without taking leave of his friends <sup>5)</sup>). — On March 25, 1529, John Albert, Margrave of Brandenburg, writes that he has received Dantiscus' letter of March 14, and greets him as a brother <sup>6)</sup>). — On May 7, 1531, the Austrian ambassador Sigismund of Herberstein sends news from Strigonium and Cracow <sup>7)</sup>). — On August 10, 1531, the same Sigismund announces that he has sent the messages to the Polish King and Queen, and asked the latter for Dantiscus' *revocatio* <sup>8)</sup>). — On May 20, 1531, Christopher Szydlowiecki, Captain and marshal of Poland, had already requested that *revocatio* <sup>9)</sup>); he repeated his demand on August 21, 1531, expressing the doubt whether the diocese of Culm, which Dantiscus is ready to accept, is an adequate reward for all his services <sup>10)</sup>). — On January 1, 1532, Ludovic Spinula thanks Dantiscus from Rome, and sends news about Poland and the Turk, about Genoa and Andrew Doria <sup>11)</sup>). — Of that same period, July 27, 1531, there is a letter from Nicolas Copernic, Canon of Ermland, to his Bishop Maurice Ferber, explaining how he had counselled his man- and his maid-servant to marry, and had been the cause of bad reports after he had given

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<sup>1)</sup> DE, 151 : Upm, 154, 68 ; it was probably sent along with the DE, 149 : Ccm, 1596, 301, dispatched from Mexico as well, on August 1, 1531 : cp. before, p 90.

<sup>2)</sup> Cp. before, pp 239-40.

<sup>3)</sup> DE, 163 : Ccm, 1595, 347.

<sup>4)</sup> DE, 47 : Upm, 154, 13.

<sup>5)</sup> DE, 170, Fbm, 3, 56.

<sup>6)</sup> DE, 74 : Ccm, 1637, 425, 429.

<sup>7)</sup> DE, 124 : Upm, 154, 50.

<sup>8)</sup> DE, 153 : Upm, 154, 71 ; by the *revocatio*, the King of Poland orders his ambassador Dantiscus to return home and accept another appointment.

<sup>9)</sup> DE, 128 : Ccm, 403, 643.

<sup>10)</sup> DE, 128bis : Ccm, 403, 647 ; cp. before, p 206.

<sup>11)</sup> DE, 186 : Fbm, 3, 63.

hospitality to the wife, who had stayed two days with him after she had left her impotent husband, having started a legal action about it <sup>1)</sup>).

It happened that John Campensis, journeying in a *plaustrum* from Petroków to Cracow, had as companion Albert Kiewski, a canon of Ermland, who criticized Dantiscus as austere and vehement, because he had taken some offices from him. On April 12, 1534, Campensis mentioned him in his letter to the Bishop <sup>2)</sup>), to whom, on August 15, 1534, Kiewski wrote requesting to be forgiven, and forming the wish that he would soon be cured from a disease of which he was then suffering <sup>3)</sup>).

One Johannes Uranoplusius, Silesius, of Althausen, thanks Dantiscus, on January 14, 1538, for having entrusted him with the education of the sons of his sister : he regrets that he now is called home by his father, and he mentions a comedy, which he produced at Culm 'sub Calendis Januarijs in ipso die Divi Joannis in prætorio publice' <sup>4)</sup>).

Melchior Isinder, of Königsberg, wished to dedicate to Dantiscus a little book on the advice of Sabinus and Joachim [Camerarius]; so he writes, on April 28, 1546, to express his thanks for the praise which Dantiscus had then already given it <sup>5)</sup>).

Of that period there are several letters from Gaspar Hannovius to his uncle J. Dantiscus, to whom he sends from Rome, from September 1543 to June 1546, several books, besides imparting news about the Church and the difficulties caused by Alexander Sculteti, who had reached Rome <sup>6)</sup>); he refers to several personages indicated only by signs and sends hearty greetings from a Dominus 'Locka', a Frauenberg canon <sup>7)</sup>).

On August 3, 1547, Martin Alexwange wrote from Petroków to Dantiscus that a 'malevolus' had issued some invectives against the Fathers of the Council <sup>8)</sup>. — On October 18, 1547, he expressed his sorrow because he had heard that Dantiscus had been suffering for a few weeks, in so far that some had even been pleased in the hope of losing him : so as to be able to say : 'Nunc ereptus est nobis ille qui totius patriæ hostis acerrimus fuerat'. He sends his *Instructio ad minora Comitia*, and other writings <sup>9)</sup>. — On January 28, 1548, the same Alexwange communicated further news about Poland and about some acquaintances, and announces that a Cross had appeared in Switzerland on August 22, 1547 <sup>10)</sup>).

#### D

There is a letter dated from Wittenberg on October 7, 1532, by which Vitus Amerbach highly praised Dantiscus for his vast knowledge and

<sup>1)</sup> DE, 148 : Ccm, 1615, 169 ; cp. before, pp 172-73.

<sup>2)</sup> DE, 284 : Upm, 154, 131 : before, p 208.

<sup>3)</sup> DE, 293 : Ccm, 247, 203-09 ; it reached Dantiscus on September 1.

<sup>4)</sup> DE, 376 : Fbm, 6, 29 ; it reached Dantiscus on January 16 : cp. Hipler, 544. <sup>5)</sup> DE, 468 : Ccm, 403, 621. <sup>6)</sup> Cp. before, pp 381-82.

<sup>7)</sup> Fbm, 6, 84-86, 87-92, 93 : February 13, March 27, June 12, 1546.

<sup>8)</sup> DE, 481 : Fbm, 6, 101 ; it was received on August 10.

<sup>9)</sup> DE, 481<sup>bis</sup> : Fbm, 6, 102 ; it reached Dantiscus on October 26.

<sup>10)</sup> DE, 481<sup>ter</sup> : Fbm, 6, 106 ; it was received on February 14, 1548.

erudition; he also mentioned his sister's son John Lemannus, who had been tutored by him, and had deserved a most laudatory report. He wishes Dantiscus to use his influence to dissipate all ecclesiastical dissidia originating from abuses due to negligence and to inaptitude in those who should lead <sup>1)</sup>. — He himself afterwards became a convert, and died in 1557.

On January 15, 1533, Philip, Count Palatine, lieutenant of the Duchy of Württemberg, sent from Innsbruck his best greetings to Dantiscus through the Polish ambassador, Nicolas Niptzytch <sup>2)</sup>.

## E

The French ambassador Claud Dodieu, Dodeus, had made Dantiscus' acquaintance in Nuremberg in 1532, which he recalls in that year, on June 15 and on September 29, mentioning Eobanus Hessus, as well as events that happened since their joyous meeting <sup>3)</sup>. — Three years later, in March or April 1535, he sends his greetings to him from the Southern countries, Sicily and Italy, where he had followed the Emperor on his attack on Africa <sup>4)</sup>. — On December 5, 1535, he availed himself of the return of Dameraw to write to Dantiscus from Naples, where he wishes to realize his friend's great aim, promoting Christian religion and concord <sup>5)</sup>. A last letter is analysed in the chronological series <sup>6)</sup>.

## F

There moreover is a considerable amount of letters written to Dantiscus by the Swedish Bishops, exiled from their country, and kindly welcomed in Danzig. One of them was John Brask, the aged Bishop of Linköping, who, on December 29, 1533, asks Dantiscus' advice about an apparent reverse in the King of Sweden's policy, since he invites the Archbishop of Lund, John Store, to return; yet, he is afraid that, instead of a restoration into favour, it is a 'pejus priori malum'; he writes as he himself is too old to move, and he mentions the good care bestowed on him by the *Magistratus* <sup>7)</sup>. — On May 24, 1535, John Brask thanks Dantiscus for his kindness and affection, and recommends to him his chaplain Nicolas <sup>8)</sup>. — On July 15, he refers to the King of Poland's victory over the Russians, mentions the royal marriage in Cracow, and sends news about Lübeck and Sweden, where John de Hoya and Albert de Mechelberg are vanquished in their fight against Christian III and Rantzau. Still, what afflicts him most is the ruthless way in which the jewels and values of the Swedish churches are stolen with sacrilegious temerity <sup>9)</sup>. — On May 29, 1536, Bishop Brask mentions that he is already nine years in exile, and, with his colleagues, in deep distress. He thanks Dantiscus for his letters, and also for his poem on the (pretended) death of the *adulterinum* King of Sweden <sup>10)</sup>.

<sup>1)</sup> DE, 240 : Fbm, 6, 133.

<sup>2)</sup> DE, 248 : Upm, 154, 106.

<sup>3)</sup> DE, 219, 238, 245 : Knm, 230, 307, Upm, 154, 100, Ccm, 240, 157. Cp. before, pp 156, 167 : DE, 235, 250.

<sup>4)</sup> DE, 299 : Fbm, 6, 139.

<sup>5)</sup> DE, 314 : Fbm, 3, 113.

<sup>6)</sup> DE, 460 : October 29, 1545 : p 379.

<sup>7)</sup> DE, 264 : Ccm, 247, 173.

<sup>8)</sup> DE, 302 : Fbm, 3, 109.

<sup>9)</sup> DE, 305 : Fbm, 3, 111.

<sup>10)</sup> DE, 327 : Fbm, 3, 122; it reached Dant. on June 7; cp. *MonHL*, 612.

On April 5, 1536, the Archbishop of Uppsala John Store, Magnus, wrote to Dantiscus allowing him to copy, after correction, the *Cronica Crantziana de Gothia et Suecia*, of Doctor Reuchius, *bonæ memoriæ*, lent in reply to a request; he judges Poland happy thanks to the most Christian King; as to England, it 'disperiit et vix quandoque resurget: nam Deus inflixit non leve vulnus ei'; he expresses his sadness about Sweden that chased her Bishops <sup>1)</sup>. — On the following April 13, Dantiscus thanks from Altenhaus for the permission granted about Crantzius' book; he announces the interest taken in that subject by John a Werden, and his help towards it. The letter further offers news about Germany, England, Poland and heresy <sup>2)</sup>. — On June 2, 1536, Bishop John Store thanks Dantiscus from Danzig for his epitaphs on Gattinara, amongst which he admires those by Dantiscus; he also wishes for those on Tomicki, of which Dantiscus composed one; and requesting to write for him to de Schepper, he offers the greetings from the Bishops of Linköping and Skara <sup>3)</sup>.

When John Magnus, the Archbishop of Lund, removed to Rome, he sent from there his heartiest greetings to his friend on January 28, 1538, describing the state of things there <sup>4)</sup>. — He wrote from Italy again on May 30 following <sup>5)</sup>, and further on July 12, 1539 from Venice, mentioning the appointment of his brother Olah as canon of Ermland, besides providing news <sup>6)</sup>. — From Rome on September 3, 1541, Archbishop John once more thanks Dantiscus for the prebend granted to his brother <sup>7)</sup>, and mentions Alexander Sculteti, who had been exhorted as late as July 1539 to send away 'scortum illud suum ... sed laterem lavit: numquam desinet ille esse Alexander' <sup>8)</sup>; he highly praises his nephew Gaspar Hannow. — John Magnus, as already mentioned before <sup>9)</sup>, had made the acquaintance of Damian a Goes, to whom he wrote from Rome; he died there soon after March 22, 1544. As already related Magnus Haraldi, Bishop of Skara, had announced, on February 3, 1542, from Rostock that Bishop Brask of Linköping had died in Poland <sup>10)</sup>.

In the place of John Magnus was appointed as Archbishop of Lund his brother Olah: he announced to Dantiscus, on October 6, 1544, that he was going to receive the *Pallium*; as on October 26, it was given to him, he wrote about it on December 1, 1544, and he reported to Dantiscus further news about the Church, mentioning his canonicate in Erm-land <sup>11)</sup>. — On December 20, 1544, he sent the list of new Cardinals, and

<sup>1)</sup> DE, 320 : Fbm, 3, 117.

<sup>2)</sup> DE, 321 : Ccm, 54, 189.

<sup>3)</sup> DE, 328 : Fbm, 3, 124; it reached Dantiscus on June 7.

<sup>4)</sup> DE, 377 : Upm, 154, 158; it reached Dantiscus on March 24.

<sup>5)</sup> DE, 386 : Fbm, 6, 30; it reached Dantiscus on September 6.

<sup>6)</sup> DE, 399 : Upm, 155, 8; it reached Dantiscus on August 26.

<sup>7)</sup> DE, 430 : Fbm, 6, 50; it reached Heilsberg on December 13.

<sup>8)</sup> Letter of July 14, 1539 from Gaspar Hannow : Fbm, 6, 40; cp. p 379; it reached Dantiscus on September 22. <sup>9)</sup> Cp. before, pp 264-65.

<sup>10)</sup> DE, 436 : Upm, 155, 59; it reached Dantiscus on May 30; cp. p 264.

<sup>11)</sup> DE, 447, 448 : Fbm, 6, 63, 64.



related the arrival of Nicolas Lock, a member of the Pope's guard <sup>1)</sup>. — On the letters of March 27 and April 22, 1545, by which Olah sends news from Venice and from Rome <sup>2)</sup>, follows on July 25 the one announcing the sad death of the young Polish Queen, — in result of which Olah is requested to countermand the order for rings which he had been asked to place in England <sup>3)</sup>. — From June 14, 1545 to September 27, 1547, follows a series of nine letters, by which Olah sends to Bishop Dantiscus news from the Council of Trent, with just an incidental remark, now and then, about a friend, like John a Werden, or about some event in the Church <sup>4)</sup>.

## G

Not only have been left out letters : in many cases even parts of letters of which the principal contents are reproduced most completely, are omitted if they exclusively refer to Poland or to Culm or Ermland dioceses and their people ; so in the missive of January 25, 1534, from Bishop Tomicki to Dantiscus (DE, 270 : Ccm, 247, 177, analysed on p 193), mention is made — without any of the details — of the difficulties between D<sup>us</sup> Kostka and the 'Castellanus Gedanensus Achatius Czeme', as well as of the projected marriage of the eldest Princess of Poland with the old and decrepit Count Palatine Philip.

That same contemplated marriage of the Princess is mentioned in Tomicki's letter to Dantiscus of April 11, 1534 (DE, 282 : Ccm, 247, 187-91, pp 206-07) ; but then, instead of the Palatine, the son of Joachim, Marchio de Brandenburg, is not only named, but even preferred as suitor ; it has not been referred to here. — Similarly have been passed in silence some difficulties in the war between Poland and Russia, mentioned in John Campensis' letter of March 28, 1534 (DE, 280 : Upm, 154, 129 ; p 203).

## H

Finally a very large number of letters have been omitted by which Isabella Delgada asked help and money of the Bishop, or which refer to Juana Dantisca and her marriage with the generous Alderete, who wished to preserve her from all evil. He asked Dantiscus' blessing, but the long time it took for his messages to reach Poland, caused one misunderstanding after another, which led to years and years of estrangement : only the very last letter, written after several years of marriage <sup>5)</sup>, has been quoted, since the husband had himself enjoyed, for a large part, an education in the Netherlands, where, at least, one of his children occupied fifty years later a most honourable position under Albert and Isabella.

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<sup>1)</sup> DE, 450 : Fbm, 6, 66 ; cp. before, p 371.

<sup>2)</sup> DE, 452, 453 : Upm, 155, 93, 96.

<sup>3)</sup> DE, 457, 458 : Upm, 155, 103, 105.

<sup>4)</sup> DE, 455, 457, 461, 463-65, 473, 479, 480 : Upm, 155, 101, 113 ; Fbm, 6, 41, 47, 49, 94 ; Ccm, 240, 167 ; Knm, 230, 151, 159.

<sup>5)</sup> June 3, 1546 : DE, 470 : Knm, 230, 175-81 ; cp. before, pp 383-87.

# JOHN DANTISCUS

## HIS DEATH — HIS SUCCESSORS — HIS LEGACY

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### I

After November 1546, there is no letter from or to Netherlandish provinces preserved; most of the old friends had gone, and, in doing his duty, Dantiscus was fully decided to give the good example, that had not always come from above. Far from estranging him from religion, his humanistic principles had always strengthened him in it, and in the wrangle of the beliefs, he stood firm in his faith, and communicated that firmness to his own priests, whom he trained by the wisdom of Cardinal Contarini's writings and that of manuals, like Filippo Archinto's *Christiana de Fide et Sacramentis contra Hereticorum id Temporis Errores Explanatio*, and his Catechism <sup>1)</sup>. Thanks to his characteristic clear-sightedness <sup>2)</sup>, to his efficiency, and to the wealth of his experience, catholic religion has duly continued ever since in the part of the country entrusted to his care, notwithstanding opposition or difficulties <sup>3)</sup>. He devoted himself to his work with all his prudence and wisdom, until he died on October 27, 1548, in the arms of his grateful Knobelsdorf, who had attended him with a filial love in his illness. He was laid to rest in his Cathedral <sup>4)</sup>. Charles V, as well as the Polish Court, had wanted to obtain for him the Cardinal's dignity,

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<sup>1)</sup> Cp. Lortz, 33, 226 : he edited the Catechism with a preface by Hosius.

<sup>2)</sup> It has been recently pointed out in *EraSpain*, 446 : un observateur clairvoyant comme Dantiscus.

<sup>3)</sup> Cp. before, p 304, and *Gleanings*, c.

<sup>4)</sup> Cp. *DantKop.*, ix-xxvii; *DantCar.*, ix-xxxiv; *DantSil.*, 3-16; Opmeer, I, 472, b; Lortz, 33, 60, 142, 174, 226, sq; Pastor, v, 700, sq, vi, 173, sq, 365, 469, 481, 556, 563, 624; Prowe, I, ii, 251-54, 161-64, 326-71; *Cran.*, 57, pr, 287, pr, &c; *MonHL*, 420-23; FG, 335-36; *ActaMori*, 34; Allen, viii, 2163, 138; *Busl.*, 221; *HTL*, I, 503, II, 401, 410, sq, 549, sq, &c, III, 18-23, 176, 563, sq, &c, IV, 128, sq, 132-34, &c; PighE, 372; *Auw.*, 85, 441; *EraSpain*, 246, 448, sq, 852, &c; *Hessus*, I, 102-04, &c; *AltRel.*, 334; *Melanch.*, 157, 357.

which he, however, constantly refused in the humble desire of devoting himself entirely to his duty.

## II

Dantiscus' place in Ermland was taken in 1549 by Tiedeman Giese, Gysius, who continued his work with wise prudence and decided circumspection <sup>1)</sup> in the troublesome first years of Sigismund-August's reign <sup>2)</sup>. He, however, died already in 1551, and Stanislas Hosius, who had been his successor on the see of Culm, was also chosen by Julius III, on the proposition of the King, of May 11, 1551, to replace him in Ermland <sup>3)</sup>. Born on May 5, 1504 in Cracow, he had been educated there, but had continued his studies in Italy, thanks to Dantiscus' generosity, — which is one more glory to the Bishop, who realized that staunch and able workers were necessary in his native country : to him thus is attributable the finding and the adaptating of this admirable cooperator towards the welfare of Poland and the glory of the Church. Maybe Hosius was too straightforward and unwieldy for a courtier ; he in fact was energetic, even to roughness at times, and he had the courage to oppose whatever might have favoured heresy, which some tried to introduce by might and main into his native country. He was a downright Christian erudite : he composed the famous *Confessio* <sup>4)</sup>, which, from that time on, did, throughout, an incalculable amount of good ; his eloquence was compared to that of Cicero <sup>5)</sup>, and his writings were admirably adapted to the necessities of the time, in so far that they secured him the name of *Column of the Church*, and made him be called the Augustine of his days <sup>6)</sup>. Evidently he showed far more fitness than Dantiscus, since, to a large extent, he had been trained for a Churchman, which was evidently recognized, as he was invited to Rome in 1557 to

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<sup>1)</sup> Lorz, 60, 142, 227.

<sup>2)</sup> Cp. Prowe, I, II, 26, sq (he wrote *Flosculorum Lutheranorum de Fide et Operibus* Ἀντιλογικόν, 1524), 452, sq, 537, sq ; Pastor, v, 741 ; MonHL, 612.

<sup>3)</sup> Cp. Pastor, v, 700, sq, vi, 173-75, viii, 141, 148, 504-07 ; Allen, vii, 1915, 40 ; PighE, *passim*.

<sup>4)</sup> Cp. Pastor, vi, 174, sq.

<sup>5)</sup> Cp. Pastor, vi, 365.

<sup>6)</sup> Cp. Pastor, vi, 173-75, 469, 556, 624, vii, 151, 190-93, 391, sq, &c.

work at the reform <sup>1)</sup>. He had been some time Dantiscus' assistant, although he was soon called upon to take up one heavy task after another : he actually proved to be a godsend to Poland saving its Catholicity. He was appointed Cardinal by Pope Pius IV in February 1561 <sup>2)</sup>.

### III

Even besides his devoted services as Bishop, Dantiscus left precious legacies to his nation and to humanity in general. As far as can be judged from circumstances, he was an ideal statesman, and the best proof is the influence he exercised on his friend the ambassador Cornelius de Schepper, who frankly owns his indebtedness to him, and called himself, up to the very last, his *humilis inservitor & filius* <sup>3)</sup>. He, for certain, was a man endowed with an admirable nature, as follows from his high appreciation of all arts, which Goclenius soon found out, when he offered him the portrait of Erasmus by Holbein <sup>4)</sup>. In fact, the Bishop of Ermland had gathered a large collection of pictures, and Duke Albert of Brandenburg even repeatedly sent to him the painter of his Court, Crispin Herranth, one of Dürer's disciples, to copy some of his paintings. It is moreover recorded that Hans Hesener, Herranth's brother-in-law, was often at work at Heilsberg for Dantiscus <sup>5)</sup>. He also was highly interested in the art of Janus Secundus, who offered him several of his finest medals and even some statues <sup>6)</sup>. Moreover he was himself a poet : he had learned the art from his Cracow professor Paulus Crosnensis, in whose praise he composed a carmen <sup>7)</sup>. His models were Virgil and Ovid, subsidiarily Claud Claudianus, with his pure and poetical language, as well as Papinius Statius, with his fine compositions <sup>8)</sup>. Still Dantiscus had a special way of making the thoughts he borrowed, sound so quite familiar and natural, as if they were his own. Amongst his first compositions were poems

<sup>1)</sup> Pastor, v, 700, sq, vi, 469, &c.

<sup>2)</sup> Cp. Lortz, 32, 226, sq ; *MonHL*, 619, sq ; *PastReun.*, 144 ; Allen, vii, 1915, 40 ; PighE, 372-75, 391-93, 410-12 ; Tschackert, i, 181-82, 281, ii, ii, 182-83. <sup>3)</sup> Cp. e. g., DE, 476, p 398. <sup>4)</sup> *HTL*, iii, 22, 23.

<sup>5)</sup> *DenkmErm.*, 147, 149.

<sup>6)</sup> *HTL*, iii, 20, 21, 23.

<sup>7)</sup> *DantCar.*, 58-59.

<sup>8)</sup> *DantCar.*, xxviii.

on the memory of Valerian Drevicius, canon and royal secretary, as well as the long *De Virtutis et Fortunæ Differentia Somnium* and others, which were published as early as December 24, 1510 <sup>1)</sup>. Two years later, he celebrated the marriage of King Sigismund with Queen Barbara <sup>2)</sup>, and, like, later on, for his *Epithalamium* of Queen Bona, in 1518 <sup>3)</sup>, he made it into an occasion of describing the might and power of his country, and the glorification of his nation, with all the splendour of present and past warfare. He wrote some poetry on Perla, a young girl he admired <sup>4)</sup>, and, later on, on Grynea <sup>5)</sup>; he also rejoices in the victory of King Sigismund over Moscow, September 1514, since it broke a treaty it had accepted in 1508 <sup>6)</sup>. In 1515, Dantiscus accompanied his King to the meeting with Charles V in Vienna, and was sent repeatedly from there on missions to Venice by the Emperor Maximilian I, who, in return, ennobled him in 1516; he also granted him the title of D. V. J., and adorned him with the *Laurea Poetica* <sup>7)</sup>. During the following years, Dantiscus prepared a poem *De Nostrorum Temporum Calamitatibus Silva*, on the occasion of Charles V's crowning as Emperor by Pope Clement VII in Bologna, January-February 1530: he communicates his opinions and his fears about the growing danger of the Turks, and tries to excuse his King, who had made a truce with them <sup>8)</sup>. There are in the first letters here, several allusions to poems which Dantiscus wrote and passed to Valdes and his friends <sup>9)</sup>; one specially, of which the authorship, intended to be kept as a secret, was soon known as his throughout Spain <sup>10)</sup>. In 1532, he wrote a poem *de duabus Lucretiis*, which Hessus praised <sup>11)</sup> and, on his return to his native country, he sent verses on his staunch friendship with

<sup>1)</sup> *DantCar.*, ix, 30, sq, 3, 4-27.

<sup>2)</sup> *DantCar.*, x, 43, sq.

<sup>3)</sup> *DantCar.*, xi, 99, sq; cp. before, p 190.

<sup>4)</sup> *DantCar.*, 38, 35, sq.

<sup>5)</sup> *DantCar.*, 87-92.

<sup>6)</sup> *DantCar.*, x, 60-63, 64-74.

<sup>7)</sup> *DantCar.*, xxiv.

<sup>8)</sup> *DantCar.*, 140-59; NijKron., I, 683: printed along with poems by J. Secundus and A. Resende: Antwerp, J. Grapheus, 1530; also Opmeer, I, 472, b; and here before, pp 51, 54.

<sup>9)</sup> Such as the one about Lallemand: cp. before, pp 26, 38, 39 and 42.

<sup>10)</sup> Cp. pp 38, 45 and 46, about the epigram on Lallemand.

<sup>11)</sup> Cp. p 70.

de Schepper <sup>1)</sup>, as well as on the evil caused by the fire at Löbau <sup>2)</sup>. In later letters reference is made to a poem on Venice <sup>3)</sup>, and, naturally to the epitaphs on Gattinara and Tomicki <sup>4)</sup>, as well as to some fine verses on the edition of the Psalms by Campensis <sup>5)</sup>, and on a mathematical treatise by Copernic <sup>6)</sup>.

When Dantiscus was entrusted with the responsibility of a diocese, scruples must have been taunting him for not always having walked the straight way ; consequently to prevent all harm to his flock by his bad example, he gave in his *Ad Alliopagum Carmen* an effective counterpoison as well. He first conceived it as a reply to a poem read as welcome by the mayor's son, Eustace Knobelsdorf, at his entry to his Heilsberg Castle as Bishop of Ermland. In return of the boy's nice compliment, he communicates, in sweet and flowing distichs, besides his hearty thanks, the details of his own life, which are meant to serve as earnest teaching and sound advice, not only to him, but to all other young, and even to older, people. He relates how, although at one time he went on pilgrimage to Judea, and decided on a life of knowledge and piety, he found dangers and aberrations waiting for him in a large number at the courts of princes ; how he made a sad mistake, of which he bitterly repented, and for which he tried, and continued trying, to atone as much as he could ; he mentions the heavy task and the bitter sufferings that are attending him, and how he wants to accept them, and submit himself in all humility and contrition for the aberration of his youth. Quite naturally the nicest admonitions, expressed in a paternally friendly tone, flow in ample and harmonious numbers from the past event to his young friend. He teaches him, — and through him, all others, — to flee all love of novelty, all sloth and sensual pleasure, making him devote himself enthusiastically to study, so as to remain irrefragably faithful to Creed and Church.

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<sup>1)</sup> Cp. p 246 : on September 11, 1537 (DE, 363 : p 298), Dameraw announced that de Schepper had written a life of '*Doctor Brunello, versu heroico, quod sine risu nemo legit*'.

<sup>2)</sup> Cp. p 246.

<sup>3)</sup> Cp. p 336 : DE, 421<sup>bis</sup> : April 12, 1541.

<sup>4)</sup> Cp. pp 263, 285 ; *DantCar.*, 159-61, 167-68.

<sup>5)</sup> Cp. before, p 142.

<sup>6)</sup> Cp. before, p 340.

Later on Dantiscus exceptionally took up his lyre, either for a splendid epigram on a famous book by his great friend Copernic, or for a poem to George Sabinus <sup>1)</sup> : they were written in the first forties. His last work was a series of thirty hymns to God and Christ, to Our Lady and to the Church, adapted to feasts. He does not try to avail himself in them of the models of antiquity : he merely lets his pious and poetic heart express the thoughts in various prayers and hymns, like those of the Church, which they imitate, and which they revive, without immixtion of classic models, replete as they are with the secular spirit of piety and love, as well as with a tender devotion to Our Lady, — as if exhaled from the yellowish pages of old missels and breviaries. Those pious poems, by which Dantiscus wanted to make up for his lack of sacerdotal formation, were edited by Stanislas Hosius in Cracow in 1548 <sup>2)</sup> : they differ in a way from the older *carmina* by Dantiscus, which, though, were all heartily welcomed by contemporary poets <sup>3)</sup> and which especially pleased Janus Secundus, judging from the effusively nice verses by which he replied to them <sup>4)</sup>. In fact, Dantiscus made poetry into an encouragement to a profound conversion, and to a limitless emendation, voicing at the same time Christian love and pious affection for the benefit of the souls of the youths and of the entire flock entrusted to his care, in the struggle against all evil and all error.

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Dantiscus' close friendship with Janus Secundus is attested by a fine medal which the latter made of his friend, with the inscription

IO. DANT. E. C. AETAT. XLVI.

A copy, preserved in Brussels, dates from 1532 as is engraved on the

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<sup>1)</sup> *DantCar.*, 209 and 210-16.

<sup>2)</sup> *Hymni aliquot ecclesiastici ... recens editi* : Cracow, the widow of Jer. Vietor, 6 Idus Julii, 1548 : *DantCar.*, xii, 217-69.

<sup>3)</sup> Cp. *DantCar.* ; *DantKop.* ; Baumgartner, 602-03 ; *EllLyr.*, xxviii, xxxvii, 1-4 ; Schroeter, 193 ; *DelPoBel.*, iv, 189, 275.

<sup>4)</sup> Amongst *J. Secundi Opera*, there is an *Elegia ad Joannem Dantiscum, Episcopum & Poetam*, and an *Epistola ad Joannem Dantiscum, Præsulem Culmensensem Poetam* (ed. Leyden, 1619) : 56, 169-71 ; cp. *Crane*, 13, 14, 81.

cutting; the letters E. C. probably mean *Episcopus Confirmatus* <sup>1)</sup>. There are moreover two medals made in Germany: one represents Dantiscus, full face, with a beard <sup>2)</sup>:

IOANNES . DE . CURIIS . DANTISCUS . XXXXIII . AETATIS . ANNO . M . D . XXIX

Another, also full face, but without a beard, is the work of Christopher Weiditz, who, from 1523 to 1536, was active at Augsburg. It has as inscription <sup>3)</sup>:

IOANNES . DANT . CONFIR . EPS . CULMEN . A . AET . 45 . MEN . 9 . MDXXXI

There exists, moreover, his painted full-face portrait, with the coat of arms to the left, and, on the border, the inscription <sup>4)</sup>:

IOANNES DANTISCVS 1537 OBIIT 1548.

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<sup>1)</sup> Simonis, *Pl III*, 2: 54-59, 71, 77, 80.

<sup>2)</sup> Simonis, *Pl V*, 1: 56, *sq*; Crane, 13, *sq*.

<sup>3)</sup> Simonis, *Pl V*, 2: 56, *sq*; Hill, 55-56.

<sup>4)</sup> It faces the title of Z. Celichowski, *Jana Dantyszka Poemat De Nostrorum Temporum Calamitatibus Silva*: Poznan, 1902.



## CONCLUSION

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The present correspondence starts with the first missions of Dantiscus to Charles of Austria in Spain in 1519 and 1522-23 : they were very short, and are only recorded here by some letters to Chancellor Tomicki <sup>1)</sup>, to captain Szydłowiecki <sup>2)</sup>, or to councillor Justus Decius <sup>3)</sup>. When, in the summer of 1524, he was sent there for a longer period, he soon made the acquaintance of several courtiers of Emperor Charles, such as the chancellor Gattinara <sup>4)</sup> and the secretary Alonso de Valdes <sup>5)</sup>, as the councillors de Nassau <sup>6)</sup> and de Praet <sup>7)</sup>, as Granvelle <sup>8)</sup> and the Count of Buren <sup>9)</sup> ; he even became more intimate, at Queen Isabella of Denmark's death, with those who used to be the great helpers of her husband, Christian II of Denmark <sup>10)</sup>, John de Weze <sup>11)</sup> and Cornelius de Schepper <sup>12)</sup>, whom, later on, Godschalk Ericksen <sup>13)</sup>, the former chancellor, joined. Their letters give a characteristic and most vivid description of their lives and their work, of their joys and of their troubles ; they endured the difficulties which the Spanish rulers met with in Italy in 1527-28 <sup>14)</sup> and they followed Charles V to Bologna by the end of 1529, where he was crowned Emperor on February 24, 1530 <sup>15)</sup> : there Dantiscus came forward with his admirable poem *De nostrorum Temporum Calamitatibus Silva* <sup>16)</sup> ; in the year 1530, which the Court spent at Innsbruck and Augsburg, he was appointed Bishop of Culm <sup>17)</sup>.

In the beginning of 1531, the Court entered Belgium, and Dantiscus became thoroughly familiar with Mark Laurin, the Dean of Bruges <sup>18)</sup>, with the sons of President Nicolas

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<sup>1)</sup> Cp. before, p 7.

<sup>2)</sup> Cp. before, p 7.

<sup>3)</sup> Cp. before, p 10.

<sup>4)</sup> Cp. before, p 12.

<sup>5)</sup> Cp. before, pp 26, 40-41 ; he died in Vienna, on Oct. 6, 1532 : cp. p 161.

<sup>6)</sup> Cp. before, p 13.

<sup>7)</sup> Cp. pp 38-39.

<sup>8)</sup> Cp. p 37.

<sup>9)</sup> Cp. p 43.

<sup>10)</sup> Cp. pp 16, 22.

<sup>11)</sup> Cp. pp 24-25, 180.

<sup>12)</sup> Cp. pp 15-17, 23-24.

<sup>13)</sup> Cp. before, p 15.

<sup>14)</sup> Cp. pp 27-32.

<sup>15)</sup> Cp. pp 46-52.

<sup>16)</sup> Cp. pp 51, 78 : *DantCar.*, xi-xii, 140-59.

<sup>17)</sup> Cp. p 57.

<sup>18)</sup> Cp. pp 85-86, 120-21.

Everardi, Nicolas Grudius <sup>1)</sup> and Janus Secundus <sup>2)</sup>, with Adolph of Burgundy, Lord of Beveren <sup>3)</sup>, and with many more outstanding personalities in the various towns he visited. Still it seems as if his interest was chiefly taken up by Louvain, where he saw the *Trilingue* at work, to whose inspirer Erasmus he also wrote letters, of which one subsists in this collection in its initial form and conception <sup>4)</sup>.

At that time, the *Trilingue* was a most striking novelty. Lectures were given there which were entirely free, and to which no forced attendance was even required. They did not lead to any examination, nor to any degree, and they did not admit at all of any of the ordinary systematic discussions, which were then as the acme of all instruction. Yet with all that, there was an extraordinary 'run' on them, in so far that the Latin lectures, — which, at the time of the founding, were considered as by far the least important <sup>5)</sup>, — were so abundantly attended, that, in 1524, the lecture room had to be enlarged, so as to offer the space to 600, instead of only to 300, standing listeners, — who even, after that, by May 1528, were so numerous that the lessons had to be duplicated <sup>6)</sup>. That School was so much the more remarkable because the languages were not taught from any manual, — let alone a *Doctrinale*, — but by means of the very best literary works of Antiquity. On account of the admirable result reached for those languages, the study of the object was applied to other branches by clever and enthusiastic scholars : thus to jurisprudence, by Viglius and Mudæus, to pedagogy and methodology, by Vives, to medicine by Vesale, to botany by Dodoens, and to one after the other of the many sciences, in so far as to produce, within a quarter of a century, as a total subversion of all learning — from the stationary and stagnant traditions to the quite modern research, which is naturally in constant advance and in ceaseless development.

The very soul of that quite new procedure of intellectual

<sup>1)</sup> Cp. p 122.

<sup>2)</sup> Cp. pp 122-23.

<sup>3)</sup> Cp. p 135.

<sup>4)</sup> Cp. pp 104-10, 276-78.

<sup>5)</sup> The professor of Latin's wages were hardly more than half of those of his Greek and Hebrew colleagues : *HTL*, I, 28 — at least in the very beginning.

<sup>6)</sup> Cp. *HTL*, II, 123, 237, 249, — 328, 347, 606, 621.

work was Conrad Goclenius <sup>1)</sup>, and it is no wonder that the far-seeing Dantiscus conceived a high admiration for that exceptional man; it was fostered by hearty kindness and most remarkable presents, to which these letters refer <sup>2)</sup>. He also was struck by the sound erudition of the professor of Hebrew, John van Campen, so much the more as he suffered from an annoying disease, and lacked sufficient recognition, as professors of divinity looked for flaws in his exegesis, which they stubbornly prevented to be published <sup>3)</sup>. Nor could Dantiscus help admiring the cleverness of their student Gemma Frisius <sup>4)</sup> in his excellent fashioning of earthly globes <sup>5)</sup>; in his correcting of Apian's treatise, even before he had gained any degree; in his finding a way of indicating one's place on the terrestrial sphere by means of a watch <sup>6)</sup>; as well as in his glorious efforts to base geography on reality, instead of on the secular maps of Ptolemy <sup>7)</sup>. He must have been captivating to Dantiscus and his friends, who, already in Spain had shown a lively interest in one of their dear friends, Hernán Cortés, and in his ill-rewarded discoveries in America <sup>8)</sup>: at any rate, Gemma was at once taken into Dantiscus' service.

In the beginning of 1532, when the Court moved to Ratisbon, Dantiscus followed it along with Campensis, the Hebrew professor, whose *Psalterium* was printed at Nuremberg in the first days of May 1532, and was an actual revelation to the Christian world <sup>9)</sup>. When, a few weeks later, the new Bishop went to take possession of his diocese, Campensis accompanied him to continue his studies; Gemma Frisius, who had also been invited, shrank from undertaking the long journey on account of his weak build; he returned to his work in the University.

From his new field of action Bishop Dantiscus kept in close connection with his friends, especially with de Schepper, who, in order to recuperate the possessions which Queen Mary of Hungary and her secretary Nicolas Olah lost during

<sup>1)</sup> Cp. before, pp 76-77.

<sup>2)</sup> Cp. pp 77, 80-81.

<sup>3)</sup> Cp. before, pp 66-68, 289, sq.

<sup>4)</sup> Cp. pp 72-74, 222-24.

<sup>5)</sup> Cp. pp 222, 240-41.

<sup>6)</sup> Cp. p 72.

<sup>7)</sup> Cp. p 73.

<sup>8)</sup> Cp. pp 90, 231, 256; *DantCar.*, 298, XLIX, ll 87, sq.

<sup>9)</sup> Cp. before, pp 139-44.

the last political events, was sent twice on embassy to Constantinople <sup>1)</sup>. New personages enter the group of correspondents, like the Bishop's old friend, the world-renowned Nicolas Copernic <sup>2)</sup>; also the Austrian ambassador Sigismund ab Herberstein <sup>3)</sup> and a dear acquaintance from Danzig, James a Barthen <sup>4)</sup>; further the great protagonists of the faith, John Cochläeus <sup>5)</sup> and George Witzel <sup>6)</sup>. Meanwhile events followed their course, and the news from some countries, like England and Scandinavia, was rather depressing. — Campensis spent several laborious years with his friend, until he was requested by the Bishop of Cracow, chancellor of Poland, to teach in the University; he accepted, but, as he was always haunted by the idea that he should learn from some Jewish erudite the solution of a few difficulties, he left for Venice, where he had the pleasure of meeting Elias Levita <sup>7)</sup>, but also felt the bitter disappointment of having to depend on the discouraging Aleander <sup>8)</sup>. Fortunately he soon found the occasion to give lectures on the Sacred Scripture to three of the most illustrious Cardinals of the Church <sup>9)</sup>. All those events, and many more, are referred to in the present correspondence: so is the admirable patience of Eustace Chapuys in encouraging Queen Catherine and her daughter in their endless torture <sup>10)</sup>, as well as the efforts to make Erasmus return to the peace and relative well-being of Brabant, which ended in the cruel illness that overtook him during his last activity in the stormy night of July 12, 1536 <sup>11)</sup>. Some occurrences, — like the distressing fate of a Fisher and a More <sup>12)</sup> — are mentioned in several letters, and so are the references to disasters, like the loss of the Belgian Fleet on the coast of Norway <sup>13)</sup>, and the dreadful breaks in the dykes of Flanders with the ruinous floods that were their consequence <sup>14)</sup>. On the other hand, some rejoicing facts are pointed out: such as

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<sup>1)</sup> Cp. for the first embassy, pp 166, sq, 174-82, for the second, 187, sq, 192, 195-200, 217, sq, 228-31.

<sup>2)</sup> Cp. before, pp 172-73.

<sup>3)</sup> Cp. before, p 333.

<sup>4)</sup> Cp. before, pp 281-82.

<sup>5)</sup> Cp. before, pp 238-39.

<sup>6)</sup> Cp. before, pp 317-18.

<sup>7)</sup> Cp. before, pp 218-19.

<sup>8)</sup> Cp. before, pp 116, 288.

<sup>9)</sup> Cp. pp 234-35 (Pole), 266-67 (Giberti), 267-68 (Contarini).

<sup>10)</sup> Cp. pp 331-32.

<sup>11)</sup> Cp. pp 276-78.

<sup>12)</sup> Cp. pp 249-51.

<sup>13)</sup> Cp. pp 191, 196.

<sup>14)</sup> Cp. pp 135, 163-64, 185.

the arrival of a large amount of gold from the New World <sup>1)</sup>; or attention is even directed to the beneficent draft in Brabant chimneys and to the melodious chimes of its towers <sup>2)</sup>, or to the offer made by Valdes to Dantiscus of several finely ornamented gloves, such as those which he used to distribute in Spain to ladies of his acquaintance <sup>3)</sup>.

The last thirties were made disagreeable to Dantiscus by William Gnapheus <sup>4)</sup>, whom he wanted to lead back to the Roman Church, but who was blinded by what he considered his own righteousness. Another great cause of sadness was the marriage of his daughter Juana, for which the necessary leave was duly asked; — still as none of the three copies of that demand was handed in time to Dantiscus, and as, meanwhile, circumstances in Spain became such that a marriage was the only way of avoiding difficulties, it was decided on, executed, and announced; unfortunately the letters relating the accomplished fact were handed to the Bishop at the same time as the requests, which gave the impression of a contempt of his authority <sup>5)</sup>. He meanwhile had been appointed assistant Bishop of Ermland, where on July 1, 1537, Maurice Ferber died, and left the place to him <sup>6)</sup>. He had sent to study in Louvain a young man, Eustace Knobelsdorf, who had welcomed him by some verses on his entering the Heilsberg Castle; he returned after some years, and became one of the best and last friends that consoled the Bishop <sup>7)</sup>. At least up to 1546, his 'alter ego' and 'son', Cornelius de Schepper, wrote some long letters, with endless details about their old acquaintances <sup>8)</sup>, who, one after the other, went 'the way of all flesh', whereas others came forward with new plans and tantalizing designs for the future.

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The natural conclusion suggested by the reading of these letters, is the excellence of Dantiscus. He was a master

<sup>1)</sup> Cp. pp 215.

<sup>2)</sup> Cp. p 169; OlaE, 313, 345.

<sup>3)</sup> Cp. pp 155, 158.

<sup>4)</sup> Cp. pp 305, 363-68.

<sup>5)</sup> Cp. pp 44, 201, 285-87, 296-99, 383, *sq.*

<sup>6)</sup> Cp. pp 293, 303, *sq.*

<sup>7)</sup> Cp. before, pp 341-42.

<sup>8)</sup> E. g., DE, 434, 456, 471.

among men, and even brilliantly adapted natures, like de Schepper's, considered it as an honour to owe their debt to him for his magnificent example. He was as frankly courageous as to make his own dishonour serve as a warning to others, and, instead of being constantly ready to punish, he wished only to help and to save. If he had not enjoyed a sacerdotal preparation, he had the heart of a priest, and that is seen in his deep interest in souls erring from the straight way, whom he wished to lead back to the right path and to Truth. That interest explains his connections with Eobanus Hessus <sup>1)</sup>, whom, unfortunately, he could not bring where probably he had brought Vitus Amerbach by delicate and constant kindness <sup>2)</sup>. He probably wished to gain to the Catholic cause a man of the importance of Thomas Cranmer, in whom he evidently had some confidence or some hope, when entrusting a young boy to his care <sup>3)</sup>. He certainly must have wished to do some good to Gnapheus, who hardly paid any attention to his charitable offers <sup>4)</sup>, and shows his real nature in his letter to a Lasco <sup>5)</sup>. Dantiscus was also all kindness to George Sabinus, whom even Cardinal Bembo and the Archbishop of Mayence tried to benefit <sup>6)</sup>. It all certainly characterizes his deep sympathy with the great Copernic : he actually liberated him from the dangerous connection with Alexander Sculteti <sup>7)</sup>; for Dantiscus' attachment was not only based on a deep admiration for his great knowledge, but, even more, on a cautious love of the welfare of a real erudite, as is suggested by a large number of his letters and messages, showing the providential care and the admirable charity of the actual benefactor of humanity <sup>8)</sup>.

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#### Turning from the Venerable Bishop Dantiscus to the Nether-

<sup>1)</sup> Cp. pp 61, 70.

<sup>2)</sup> Cp. *Gleanings*, D : he had been entrusted with the education of Dantiscus' nephew ; he became a convert.

<sup>3)</sup> Cp. pp 280-81, 325-26.

<sup>4)</sup> Cp. pp 363-64.

<sup>5)</sup> Cp. pp 365-68.

<sup>6)</sup> Cp. pp 229-30, 369-70.

<sup>7)</sup> Cp. pp 381-82.

<sup>8)</sup> It also results from the various places where that same influence of Dantiscus is treated in *HTL*, especially III, 18, 20-22.

lands, we cannot but praise the ample amount of information offered to the history of those days by the correspondence of the very men who were actually working it out. It consequently relates all noteworthy events connected with those born within their precincts. Amongst them stands out the extraordinary fact that the Dean of Bruges, Mark Laurin, had had, for more than twenty years, the courage firmly to resist the insistent request and the threats of the French Government that wanted him to actually cause a scission of the Flanders Provinces, which, separated from the Netherlands, were to be joined to France. To be true, they had been initially a fee from the French King <sup>1)</sup>, but the actual, secular possession had long been recognized and approved of ; even lately it had been changed into an indubitable right of ownership by the Treaty of Madrid (January 1526), that was duly attested and confirmed by the *Paix des Dames*, of 1529 <sup>2)</sup>. Yet, notwithstanding those treaties, Laurin had had to continue his struggle for several years against the secret, yet most powerful, influence exercised upon him by French personalities, even after the full freedom of Flanders had been solemnly proclaimed by the treaties of 1526 and 1529. It was only by December 1531 that he managed to put an end to the efforts to make him a traitor to his native country. No doubt he related that cruel attempt to the keen judge of international right that Dantiscus was <sup>3)</sup>, and de Schepper could allude to his relative as '*noster Athleta, victor debellatorque Gallo- rum !* <sup>4)</sup> — Yet, as far as is known, this fact has never been mentioned before.

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This correspondence moreover, taking all in all, turns out as a glorious homage to the excellence of Louvain University,

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<sup>1)</sup> There had been occasional appeals of some citizens of some Flemish towns against the authority of the Dukes of Burgundy ; even France had tried, but in vain, to lay hands on Flanders at the death of Charles the Bold, and during the minority of his daughter Mary : Hudson, 230, 209, 222.

<sup>2)</sup> Hudson, 230, 233-34, 236 ; Pirenne, III, 32-56.

<sup>3)</sup> Cp. before, pp 85-86, 120-21.

<sup>4)</sup> Cp. before, p 134.

and, in particular, to that of its *Collegium Trilingue*. It was that Institute that formed Cornelius de Schepper, and he was quite aware of it; for he honoured it by a lifelong esteem, expressed by frequent visits, and by any occasional help <sup>1)</sup>. It certainly contributed to make of him the true, sincere, and most successful minister, first of Christian II, and then of Charles of Austria, and it caused him to aim at the reality requested by the object of his work, — even occasionally against his Master's wishes <sup>2)</sup>; — for certain, notwithstanding the difficulty and the variety of the numerous tasks entrusted to him, his formation contributed in a large measure to the successful action of his Emperor's policy during the long series of years that he served him.

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If de Schepper was indebted to the *Trilingue*, it was especially on account of the excellence of his great friend, the illustrious master Conrad Goclenius, to whom hundreds of his coevals owed a similar gratitude <sup>3)</sup>. For it was especially Goclenius, who communicated the vivifying spirit of the School, the thorough investigation of the object to be studied, besides an excellent teaching of Latin. It is evident from the letters he sent to him, that Dantiscus esteemed him to his value as a deep admirer, gloriously acknowledging a man, who devoted himself entirely to his grand work and to the benefit of his students. His excellence made the *Trilingue* become the highest glory of Louvain and of the Netherlands during his time, and even, by the wonderful power of the initial impulse, throughout the following centuries.

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\* \* \*

As a result of that excellence may be quoted amongst his disciples, not only the glories of the Paris School of Languages, Bartholomew Latomus and John van Strazeele <sup>4)</sup>, but also the humble crippled son of Dokkum, the illustrious erudite

<sup>1)</sup> Cp. pp 15-17, 23, 165, sq, 187, sq; *HTL*, III, 557.      <sup>2)</sup> Cp. pp 64-66.

<sup>3)</sup> Cp. before, pp 76-77, and *passim*.      <sup>4)</sup> Cp. before, pp 353-54.



Gemma Phrysius, who, already as philosophical student, corrected the world-renowned *Cosmographia* of Peter Apian. He soon after invented the way of determining one's place on the globe by means of a simple watch, and he provided a scientific basis to geography, moving Ptolemy into the realm of past errors, besides realizing actual wonders in mathematics and other sciences in the hours he had not to practise medicine to gain a living. Indeed, although highly esteeming and admirably explaining his favourite branch, Gemma was compelled by necessity to provide for his family as physician, — which he did with such result that, as is related in one of the very last letters here <sup>1)</sup>, the great Emperor Charles sent several times in 1545 for him from Brussels to be helped by his science and experience.

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\* \* \*

Equally glorious is the sadly ailing John van Campen, whose infirmity prevented him from giving regular lessons in Hebrew in the *Trilingue*, whereas his progressive work made it impossible to him to devote his time and patience to repeatedly teaching preliminaries. He studied the original Hebrew text of the Psalms and of other books of the Old Testament, — which, unfortunately, did not enlarge his audience in the *Trilingue*, and deprived him even of any beneficial appeal to the public outside, on account of the lack of editions <sup>2)</sup>. His life was made unbearable as well by bitter criticism as by the ungrateful competition of one of his old students, Clenardus, — whose own insufficiency as Arabic erudite was mentioned already in 1563 <sup>3)</sup>, — but who was then backed by a group of hostile divines, in so far that Campensis finally decided on leaving. Happily Dantiscus, on his arrival, recognized his exceptional value; he took him along with him on his return to Germany, where he made him publish at Nuremberg, in the first days of May 1532, his *Enchiridion Psalmorum* <sup>4)</sup>, — the very first edition of a book of the Bible

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<sup>1)</sup> P 398; cp. also pp 72-74, 221-24 and *HarvMarg.*, 212-13.

<sup>2)</sup> Cp. before, pp 66-68, 139-42; *HTL*, II, 120-22.

<sup>3)</sup> MasE, 352.

<sup>4)</sup> Cp. before, pp 139-44.

based exclusively on its original! — It was at once reprinted, and reissued many times in various countries, whereas Campensis, in the following years, prepared the texts of the Proverbs, of the Ecclesiastes and of the Epistles of St. Paul to be printed, working zealously in Dantiscus' *familia*, until he was requested to lecture in Cracow University. From there, he went to Venice in the interest of his own perfection, and explained both his editions and St. Paul's Epistles to the very greatest amongst the Cardinals, Reginald Pole, Matteo Giberti and Gasparo Contarini <sup>1)</sup>, even actually lecturing in Rome. He then wished to return to his native country and to satisfy the authorities of Louvain, who, for some time already had seen their mistake, and now urgently requested him to settle in Brabant. Unfortunately he fell ill on the journey home at Freiburg, and died, — thus bitterly disappointing the splendid expectation which his University was building on him for the founding and the expanding of sound and final Biblical Studies on the only authority of the historic and scientific investigation of the Original Texts <sup>2)</sup>.

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<sup>1)</sup> Cp. before, pp 233-35, 266-69, 288-92.

<sup>2)</sup> Cp. before, pp 233, 289-91, 292, *sq*, 304, 307-08.

THE END

## LETTERS TO AND FROM ERASMUS

quoted or mentioned in this study  
and not referred to in Allen's Edition

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Letter from Dantiscus to Erasmus : end of October 1531 *pp* 104-10

»	»	Erasmus to Decius : beginning of 1533	179
»	»	Dantiscus to Erasmus : August 1533	180
»	»	Erasmus to Cochläus : November 24, 1535	259
»	»	Erasmus to Decius : May 26, 1536	270
»	»	Erasmus to Cochläus : May 25, 1536	280

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## CORRIGENDA

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On p 44	<i>l</i> 7 from below	instead of	1536	read	1526
86	<i>l</i> 14 from top	» »	and	»	an
96	note 2	» »	Cartusian	»	Carthusian
143	<i>l</i> 2	» »	<i>Marcellum</i>	»	<i>Marcellinum</i>
161	note 6	» »	D	»	DE
189	<i>l</i> 6 from top	» »	but which	»	but of which
189	<i>l</i> 7 from top	» »	to of which	»	to which
211	<i>l</i> 16 from top	» »	sympton	»	symptom
241	<i>l</i> 4 from top	» »	26	»	24
281	<i>l</i> 6 from below	» »	1535	»	1536
353	<i>l</i> 18 from top	» »	friends	»	friend
359	<i>l</i> 23	» »	Louvain.	»	Louvain,
363	<i>l</i> 24	» »	Emdem	»	Emden
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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

### CHIEFLY USED IN THE NOTES

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The Roman numerals quoted in this book along with any of the abbreviations of this list, point out the volumes, if in capitals, and parts of the volumes, if in minuscules; whereas the figures and the italicized Roman numerals indicate the pages. If an asterisk, \*, is added at the end of the title, it implies that the indication of the very authors is adhered to, and when an *n* is used, that even their own numbers are quoted.

In order to reduce the length of this list, only the indispensable parts of the references are given: the author's name is not repeated in the enouncing of the proper title if it is used as abbreviation. The number of volumes is indicated between brackets, without adding *vols.* Names of towns which are frequently employed, have been shortened: Amst(erdam), Ant(werp), Augsb(urg), Brg (*Bruges*), Brl (*Berlin*), Brs (*Brussels*), Bsl (*Breslau*), Camb(ridge), Coi(mbra), Col(ogne), Cph, or Copenh(agen), Frb (*Freiburg in Breisgau*), Frf (*Frankfort on Main*), Gt (*Ghent*), Innsbr(uck), Knb (*Königsberg*), Ld (*London*), Led (*Leyden*), Lg (*Liège*), Lpz (*Leipzig*), Ls (*Lyons*), Lv (*Louvain*), M(arburg), Mchl (*Mechlin*), Mdr (*Madrid*), Mnst(*Münster, Westphalia*), Mun(ich), Oxf(ord), Pdb (*Paderborn*), Poz(nan), Pr (*Paris*), Rat(ishon), Stg, or Stuttg(art), Strb (*Strassburg*), TH (*The Hague*), Witb (*Wittenberg*).

Easy or usual abbreviations: Braunsb(er)g, Elberf(eld), Heiligenst(adt), Tübing(en), &c, — as well as *pr* (preface) and *ad* (addition) to a letter, or *n* (note), *ed* (editor), *MS* (manuscript), *bk* (book), *bef*(ore), *ib*(idem), and similar, are also employed occasionally.

- Acolast.* = J. BOLTE, Gulielmus Gnapheus' Acolastus: Brl, 1891.  
*ActaMori* = H. DE VOCHT, Acta Thomae Mori (*HumLoc.* 7): Lv, 1947.  
*ActTom.* = GORSKI & DZIALYNSKI, Acta Tomiciana (12): Poz, 1852-1906.  
*ADB* = Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie (56): Lpz, 1875-1912.  
*Adelm.* = F. X. THURNHOFER, Bernard Adelmann: Freiburg i. B., 1900.  
*AdriBurm.* = C. BURMANNUS, Hadrianus VI: Utrecht, 1727.  
*AdriHöf.* = C. v. HÖFLER, Papst Adrian VI., 1522-23: Vienna, 1880.  
*AgripE* = AGRIPPA ab Nettesheim, Epistolæ (*Op. Omnia*, II): Ls, c 1600.  
*AleaE* = J. PAQUIER, Lettres de Jérôme Aléandre, 1510-40: Pr, 1895.  
*AléaJo[ur]*. = H. OMONT, Journal du Card. Aléandre: Pr, 1909.  
*AléaLiège* = J. PAQUIER, Aléandre et la Princip. de Liège: Pr, 1896.  
*Aléandre* = J. PAQUIER, Jérôme Aléandre, 1480-1530: Pr, 1900.  
*Alexandre* = P. ALEXANDRE, Histoire du Conseil Privé: Brs, 1894.  
*Allen* = P. & H. ALLEN, Opvs Epistolarvm Des. Erasmi (11): Oxf, 1906-47\*.

- Altamira = R. A-, *Historia de España* (4) : Barcelona, 1900-11.
- AltRel. = J. ALTMAYER, *Relations avec le Nord de l'Europe* : Brs, 1840.
- Analectes p/s à l'Hist. Ecclés. de la Belgique : Lv, 1864-
- AnEmBr. = *Annales d'l Société d'Émulation* : Brg, 1839-
- Anima = J. SCHMIDLIN, *Gesch. der S. Maria dell' Anima* : Frb, 1906.
- AntvAnn. = D. PAPEBROCHIUS, *Annales Antverpienses* (5) : Ant, 1845-8.
- AntvDiercx. = *Antverpia X<sup>o</sup> Nascens et Crescens* (7) : Ant, 1773.
- AntvHist. = MERTENS-TORFS, *Gesch. van Antwerpen* (8) : Ant, 1845-53.
- Auw. = H. DE VOCHT, Corn. Valer. Auwater *Epistolæ & Carmina* : Lv, 1957.
- AuwColl. = Auwater's notes on Epigraphy & Orations : Lv MS.
- Bahlmann = P. B-, *Erneuerer des antiken Dramas* (2) : Mnst, 1893-96.
- BalanH = P. B-, *Monumenta Sæc. xvi Historiam illust.* : Innsbr, 1885.
- BalanR = P. BALAN, *Monum. Reform. Lutheranae* : Rat, 1884.
- BasBrux. = [J. B. CHRISTYN,] *Basilica Bruxellensis* (2) : Mchl, 1743.
- Batavia = HADRIANI JUNII *Batavia* : Dordrecht, 1652.
- Baumgartner = A. B-, *Latein. u. Griech. Christl. Literatur* : Frb, 1925.
- BaxH = Bax, *Historia Univ. Lovaniensis* (11) : MS 22172, BrsRL.
- BB = *Bibliotheca Belgica*, by F. van der HAEGHEN, &c : Gt, 1880-
- BeitBrieg. = *Beitr. aus Kirchl. Vergangenh. zu Th. Brieger* : Lpz, 1912.
- BeitClem. = O. CLEMEN, *Beiträge zur Reformationsgesch.* (3) : Brl, 1900-3.
- BeitSchlecht = *Beiträge z. Renaiss. & Ref. an J. SCHLECHT* : Mun, 1917.
- BelgArch. = *Documents at the General Archives*, Brussels.
- BelgChron. = CASTILLION, *Sacra Belgii Chronologia* : Gt, 1719.
- BemBr. = F. SYDOW, *Leonische Briefe des P. Bembus* : Rostock, 1893.
- Bémont = C. BÉMONT, *Divorce de Henry VIII* : Paris, 1917.
- BerchPiorCar. = A. L. Berchemii *Piorum Carminum Liber* : Ant, 1560.
- Bergh = L. vd. B-, *Corresp. de Marguerite d'Autriche* (2) : Led, 1845-47.
- BerghAutr. = HALKIN, C. de Berghes et G. d'Autriche, *Pr.-Év.* : Lg. 1936.
- Bianco = F. v. BIANCO, *Die Alte Universität Köln* (2) : Cologne, 1856.
- BibBelg. = Val. ANDREAS, *Bibliotheca Belgica* : Lv, 1643.
- BibRefNe. = *Bibliotheca Reformatoria Neerlandica* : TH, 1903-
- Blunt = J. H. B-, *Reformation of the Church of England* (2) : Ld, 1896-7.
- BN = *Biographie Nationale* : Brs, 1866-1939.
- Boehmer = E. B-, *A. Valdesii Litteræ XL (in chronol. order)* : Mdr, 1899.
- Bonilla = A. B-, *Luis Vives y la Filos. del Renacimiento* : Mdr, 1903.
- Bora = E. KROKER, *Katharina von Bora M. Luthers Frau* : Zwickau, 1906.
- Brewer = *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII 1509-30* (4) : Ld, 1862\*.
- Brom = G. BROM, *Archivalia in Italie* (3) : TH, 1908-14.
- BrsRL = *Brussels Royal Library*.
- BrugErVir. = A. SANDERUS, *De Brygensibvs Claris* : Ant, 1624.
- Brug&Fr., Br&Fr. = J. GAILLARD, *Bruges et le Franc* (6) : Brg, 1857-64.
- BrugInscr. = GAILLARD, *Inscript. Funéraires de Bruges* (3) : Brg, 1861-6.
- BrugSDon. = *Compend. Chronol. Cath. S. Donatiani Brug.* : Brg, 1731.
- Bull. d'Hist. = *Bulletin de la Société d'Hist. & d'Archéol.* : Ghent.
- Buschbell = G. B-, *Reformation und Inquisition in Italien* : Pdb, 1910.
- Busl. = H. DE VOCHT, *Jerome de Busleyden (HumLov. 9)* : Turnhout, 1950.
- ByzLit. = K. KRUMBACHER, *Gesch. d. Byzantin. Litteratur* : Mun, 1897.
- CabConq. = F. CABALLERO, *Conquenses ilustres (Valdés)* : Mdr, 1875.

- CantE = A. RIVIER, *Claude Chansonnette et ses Lettres* : Brs, 1878.  
 Cardauns = L. C-, *Unions- und Reformbestreb.* 1538-42 : Rome, 1910.  
 Cartwright = J. C-, *Christina of Denmark, 1522-90* : Ld, 1913.  
 Carvalho = J. C-, *Epistola de N. Clenardo a Colombo* : Coimbra, 1926.  
 CatCzart. = Cat. Cod. MS. Musæi Czartoryski (2) : Cracow, 1887-1909.  
 CatLamb. = Index to Arch. Library at Lambeth (Maitland) : Ld, 1845.  
 Ccm = Cracow Czartoryskich Library manuscript.  
 CDE = G. CONSTANT, *Communions sous les Deux Espèces* (2) : Pr, 1923.  
 CeltE = H. RUPPRICH, *Briefwechsel des Konrad Celtis* : Mun, 1934.  
 CHEL = *Cambridge History of English Literature* (14) : Camb, 1907-16.  
 ClDict. = W. SMITH, *A Classical Dictionary* : London, 1853.  
 Clénard = Chauvin & Roersch, *Vie et Travaux de N. Clénard* : Brs, 1900.  
 Clenardo = G. CEREJEIRA, *Clenardo, O Human. em Portugal* : Coi, 1926.  
 ClenCorr. = A. ROERSCH, *Correspondance de N. Clénard* (2) : Brs, 1940.  
 ClenHum. = H. DE VOCHT, *Nic. Beken Clenardus Hum.* : *NicClen.*, 1-21.  
 Clusius = F. HUNGER, *Charles de l'Escluse* (2) : TH, 1927, 1942.  
 CMH = *The Cambridge Modern History*, I, II & III : Camb, 1904.  
 CochIHerte = A. H-, *Die Lutherbiographie des Cochläus* : Mnst, 1915.  
 CochlHum., C-Otto = C. OTTO, *Joannes Cochläus, Humanist* : Bsl, 1874.  
 CochlSpahn = M. SPAHN, *Johannes Cochläus* : Berlin, 1898.  
 Colet = J. LUPTON, *A Life of John Colet* : London, 1909.  
 ColGerHun. = STEINHUBER, *Kolleg. German.-Hungar.* (2) : Frb, 1906.  
 CollTorr. = TOURNEUR, *La Collection L. Torrentius (medals)* : Brs, 1914.  
 CongSchr. = HÜNERMANN, *Contarini Gegenref. Schriften* : *CorpCath.* 7.  
 ConPriT = *Tableau Hist. du Cons. Privé* : MS, *BelgArch.*, *ConPriv*, 768.  
 ContarE = F. DITTRICH, *Briefe des Card. G. Contarini* : Braunsbg, 1881.  
 Cooper = C. & T. C-, *Athenae Cantabrigienses* (2) : Camb, 1858-61.  
 CorAmm. = A. ROERSCH, *Corresp. de L. Ammonius (Bull. d'Hist.)* : Gt, 01.  
 Cordatus = WRAMPMEYER, *Tagebuch über Luther* : Halle, 1885.  
 CorpCath. = *Corpus Catholicorum i/d Glaubensspaltung* : Mnst, 1920-  
 CorpInq. = P. FREDERICQ, *Corpus Doc. Inquisitionis* (5) : Ghent, 1889-02.  
 Corsendonca = J. LATOMUS, *Corsendonca* : ed J. Hoybergius : Ant, 1640.  
 CorvE = P. TSCHACKERT, *Briefwechsel des A. Corvinus* : Lpz, 1900.  
 Corvinus = P. TSCHACKERT, *A. Corvinus. Leben & Schriften* : Lpz, 1900.  
 Cracow = L. LEPSZY, *Cracow. Its History and Antiquities* : Ld, 1912.  
 Cran. = H. DE VOCHT, *Literae ad Craneveldium (HumLov. 1)* : Lv, 1928\*.  
 Crane = D. CRANE, *Johannes Secundus. Life, Work & Influence* : Lpz, 1931.  
 Cranmer = J. STRYPE, *Memorials of Thomas Cranmer* (2) : Oxford, 1812.  
 Creighton = M. CREIGHTON, *Cardinal Wolsey* : London, 1888.  
 Creizenach = W. C-, *Geschichte des Neueren Dramas* (3) : Halle, 1901-11.  
 CTril = *Collegium Trilingue Buslidianum Lovanii*.  
 CynReVo. = H. DE VOCHT, *Comments on Cynthias Revels* : Lv, 1950.  
 DanHist. = C. ALLEN, *Histoire de Danemark* (2) : Copenh., 1878.  
 DantCar. = St. SKIMINA, *Joannis Dantisci Carmina* : Cracow, 1950.  
 DantE, DE = *Dantisci et Amic. Epistolæ (this collection)* : cp. *Preface*.  
 DantKop. = F. HIPLER, *Dantiscus u. Kopernikus, Gedichte* : Mnst, 1857.  
 DantSil. = J. DANTYSKA, *De Calam. Silva (Z. Celichowski)* : Poznan, 1902.  
 Daxhelet = E. D-, *Adrien Barlandus (HumLov. 6)* : Lv, 1938.

- DE, DantE = Dantisci et Amic. Epistolæ (*this collection*) : cp. *Preface*.  
*DébAgMod.* = HAUSER-RENAUDET, Débuts de l'Age Moderne : Pr, 1929.  
 Delisle = L. D-, Procès-Verb. d/l Fac. Théol. de Paris 1505-33 : Pr, 1890  
*DelPoBel.* = Delitiæ C. Poetarum Belgicorum (4) : Frf, 1614.  
*DelPoGer.* = Delitiæ Poetarum Germanorum (6) : Frf, 1612.  
 Denifle = H. D-, Luther und Luthertum (2) : Mayence, 1904-09.  
*DenkmErm.* = A. BOETTICHER, Bau & Kunstdenkm. i. Ermland : Knb, 94.  
*Diest* = F. RAYMAEKERS, Het Kerkelijk en Liefdadig Diest : Lv, 1870.  
*DNB* = Sidney LEE, Dictionary of Nat. Biography (22) : Ld, 1908-09.  
*Dodoens* = P. v. MEERBEEK, Recherches sur Remb. Dodoens : Mchl, 1811.  
*Dormer* = H. CLIFFORD, Life of Jane Dormer : Ld, 1887.  
*DraDrie.* = R. DRAGUET, Driedo inspir. d. décret s/l Vulgate : MM, II, 836.  
*Drouven* = G. D-, Reformation i/d Cöln. Kirchenprovinz : Col, 1876.  
*Durand* = H. DURAND de LAUR, Érasme & l'Esprit Moderne (2) : Pr, 1872.  
*EdCP* = GASQUET & BISHOP, Edward VI & Bk of Com. Prayer : Ld, 1890.  
*EETS* = *Edition of the Early English Text Society*.  
*EHR* = The English Historical Review : Ld, 1886-  
 Ehses = S. E-, Gesch. der Ehescheidung Heinr. VIII, 1527-34 : Pdb, 1893.  
*EllLyr* = G. ELLINGER, Deutsche Lyriker des xvi. Jahrh. : Brl, 1893.  
*ElPoet.* = H. TORRENTINUS, Elucidarius Poeticus : Eisenberg, 1693.  
*Enders* = E. ENDERS, Martin Luthers Briefwechsel (19) : Frf, &c, 1884-  
*EngStud.* = Englische Studien, ed J. Hoops : Lpz, 1869-  
*EnPsal.* = J. CAMPENSIS, Enchiridion Psalmorum : Lyons, 1536.  
*Ent.* = L. ENTHOVEN, Briefe an Des. Erasmus : Strb, 1906.  
*Enzinas* = C. CAMPAN, Mémoires de F. de Enzinas (2) : Brs, 1862-63.  
*EOO* = Des. Erasmi Opera Omnia (10) : Leyden, 1703-06.  
*EraBib.* = F. vd HAEGHEN, Bibliotheca Erasmi (3) : Ghent, 1893.  
*EraCab.* = ALONSO-BATAILLON, Erasmo. Caballero Crist. : Mdr, 1932.  
*ErAdag.* = Des. ERASMI Collectanea Adagiorum = EOO, ii : 1703.  
*ErasColl.* = Desid. ERASMI Colloquia : Leyden, 1664.  
*EraSpain* = M. BATAILLON, Érasme et l'Espagne : Paris, 1937.  
*ErasPort.* = M. BATAILLON, Érasme et la Cour de Portugal : Coi, 1927.  
*Excerpts* = from *LibIntIII* by H. de VOCHT (in *EHR*, xxxvii, 89), 1922.  
*Fbm* = Frauenburg (Ermland diocese) manuscript.  
*FCm* = Frauenburg Chapter manuscript.  
*FG* = J. FÖRSTEMANN & O. GÜNTHER, Briefe an D. Erasmus : Lpz, 1904.  
*Fisher* = Fr. van ORTROY, Vie du B. Jean Fisher : Brs, 1893.  
*FlandCon.* = J. FOPPENS, Histoire du Conseil de Flandre : Brs, 1869.  
*FlandIll.* = A. SANDERUS, Flandria Illustrata (3) : TH, 1735.  
*FlandOHR* = Hommes Remarq. de la Flandre Occid. (4) : Brg, 1843-49.  
*FlandScript.* = A. SANDERUS, De Scriptoribus Flandriæ (3) : Ant, 1624.  
*Foppens* = J. F. FOPPENS, Bibliotheca Belgica (2) : Brs, 1739.  
*Frisia* = M. HAMCONII Frisia ... de Viris Illustr. Frisiæ : Franeker, 1620.  
*FrRenaiss.* = S. LEE, French Renaissance in England : Oxf, 1910.  
*Fruin* = R. F-, Archief der O. L. V. Abdij te Middelburg : TH, 1901.  
*FugRom.* = A. SCHULTE, Die Fugger in Rom 1495-1523 (2) : Lpz, 1904.  
*FugZAlter* = R. EHRENBURG, Das Zeitalter der Fugger (2) : Jena, 1912.  
*FUL* = H. DE VOCHT, Inv. d. Archives de l'Un. Louv., 1426-1797 : Lv, 1927.<sup>N</sup>

- Gabb[ema] = S. G., *Clarorum Virorum Epistolæ* : Harlingen, 1669.  
 Gachard = *Voyages des Souverains d. Pays-Bas*, 11 : Brs, 1874.  
 Gairdner = J. GAIRDNER, *The English Church in the xvth Cen.* : Ld, 1902.  
*GallChrist.* = *Gallia Christiana* (15) : Paris, 1716-1860.  
 Gams = P. GAMS, *Series Episcoporum Eccl. Cath.* : Rat, 1886.  
 Gand = M. J. DE GAND, *Recherches sur Th. Martens* : Alost, 1845.  
*GandErVir.* = A. SANDERUS, *De Gandavensibus Claris* : Ant, 1624.  
 Gardiner = S. R. GARDINER, *History of England* : Ld, 1907.  
*GeldColl.* = J. PRINSEN, *Collectanea v. G. Geldenhauer* : Amst, 1901.  
*Geldenh.* = J. PRINSEN, *Gerardus Geldenhauer* : The Hague, 1898.  
 Gelder = H. E. van G-, *Gesch. der School te Alkmaar* : Alkmaar, 1905.  
*GemFrisius* = F. v. ORTROY, *Bio-Bibliogr. de Gemma Frisius* : Brs, 1920.  
*Geneal.* = *Genealogia J. L. Vivis*, in VOO, 1, *prefat. matt.*  
*GesSterck* = J. M. STERCK-PROUT, *Het Geslacht Sterck* : Amst, 1919.  
 Gestel = C. v. GESTEL, *Historia Archiep. Mechliniensis* (2) : TH, 1725.  
*Givry* = L. MARCEL, *Le Cardinal de Givry* (2) : Prauthoy, 1926.  
*Gleanings* = *succinct analysis of letters not reproduced* : cp. p 405, sq.  
*GoesCosm.* = BATAILLON, *Cosmopolitisme de G.* : *RLitComp*, 1938 : 23-58.  
 GoesO = Damiani a GOES Opvscvla : Louvain, Dec. 1544.  
*GoetHist.* = GOETHALS, *Histoire des Lettres en Belg.* (4) : Brs, 1840-44.  
*GoetLect.* = GOETHALS, *Lectures s/l'Hist. des Sciences &c* (4) : Brs, 1837-8  
 Gomez = F. d. B. SAN ROMAN, *Testam. del Gomez de Castro* : Mdr, 1928.  
 Goris = J. G-, *Colonies Marchandes Méridionales à Anvers* : Lv, 1925.  
 Gough = H. G-, *Index to Parker Society Publications* : Camb, 1855.  
*GranClaess.* = P. CLAESSENS, *Hist. des Archev. de Malines*, 1 : Lv, 1881.  
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## LIST OF PERSONAGES

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This list consists chiefly of xvth century personages; to them are added names of classical or ecclesiastical authors, as well as, *in italics*, the names of towns, countries, abbeys, universities, schools — and subjects. The figures refer to the pages of this study; those printed in heavier type indicate that special information is added about the persons whose names are printed in ROMAN CAPITAL LETTERS in this list.

To shorten this list as much as possible, use has been made of the following abbreviations: Abp (*Archbishop*), acct (*accountant*), adm(*iral*), aldm (*alderman*), aman(*uensis*), amb(*assador*), Antw(*erp*), arld (*army leader*), auth(*or*), bm (*burgomaster*), Bp (*Bishop*), capt(*ain*), Card(*inal*), Carm(*elite*), Carth(*usian*), chamb(*erlain*), Chanc(*ellor*), cc (*councillor*), cn (*canon*), crt (*courtier*), csl (*consul*), Ct, Ctess (*Count, Countess*), dep(*uty*), Dnus, Dn (*Dominus*), Dr (*Doctor*), dv (*divine*), Eng(*lish*), er(*u-dite*), expl(*orer*), fin(*ancier*), geog(*rapher*), gov(*ernor*), heb(*rew & hebraist*), hist(*orian*), hm (*humanist*), ik (*inn-keeper*), inq(*uisitor*), jp (*juris-prudent*), Kt (*Knight*), Ld (*Lord*), libr(*arian*), lm (*ludimagister*), Lv (*Louvain*), math(*ematician*), md(*medical doctor*), merch(*ant*), mess(*enger*), not(*ary*), Off(*icer*), Off(*icial*), Ort (*Orientalist*), pf (*professor*), phil(*os-opher*), Pol(*ish*), pp (*parish priest*), pr(*inter*), prc (*preceptor*), pres(*ident*), prov(*ost*), pt (*poet*), pter (*painter*), rec(*eiver*), script(*uralist*), secr(*etary*), St, Sta (*Saint, Sancta*), st(*udent*), svt (*servant*), treas(*urer*), Tril(*ingue*), Un(*iversity*).

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